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SOUNDS AND INFLECTIONS
OF
THE GREEK DIALECTS

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IONIC

SMYTH

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HENRY FROWDE

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BY

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HENRICI LUDOLFI AHRENSII

SACRUM

PREFACE

It is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained unsurpassed in part until the present day. Had the original intention of the author of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis* been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolic and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's *Graecae linguae dialecti*, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

As the author of the first attempt at depicting the Ionic dialect as a whole, I may perhaps be pardoned for alluding to the difficulties involved in such an undertaking, difficulties that are enhanced not only by the absence of minute investigations on many questions of considerable importance, but also by the fact that the sources of information are often accessible only in an

imperfect state. Much of Ionic literature is still inadequately edited. Of Hippokrates, Aretaios, the philosophers (with the exception of Herakleitos) and the logographers, there are no editions which record fully and faithfully the readings of the MSS. In the case of the philosophers only was I able in part to reconstruct my own text, thanks to such books as Diels' *Simplicius* and Wachsmuth's *Stobaeus*. From the ordinary Lexicons one does not, it is true, expect much assistance in dialectological matters. Yet, apart from errors of fact, their failure to register the occurrence of ordinary words in much-read authors is often the cause of serious inconvenience. Thus, for example, that Herodotos (or Hippokrates) made use of ὄλος is not recorded in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or even in Portus' *Λεξικὸν Ἰωνικόν* or Schweighäuser's special Lexicon to Herodotos.

The present work attempts to combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied—the philological and the linguistic. Primary importance has been attached to the point of view of Philology, which seeks, among other things, to determine on the basis of tradition the forms proper to the dialect of each author, the place occupied by him in the history of the development of the dialect, the interrelation of the various connected styles of literary composition, and the connection between the language of artistic construction and the language of the public and private documents preserved in the inscriptions. So far as Ionic is concerned, these matters have been discussed briefly in the Introduction, but the conclusions there presented can be fully understood only by comparison with the detailed investigation that follows. I have deferred to another occasion a sketch of ancient dialectology, a discussion of the interrelation of the chief cantonal idioms, and an examination of the principles that govern their appearance in a literature permeated to a remarkable degree by artistic consciousness.

The method that has been pursued in treating the forms as purely linguistic phenomena calls for a few words of explanation. As it has not been my purpose to write a Comparative Grammar from the point of view of Ionic, I have rarely endeavoured to trace the forms back to the pre-Hellenic stage. Ionic has been compared throughout with other dialects, especially Attic. Because of its *μετριότης* and *κοινότης*, Attic is, and will continue to be, the standard by which philologists measure the manifold 'aberrations' of dialects less highly developed, or less adapted than itself to serve as vehicles for the expression of Hellenic thought. To the mention of difficult forms I have added brief explanations in the belief that these would prove of service to English and American students of Greek grammar. Many of these explanations refer to articles scattered up and down in the various journals or in monographs not always easy of access. The student may find here and there in the following pages a contribution to the solution of some of these difficulties, the existence of which has constantly been emphasized; but in crossing the frontier of disputed questions I have attempted only to bring the book to the level of the comparative grammar of to-day, and, while confessing my inability to arrive at a decision when the evidence seemed insufficient, to set forth briefly and criticize existing theories.

As regards the collection of material, completeness was well-nigh out of the question in the case of a dialect which has left abundant traces of its existence for over a thousand years. The evidence offered by the inscriptions and post-Homeric Ionic lyric will, however, I think, be found to be reasonably complete. I have made considerable use of the Ionic portion of Homer, but it was alien from my intention to treat in detail this 'dialect,' since its artificiality often renders hazardous the delimitation of Ionic from Aiolic. The fact that scholars already have at their command such books as Monro's *Homeric Grammar* and

van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium dictionis epicæ* warranted me in devoting greater attention to the post-Homeric literature. In dealing with the literary documents, I have compared the readings of the MSS. whenever it was possible. I venture to believe that, without deserting the MS. tradition to any great extent, I have disproved the theory that Herodotos made constant use of Homeric forms as such. The depravation of the dialect of Herodotos has been so great that it is often impossible to adopt a form on the consensus of *AB* and *Rvs*, which is the warrant of the archetypal reading; while it often happens that the correct form is preserved in *R* alone. Convinced as I am that Herodotos contracted $\epsilon + \epsilon$, $\epsilon + \eta$ and $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$ in $\epsilon\lambda\omega$ verbs, I do not hesitate to rank *R* very high when it preserves the contracted forms. The Atticisms of *R* are in fact often Ionisms. *C* and *P* represent the hyper-Ionic tradition more than other MSS. As I have referred to *C* (the Florentinus of the eleventh century), I take this opportunity to correct the statement on p. 93 where *A* (the Florentinus of the tenth century) has taken the place of *C*. In the case of Hippokrates the readings of θ and *A* have often been cited when they conflict with the vulgate or with Littré's text.

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. Among the books that were of greatest assistance, the place of honour belongs to the collections of inscriptions and the comments thereon by my former teacher, Prof. Bechtel of Göttingen. The monographs of Renner, Merzdorf, and Lindemann, the *Greek Verbs* of Veitch, and the grammars of Meyer and Brugmann have proved especially serviceable. Bredow's book on Herodotos rests upon incomplete and defective collations of the MSS., but is invaluable so long as Stein's promised Lexicon remains unpublished. Since the book went to press (in January, 1892), I have added some matters of interest from Prof. Blass' edition of Kuhn's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, and incorporated the important

forms occurring in Herodas. Through the courtesy of its author, Meister's elaborate discussion of the dialect of Herodas reached me shortly before the concluding pages passed out of my hands. It has contributed largely to the additions in the first appendix, and thus rendered the treatment of the sounds and inflections of Herodas tolerably exhaustive. Schulze's *Quæstiones epicæ*, a book of great learning, but often over-subtle and devoid of a proper regard for tradition, was of assistance at the same stage of the progress of the sheets through the press.

My thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association for permission to use the paper on the Vowel System published in its *Transactions*. The apparently egotistical reference on p. 5 to my own contribution has its excuse in the fact that it chanced to be the only treatise covering any part of the dialect as a whole. In the continuation of this work it will be seen that the other dialects have received ampler treatment at the hands of scholars, whose contributions are mentioned in the forefront of my own discussion. To Prof. Gildersleeve, the editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, I am indebted for permission to avail myself of a paper on Digamma published in vol. xii, and for other evidences of his friendship. Prof. Meister of Leipzig had transcribed for me the observations on Ionic by Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus' *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ et Horti Adonidis* of 1496, a book that has since come into my possession after a long search. Prof. Kirchhoff generously allows me to cite his opinion on various points, concerning which my information has been derived from his 'Lectures on the Ionic Dialect,' placed at my disposal by the kindness of a former pupil of the Berlin professor. The references to the views of Prof. Kirchhoff are indicated by the mention of his name unaccompanied by the title of any of his published works. It was a matter of no little satisfaction to discover, upon the completion of my work, that the opinion of

the German scholar was in accordance with my own in respect of many essential features of the dialect.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge my special indebtedness to my colleagues and students at Bryn Mawr, who have helped me in word and deed; to Mr. Monro, the Provost of Oriel, and to E. S. Roberts, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, for invaluable assistance in reading the proof-sheets; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the publication of the present work, which has outgrown the limits originally set by the author; and to the printers for their care in carrying it through the press.

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA :

March 9, 1894.

LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS CITED AND OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE titles of treatises dealing with special departments of the subject will be found on pp. 45, 66, 74, 78, 91, 101, 110, and in the Appendix to pp. 45, 91.

Ahrens = De Graecae linguae dialectis, I De dialectis Aeolicis et pseudaeolicis 1839, II De dialecto Dorica 1843, Gottingae.
This work is now rewritten and continued by Meister.

A. J. A. = American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton 1885 ff.

A. J. P. = American Journal of Philology, Baltimore 1880 ff.

Allen Versification = Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. IV.

American School = Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Archaeological Institute of America), Boston 1882 ff.

Amph. = Amphilopolis.

An. Bachm. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibl. reg. Parisin. descripsit Lud. Bachmannus, I-II, Lipsiae 1828.

An. Ox. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecarum Oxoniensium, descripsit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1835-37.

An. Par. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, edidit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1839-41.

A. P. A. = Transactions of the American Philological Association, Boston 1869 ff.

Apoll. Dysk. = Apollonius Dyscolus edidit Richardus Schneider in the Grammatici Graeci, vol. I, Lipsiae 1878.

Arch. } = Archilochos.
 Archil. }

Arch. Zeit. = Archaeologische Zeitung, Berlin 1843-48, 1868 ff.

Aret. = Aretaios.

Arkadios = Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόρων, ed. Barker, Lipsiae 1820.

Arrian = Arrian's Ἰνδική.

Aseoli Krit. Stud. = Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft von G. I. Aseoli. Autorisierte Uebersetzung von Reinhold Merzdorf, Weimar 1878.

Astr. = Lukian περὶ τῆς Ἀστρολογίης.

Athen. = Athenaeus edidit Kaibel, Lipsiae 1887-90.

Ἀθην. = Ἀθήναιον, σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν κατὰ ἡμερησίαν ἐκδιδόμενον, Athens 1872 ff.

Aug. = Grammaticus Augustanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Baunack Stud. = Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen von Johannes Baunack und Theodor Baunack, vol. I, Leipzig 1886.

B. B. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Göttingen 1877 ff.

B. C. H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (École Française d'Athènes), Paris and Athens 1877 ff.

Bechtel = Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 34^{sten} Bande der Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1887.

Bechtel Lautlehre = Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher, Göttingen 1892.

Bekk. Anecd. = Anecdota Graeca edidit I. Bekkerus, I-III, Berolini 1814-21.

Bennett = On the sounds and inflections of the Cyprian dialect, in the Studies of the University of Nebraska, vol. I, Lincoln, Nebr. 1888.

Bergk = Poetae Lyrici Graeci recensuit Theodorus Bergk, ed. 4, Lipsiae 1878-82.

Birnb. = Grammaticus Birnbaumius in Sturz' Etymologicum Gudianum, Lipsiae 1818.

Blass = Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen, 3te Auflage, Berlin 1888.

- Blass M. E. = *Miscellanea epigraphica scripsit Fridericus Blass, in the Satyra philologa Hermanno Sauppio oblata, Berolini 1879.*
- B. P. W. = *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 1881 ff.*
- Bredow = *De dialecto Herodotea, Lipsiae 1846.*
- British Museum Inscriptions = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Oxford, I 1874, II 1883, III 1886.*
- Brugmann Gram. = *Griechische Grammatik in vol. II of Iwan von Müller's Handbücher der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2te Aufl., München 1890.*
- Brugmann Grundr. = *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, Strassburg 1886 ff.*
- Cauer = *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium. iterum composuit Paulus Cauer, Lipsiae 1883.*
- C. D. I. = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften herausgegeben von Collitz [und Bechtel], Göttingen 1884 ff.*
- ch. = *chorus.*
- Chandler = *Greek Accentuation, 2nd edition, Oxford 1881.*
- Choir. } = *Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones, edited*
 Choirob. } *by Gaisford, Oxford 1842.*
- Choirob. Orth. = *Choerobosci Orthographia in An. Ox. II, 167-281.*
- C. I. A. = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum, Berolini 1873 ff.*
- C. I. G. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini 1828-1877.*
- Class. Rev. = *The Classical Review, London 1887 ff.*
- Curtius Et. = *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie, 5te Aufl. von Windisch, Leipzig 1879.*
- C. S. } = *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Gram-*
 Curt. Stud. } *matik, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius [und K. Brugmann], Leipzig 1868-78.*
- Curtius Verbum = *Das Verbum der griechischen Sprache, 2te Aufl., Leipzig 1877-80.*
- D = *Dindorf in Poetae Scenici Graeci, Lipsiae 1869.*
- Danielsson Epigraphica = *Epigraphica scripsit O. A. Danielsson, in the Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1890.*
- d. d. I. = *Greg. Kor. de dialecto Ionica (περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου).*

Dehnungsgesetz = Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Composita von Jakob Wackernagel, Basel 1889.

Δελτ. ἀρχ. or Ἀρχ. δελτ. = Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς γενικῆς ἐφορείας τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων, Athens 1888 ff.

Dem. } = Demokritos' Ἐθικά.

Ditt. Syll. } ≡ Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum edidit Guil-
D. S. } mus Dittenberger, Lipsiae 1883.

Drakon = Draconis Stratonicensis liber de metris poeticis ed. Hermann, Lipsiae 1812.

D. V. C. = De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae quaestiones scripsit Karl Ferdinand Johansson, in the Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1886.

el. = elegy.

ep. } = epode.

ep. } = epigram.

ep. with Hippokr. = Hippokrates' epistles.

Erman = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto scripsit Guilelmus Erman, in Curtius' Studien, vol. V.

Et. Gud. = Etymologicum Gudianum edidit Sturz, Lipsiae 1818.

Et. Mag. = Etymologicum Magnum ed. Sylburg, Lipsiae 1816, ed. Gaisford, Oxonii 1848.

Eust. = Eustathii commentarii, Lipsiae 1825-29.

Ἐφημερ. ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, ἐκδιδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας, Athens 1883 ff.

Fick Spracheinheit = Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas, Göttingen 1873.

Fritsch V. H. D. = Zum Vokalismus des Herodotischen Dialektes von Dr. Adolf Fritsch, Hamburg 1888.

G. G. A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1739 ff.

G. K. } = Gregorius Corinthius edidit Schaefer, Lipsiae
Greg. Kor. } 1811.

G. M. } = F. Imhoof-Blumer's Griechische Münzen,
Griech. Münzen } neue Beiträge und Untersuchungen, in the Abhandl. der Königl. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften, vol. XVIII, München 1890.

- Gomperz = Die Apologie der Heilkunst bearbeitet &c. von Theodor Gomperz, extracted from the Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, vol. 120, 1890.
- Gött. Nachr. = Nachrichten von der Georg-Augustus Universität, Göttingen 1862 ff.
- Hartel Hom. Stud. = Homerische Studien, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1873.
- Hdn. = Herodian edidit Lentz, Lipsiae 1867-70.
- Herod. π. μ. λ. } = Herodian *περὶ μονήρουσ λέξεωσ.*
Hdn. π. μ. λ. }
- Hdt. = Herodotos.
- Hermes = Zeitschrift für classische Philologie, Berlin 1866 ff.
- Hesych. = Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon recensuit M. Schmidt, Ienae 1858-61.
- H. E. V. A. = De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis scripsit Gustavus Hinrichs, Leipzig 1875.
- Hicks = Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions, Oxford 1882.
- Hiller = Anthologia Lyrica (the 4th edition of Bergk), Lipsiae 1890.
- H. N. = Historia Numorum, by Barclay V. Head, Oxford 1887.
- Hipp. } = Hippokrates.
Hippokr. }
- Hoffmann = Die griechischen Dialekte, vol. I Der süd-achäische Dialekt, Göttingen 1891, vol. II Der nord-achäische Dialekt, 1893.
- Hoffmann D. M. G. = De mixtis Graecæ linguae dialectis, Göttingen 1888.
- Hrd. = Herodas.
- Hsd. W. D. = Hesiod's Works and Days.
- H. T. K. = Homerische Textkritik im Alterthum von Jacob La Roche, Leipzig 1866.
- Ib. = Ibykos.
- I. F. = Indogermanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Brugmann und Streitberg, Strassburg 1892 ff.
- I. G. A. = Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas edidit Hermannus Roehl, Berolini 1882.
- Jahrb. = Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Leipzig 1826 ff.

- J. G. } = Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus Manutius'
 Joh. Gram. } Thesaurus, Cornueopiae, et Horti Adonidis, 1496.
- J. H. S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies, London 1883 ff.
- Joh. Alex. = Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως τοικὰ παραγγέλματα ed.
 Dindorf, Lipsiae 1825.
- Johansson Sprachkunde = Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde,
 Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1890.
- Johansson De derivatis verbis, see D. V. C.
- Jordan Kritische Beiträge = Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte
 der lateinischen Sprache, Berlin 1879.
- Kaibel = Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berolini
 1878 (also cited as K. E.)
- Karsten = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto commentatio scripsit
 Gualtherus Karsten, Halis Saxonum 1882.
- K-B. = Grammatik der griechischen Sprache von R. Kühner in
 neuer Bearbeitung von F. Blass, Hannover 1890 ff.
- K. C. = The Principles of Sound and Inflexion in Greek and
 Latin by King and Cookson, Oxford 1888.
- Kirchhoff Alphabet = Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen
 Alphabets, 4te Auflage, Gütersloh 1887.
- Kirchhoff = Lectures on the Ionic dialect by A. Kirchhoff (see
 Preface).
- Klein Vasen = Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen
 von Wilhelm Klein, 2te Auflage, Wien 1887.
- Kum. = Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι by Stephanos Kumanudēs,
 Athens 1871.
- K. Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem
 Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von
 A. Kuhn, herausgegeben von E. Kuhn und J. Schmidt,
 Berlin, now Gütersloh, 1852 ff.
- Lat. } = Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti
 Latyshev } Euxini Graecae et Latinae edidit Basilius Latyshev, vol. I
 Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae &c., Petropoli 1885;
 vol. II Regni Bosporani 1890.
- Le-Bas—Foucart = Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie
 Mineure with commentary continued by Waddington and
 Foucart; vols. III (text) and 3 (commentary) deal with Asia
 Minor, Paris 1847 ff.

- Lex. Messan. = Lexicon Messanenſe de iota aſcripto in R. M. XLVII 404 (1892).
- Lindemann = De dialecto Ionica recentiore ſcripſit Hugo Lindemann, Kiel 1889.
- Loewy = Inſchriften griechiſcher Bildhauer, Leipzig 1885.
- L. S. = Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, 7th ed., Oxford 1883.
- Mahlow = Die langen Vokale A E O in den europaeiſchen Sprachen, Berlin 1879.
- Maxim. = Maximus.
- Meerm. = Grammaticus Meermannianus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.
- Meiſt. }
Meiſterhans } = Grammatik der attiſchen Inſchriften, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1888.
- Meiſter }
G. D. } = Die griechiſchen Dialekte von Richard Meiſter: vol. I Aſiatiſch-äoliſch, Bötiſch, Theſſaliſch, Göttingen 1882, vol. II Eleiſch, Arkadiſch, Kypriſch 1889.
- Meiſter Herodas = Die Mimiamben des Herodas, extract from the 13th vol. of the Abhandlungen der philologiſch-hiſtoriſchen Claſſe der Königl. Sächſiſchen Geſellſchaft der Wiſſenſchaften, Leipzig 1893.
- Mél. gr.-rom. = Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin hiſtorico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, 1855 ff.
- Menrad = De contractionis et ſynizeſeos uſu Homericō ſcripſit Joſ. Menrad, Monachii 1886.
- Meyer Gram. = Griechiſche Grammatik von Guſtav Meyer. 2te Auflage, Leipzig 1886.
- Mith. = Mittheilungen des deutſchen archäologiſchen Inſtituts in Athen, Athens 1876 ff.
- Mith. aus Oeſterreich = Archaeologiſch-epigraphiſche Mittheilungen aus Oeſterreich, Wien 1877 ff.
- Mnem. = Mnemosyne, Leyden 1852-62, 1873 ff.
- Moiris = Moeridis Atticistae lexicon Atticum, em. ill. J. Piersonus. denuo edidit Koch, Lipsiae 1830.
- Mon. ant. = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Real- Accademia dei Lincei, Milano 1890 ff.
- Monro Hom. Gram. = A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. Monro, 2nd edition, Oxford 1891.

- Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. = *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς*, Smyrna 1873 ff.
- M. U. = *Morphologische Untersuchungen von Osthoff and Bruggmann*, Leipzig 1875-90.
- Mus. It. = *Museo Italiano di antichità classica diretto da Domenico Comparetti*, Firenze 1885 ff.
- Myl. = Mylasa.
- Naukr. = *Inscriptions from Naukratis*, cited partly from Bechtel, partly from E. A. Gardner's collection in 'Naukratis,' edited by Flinders-Petrie, London 1886 ff.
- Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 1839-54, 1861 ff.
- Orop. = Oropos.
- Osthoff Forsch. = *Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung*, Jena 1875.
- Osthoff Perfect = *Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen*, Strassburg 1884.
- Pape = *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen von Pape und Benseler*, 3te Auflage, 3ter Abdruck, Braunschweig 1884.
- Par. = *Grammaticus Parisinus* in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.
- Paspates = *Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον* by A. G. Paspatès, Athens 1888.
- Paton and Hicks = *The Inscriptions of Cos* by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, Oxford 1891.
- Pezzi = *La lingua greca antica, breve trattazione comparativa e storica*, Torino 1888.
- Philol. = *Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum*, Stolberg and Göttingen, 1846 ff.
- Philologischer Anzeiger*, als Ergänzung des *Philologus*, Göttingen 1869 ff.
- Phrynichos = *Phrynichi eclogae nominum et verborum Atticorum* ed. Lobeck. Lipsiae 1820, Rutherford (*The New Phrynichus*) London 1881.
- Prokon. = Prokonnesos.
- Reinach = *Traité d'épigraphie grecque*, Paris 1885.
- Renner = *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae* in Curtius' *Studien*, vol. I.
- Revue archéologique*, Paris 1844 ff.
- R. M. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Bonn and Frankfurt am Main, 1833 ff.

- Rob. } = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I, Cambridge 1887.
- Roberts } = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I, Cambridge 1887.
- Roehl = I. G. A.
- Ross = Inscriptiones ineditae, Nauplia, Athens and Berlin, 1834-35.
- Rutherford = The New Phrynichus, London, 1881.
- Saussure Mém. = Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes par Ferdinand de Saussure, Leipsick 1879.
- Schmidt Neutra = Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra von Johannes Schmidt, Weimar 1889.
- Schmidt Vokalismus = Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus, Weimar 1871-75.
- Schulze Q. E. = Quaestiones epicae scripsit Guilelmus Schulze, Gueterslohiae 1892. This incorporates the Quaestionum Homericarum specimen, Gryphiswaldiae 1887.
- S. A. } = Simonides of Amorgos.
- Sim. Am. } = Simonides of Amorgos.
- Simpl. = Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria edidit Hermannus Diels, Berolini 1882.
- Smyth Diphthong EI = Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen, Göttingen 1885.
- Spitzer = Lautlehre des arkadischen Dialektes, Kiel 1883.
- Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft, Leipzig 1874.
- Stephan = De Herodiani technici dialectologia, Argentorati 1889.
- Sterrett = An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, vol. II, and The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor, vol. III, of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Boston 1888.
- Stes. = Stesichoros.
- Stob. = Stobaeus edidit Gaisford I-IV, Lipsiae 1823-24, edidit Wachsmuth I-II, Berolini 1884.
- Stud. = Curt. Stud.
- Struve Quaest. = Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti specimina III, Regimontii 1828-30.
- Syria dea } = Lukian *περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ*.
- d. S. } = Lukian *περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ*.
- d. d. S. }

- Th. (L.) } = Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im
 Thas. (L.) } Louvre von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 32^{sten} Bande der
 Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,
 Göttingen 1884.
- Theodos. = Theodosii Alexandrini Canones edidit Hilgard, in the
 first volume of the fourth part of the Grammatici Graeci,
 Lipsiae 1889.
- Theog. = Theognis.
- Theogn. = Theognosti Canones in An. Ox. II, 1-165.
- tetr. = tetrameter.
- tr. = trimeter.
- Tryphon = Tryphonis Alexandrini fragmenta collegit A. von
 Velsen, Berolini 1853.
- Tzetz. = Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem edidit Hermann,
 Lipsiae 1812.
- unc. loc. = uncertain locality.
- V. A. } = Lukian's Vitarum auctio (*Βίων πρῶσις*).
 Vit. Auct. }
- Vat. = Grammaticus Vaticanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory
 of Korinth.
- Veitch = Greek Verbs irregular and defective, new (4th) edition,
 Oxford 1879.
- Vita Hom. = Vita Homeri in Westermann's Vitarum scriptores
 Graeci minores, Brunsvigae 1845.
- Wagner = Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis ex lapidibus
 collectis grammaticae scripsit R. Wagner, Lipsiae 1883.
- W. F. } = Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, Paris
 Wescher-Foucart } 1863.
- Wheeler = Der griechische Nominalaccent, Strassburg 1885.
- Wilamowitz Herakles = Euripides Herakles erklärt von Wila-
 mowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1889.
- W. K. P. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin
 1884 ff.
- z = Aldus' edition of Herodotos, 1502.
- Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen, Berlin 1867 ff.
- Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin 1874 ff.

EDITIONS OF THE CHIEF AUTHORS CITED

1. *Poets.*

Homer: La Roche and Ludwich.

Homeric Hymns: Gemoll, who combines the two hymns to Apollo.

Hesiod: Flach, but the citations from the scholia follow Gaisford's numbering (*Poetae Minores Graeci*, vol. II).

Lyric Poets (including Pindar): Bergk⁴.

Scenic Poets: Dindorf, Meineke, Koch.

Theokritos: Fritzsche.

Herodas: Arabic numerals follow Kenyon, Roman follow Bergk (for the fragments not on the papyrus).

Phoinix of Kolophon
Aischrion of Samos
Parmenon of Byzantion } Schneidewin's *Delectus*.

2. *Prose Writers.*

Herodotos: Stein.

Hippokrates: Littré and Ermerins. The references are to the pages of Littré (Kühn a few times), except in the case of the letters where Hercher-Boissonade's text has often been followed (denoted by *ep.* and an Arabic numeral).

Herakleitos: Bywater.

Protagoras: in Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 33.

Demokritos and other Philosophers: Mullach's numbering is adopted, but the MSS., not his text, have been followed.

Historians: Müller.

Menekrates: Jacoby's edition of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

Pseudo-Ionic letters: Hercher-Boissonade, except in the case of Hippokrates (see above).

Lukian: Jacobitz, and Sommerbrodt (for the *Βίων πρᾶσις*).

Arrian: Eberhard.

Aretaios: Kühn, and a few times Ermerins.

3. *Grammarians.*

Apollonios Dyskolos' Syntax from the pages of Bekker (1817).

The Pronoun and Adverb are sometimes cited by the old numbering, sometimes by the pages of Schneider (Schm.).

Cheirobeskos' Dictata in Theodosii Canones follows Gaisford's pages throughout, as Hilgard's edition has not yet been concluded.

LIST OF THE CHIEF MSS.
REFERRED TO

1. HERODOTOS (cf. § 88).

A = Florentinus (Mediceus), Laurentian Library, Florence (X Century).

B = Romanus (Passioneus), Angelican Library, Rome (XI Cent.).

C = Florentinus, Laurentian Library, Florence (XI Cent.).

P = Parisinus, National Library (XIII Cent.).

R = Romanus, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).

l = Florentinus, Laurentian Library (XIV Cent.).

ḃ = Venetus (Bessarion.), Library of St. Mark's (XV Cent.).

q = Parisinus, National Library (XV Cent.).

r = Urbinas, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).

s = Sauroftianus, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (XIV Cent.).

v = Vindobonensis, Vienna (XIV Cent.).

z = Aldus' edition, 1502.

I in Stein's edition refers to the consensus of all the MSS.

2. HIPPOKRATES.

θ = Vindobonensis (X Cent.).

ξ = Vaticanus 276 (end XII Cent.).

Laur. 74, 7 (XI or XII Cent.).

Marc. 269 (XI Cent.).

A = 2253 (XI Cent.).

The above are the chief MSS.

D = 2254 (XIV Cent.).

E = 2255 (XIV Cent.).

F = 2144 (XIV Cent.).

G = 2141 (XIV Cent.).

H = 2142 (XIV Cent.).

J = 2143 (XIV Cent.).

K = 2145 (XIV Cent.).

M = 2247 (old). This is Littré's *M*, not the Marcianus (XI Cent.).

N = 2248 (old).

Q = 1297 (XIV Cent.).

A—Q are in the National Library at Paris.

To facilitate reference to the tractates under the name of Hippokrates is subjoined a table of the place occupied by each in Littré's edition. The works starred are genuine beyond doubt.

I 570-637 *περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς*.

II 12-93 *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων**; 110-191 *προγνωστικόν**; 224-377 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων**; 394-529 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων (νόθα)*; 598-717 *ἐπιδημιῶν I**.

III 24-149 *ἐπιδημιῶν III**; 182-261 *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων**; 272-337 *κατ' ἰητροίων*; 412-563 *περὶ ἀγμῶν*.

IV 78-327 *περὶ ἄρθρων*; 340-395 *μοχλικόν*; 458-609 *ἀφορισμοὶ*; 628-633 *ἕρκος*; 638-643 *νόμος*.

V 72-139 *ἐπιδημιῶν II*; 144-197 *id.* IV; 204-259 *id.* V; 266-357 *id.* VI; 364-469 *id.* VII; 476-503 *περὶ χυμῶν*; 510-573 *προρρητικόν I*; 588-733 *Κωακαὶ προγνώσιες*.

VI 2-27 *περὶ τέχνης*; 32-69 *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*; 72-87 *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*; 90-115 *περὶ φυσῶν*; 118-137 *περὶ ὑγρῶν χρήσιος*; 140-205 *περὶ νούσων I*; 208-271 *περὶ παθῶν*; 276-349 *περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*; 352-397 *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου*; 400-433 *περὶ ἐλκῶν*; 436-445 *περὶ αἱμορροΐδων*; 448-461 *περὶ συρίγγων*; 466-525 *περὶ διαίτης I*; 528-589 *id.* II; 592-637 *id.* III; 640-663 *id.* IV = *περὶ ἐνυπνίων*.

VII 8-115 *περὶ νούσων II*; 118-161 *id.* III; 166-303 *περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν*; 312-431 *περὶ γυναικείης φύσιος*; 436-453 *περὶ ὀπταμίου*; 452-461 *περὶ ὀκταμίου*; 470-485 *περὶ γονῆς*; 486-542 *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*; 542-615 *περὶ νούσων IV*.

VIII 10-233 *γυναικείων I*; 234-407 *id.* II; 408-463 *περὶ ἀφόρων*; 466-471 *περὶ παρθενίων*; 476-509 *περὶ ἐπικυήσιος*; 512-519 *περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρίου*; 538-541 *περὶ ἀνατομῆς*; 544-549 *περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης*; 556-575 *περὶ ἀδέων*; 584-615 *περὶ σαρκῶν*; 634-673 *περὶ ἐβδομάδων*.

IX 6-75 *προρρητικόν II*; 80-93 *περὶ καρδῆς*; 98-121 *περὶ τροφῆς*; 152-161 *περὶ ὄψιος*; 168-197 *περὶ ὀστέων φύσιος*; 204-221 *περὶ ἰητροῦ*; 226-245 *περὶ εὐσχημοσύνης*; 250-273 *παραγγελίαι*; 276-295 *περὶ κρισίων*; 298-307 *περὶ κρισίων*; 312-429 *ἐπιστολαί*.

The chief tractates are sometimes abbreviated thus :

E I = *ἐπιδημιῶν πρῶτον*.

E III = *ἐπιδημιῶν τρίτον*.

ΠΑ = *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*.

ΠΔΟ = *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων*.

ΠΤΚ = *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων*.

Π = *προγνωστικόν*.

ΠΚ = *προγνώσιες Κωακαί*.

3. THEOGNIS.

- A* = Mutinensis (X Cent.) National Library in Paris.
K = Vaticanus (XVI Cent.).
O = Vaticanus (XII Cent.).

4. LUKIAN.

- A* = Gorlicensis (XIV Cent.).
 ℞ = Vaticanus 87 (XII or XIII Cent.).
B = Vindobonensis 123 (X Cent.).
C = Parisinus 3011 (XIII or XIV Cent.).
E = Wittianus (Marcianus) perhaps a source of Ω.
 Γ = Vaticanus 90 (XI Cent.).
 Φ = Florentinus (Laurentianus) 77 (of different dates).
 Ψ = Marcianus 436 (XIV Cent.).
 Ω = Marcianus 434 (XIII Cent.).
a = editio princeps (Florence 1496).
v = Reitz' edition (Amsterdam 1743).
 Sommerbrodt's critical edition (vol. I, Berolini 1886-89) does not yet include the *Syria dea* or the *Astrologia*.

INSCRIPTIONS.

All Ionic inscriptions, unless specially referred to other collections, are cited by the numbering of Bechtel's *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*. Thasian inscriptions not included in this work are denoted by *Th. (L.)*, and refer to the numbering of Bechtel's *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*. The inscriptions from Naukratis are usually cited from E. A. Gardner's collection in the two volumes of W. M. Flinders-Petrie, but Bechtel's numbering of three (139 A-139 C) has been followed. All other dialect inscriptions, except when the contrary is stated, are cited from C. D. I. C. I. A. IV refers to the first, C. I. A. IV B to the second, C. I. A. IV C to the third part of the fourth volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*. The date of an inscription is sometimes indicated by a Roman numeral followed by the letter C, e.g. VC = fifth century B. C.

References have sometimes been made to notes in the text as if these notes were numbered. These references are to be understood as if made to paragraphs in smaller type.

ERRATA

Page 22, for 167 read 210. 59⁹, read *είμένα* for *είμένα*. 75¹⁶, add *κάρηνα*
 Eurip frag. 541, *τρικάρηνον* (MSS.) H. F. 611. 142¹², read In Naukratis also.
 154 (§ 150), see now app. to p. 265. 158⁸, read 209. 163, read *ἀνς*. 165
 end and 166 top, read *-γενής*. 170¹⁰, from bottom, read *ἐλέθαρος*. 184²,
 read 420. 213^{1c}, cf. § 534. 236¹¹, *Δεκελῆθεν*, though found in *PRC*, is scarcely
 correct; see § 219, 9. 277¹, read *πάντ'*. 281, the reference to foot-note 3
 belongs at the end of l. 2 f. b. [In two Eretrian inscriptions ('Εφ. ἀρχ.
 1890, 196, 200) we find *αἰτηνῶν, πατρῶν, ἐπιδημέων, συνελουθεράωντι*]. 254¹⁵,
 read 246 for 245. 307¹³ f. b., after and insert *σσ*. 385¹⁶ f. b., *dele* Compounds
 . . . 93. 388¹² f. b., *dele* I. 475¹³ f. b., read *ἰρήρῃσθαι*. 487, f. n. 3, read
Abhandlungen for *Untersuchungen*. 552⁹, read *ἐθεόρον*.

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* * * The numbers refer to sections.



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THE IONIC DIALECT

INTRODUCTION.

Sources of the Present Investigation.

SMYTH: *The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* in the *Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc.*
XX 5-138 (1889).

1.] **Chief Literary Monuments.** Of the lyric poets especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic blood, in the first instance to the iambographers Archilochos of Thasos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos and Ananios (or Ananias), secondly to the elegists Kallinos of Ephesos, Mimnermos and Xenophanes of Kolophon, Phokylides of Miletos. The dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis has been treated in some detail: Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Elegy as cultivated by a poet not of genuine Ionic stock; Solon, in order to raise the question whether his Muse is Ionic or Old-Attic or a combination of the two; the Megarian Theognis, that we may obtain a survey of the language of the elegy to the end of the sixth century.

The newly discovered fragments of Herodas, though containing some Dorisms, evince the persistence of the dialect of the Ionic iambographers.

Anakreon is the chief native source of information concerning the dialect in melic poetry. Simonides of Keos and the melic poets not of Ionic stock, especially Pindar, have been drawn upon in the discussion of the nature of the epigram, choral ode, &c.

Homeric forms, when of specifically Ionic texture, have been utilized for the purpose of comparing the older with the later dialect.

The didactic epic of Parmenides and Empedokles has but rarely been cited.

All the logographers have been studied, Hekataios of Miletos yielding more fruit than Charon of Lampsakos, Pherekydes of Lenos, Xanthos the Lydian, or Hellanikos of Mitylene.

Herodotos has been examined with special reference to the interrelation of the MSS. Without a knowledge of the character of their fluctuations no theory as to the complexion of early Ionic prose deserves a hearing.

For the language of the philosophers the fragments of Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, the *Moralia* of Demokritos of Abdera, and Herakleitos of Ephesos have been investigated.

The following treatises of Hippokrates, as least open to the suspicion of spuriousness, have contributed chiefly to the study of the older medical dialect:—

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ πρῶτον.

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ τρίτον.

Προγνωστικά.

περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων.

περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων.

περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων.

Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις (perhaps pre-Hippokratic).

The Ἐπιδημιῶν have been passed by as too full of interpolations. Only occasionally is reference made to treatises of the younger Hippokrateians (*περὶ τέχνης, περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* of Polybos, *περὶ φυσῶν, περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου, &c.*).

Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios, Arrian, and Lukian are our principal sources. A subordinate place is occupied by the supposititious letters of Hippokrates and of the Ionic philosophers. To discover whether the *περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ* and the *περὶ ἀστρολογίης* are the production of the author of the *βίων πρᾶσις*, was foreign to the immediate purpose of this treatise. On any view they deserve a prominent place in the study of the Ionic Renaissance. Though convinced that the study of the pseudo-Ionists is barren of great results for the restoration of Ionic forms in the texts of the early Ionic prosaists, the importance of the revival of Ionic literature seemed to me sufficient to justify a portrayal of the form assumed by pseudo-Ionism in Aretaios, Arrian and Lukian. I have also placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' *Assyrian History*, Uranios, Eusebios (perhaps an imitator of Demokritos), and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exerted upon later prose by the diction of its creators.

2.] The Inscriptions.

The treatises by Bechtel: *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts* 1887, and *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre* 1884, have rendered antiquated, so far as material is concerned, Erman *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* (Curt. Stud. V 249-310, 1872), and Karsten *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* 1882. Besides the inscriptions in Bechtel's collections, I have made use of those in Imhoof-Blumer's *Griechische Münzen*, Head's *Historia Numorum*, and others which have appeared since the publication of Bechtel's first-named work.

So far as seemed advisable, every inscriptional form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology and inflection has been utilized. Wherever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic or inflectional change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, the latter dialect, in its stone records, has been drawn within the range of view.

Of the epigraphical monuments of the dialect incorporated in Bechtel's collection, there are in all at least fifty antedating the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Athens at the close of the fifth century. These are equally divided between the sixth and the following century. For the study of the earliest Ionic prose it is unfortunate that no less than eighteen (of the twenty) metrical inscriptions contained in Bechtel's collection fall before the year 400 B.C.; thus materially reducing the number of documents by which the prose of the historians and philosophers may be illustrated.

From the fourth century there are about a dozen inscriptions older than 350 B.C. when the integrity of the dialect is perceptibly weakened by the inroads of Attic. Dialectal forms continue to appear as late as the third century after Christ, though in the latest period almost entirely in proper names.

3.] The Grammarians. We possess tractates on Ionic by:

The author of *περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν*, in Aldus Manutius' *Thesaurus, Cornucopie, et Horti Adonidis*.

Gregorios of Corinth.

Grammaticus Leidensis,

Grammaticus Meermannianus,

Grammaticus Augustanus,

} In Schaefer's edition
of Gregorios.

Furthermore, excerpts from a Paris and from a Vatican MS. (in Schaefer's edition of Gregorios), and the Birnbaum excerpt in Sturz' *Etymologicum Gudianum*.

On the relation of Gregorios' treatise to the lost work of Johannes Grammaticus or Philoponos, on their sources, and on the interdependence of all the above mentioned briefer sketches, see the introduction to *AIOLIC* § 8.

Completely lost, or preserved only in part by a process of silent transmission, are the treatises dealing immediately with the Ionic dialect and of a period far anterior to the work of Johannes Philoponos, which falls in the sixth century of our era. Besides the many works on glosses and on dialects which we cannot prove to have discussed either exclusively or mainly the Ionic dialect, there are the following whose titles have come down to us:

Philoxenos of Alexandria *περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ γλωσσῶν*, Trypho *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ διαλέκτων καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Ἀλκμάνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς*, and Apollonios Dyskolos *περὶ Ἰάδος*. That the dialect of Eretria received attention is certain not only from Plato, but also from a passage in Athenaios (VII 284 B), where mention is made of the *περὶ διαλέκτων* of Dionysios Iambos, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes in his lexicon to Homer carried on the work which had been begun by Demokritos (*περὶ Ὀμήρου ὀρθοεπέης καὶ περὶ γλωσσῶν*) and continued by the popular work of Philetas. Though these Homeric lexica dealt rather with studies of the vocabulary of the poet than with the inflectional and morphological aspect of his diction, they may have contained much that was instrumental in defining the position of Old Ionic. Kallimachos compiled a *πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν*. In later times there were collections of *λέξεις*, and treatises on Herodoteian vocabulary, e.g. Apollonios' *ἐξηγήσις τῶν Ἡροδότου γλωσσῶν*.

In like manner side lights must have been cast upon the structure of Hippokratic Ionic by the *τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή* of Erotianos, the *τῶν τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξηγήσις* of Galen, and by the glossary of Herodotos Lykios. But little seems to have drifted from the numerous commentaries upon Hippokrates into the later grammatical literature. Herodian mentions Hippokrates twice only.

The Homeric glossary of Apio and the similar work of Herodoros (or Heliodoros), both of which were based upon the labours of Aristarchos, proved important sources of information to Hesychios and Eustathios; and show it to be possible that similar, but more strictly phonological, treatises of the best period of grammatical studies may have been placed under contribution by Eustathios, the *Ὀμήρου ἐπιμερισμοί*, &c. The works of later grammarians, for example Johannes Philoponos, Theodosios, Charax, Timotheos and Choireboskos (who wrote a treatise *περὶ αἰαλέκτων*), are based chiefly upon Herodian, whose observations upon Ionic deal almost exclusively with Homer. It is to be lamented that so much of Trypho's dialectological researches has been engulfed by time. In having an eye for local

colour, Trypho had the preeminent virtue of a dialectologist. Apollonios Dyskolos, so far as we can judge from the treatise on the Pronoun, embraced in his researches the dialect of the Ionic logographers and philosophers, though Homeric forms are the chief point of attraction.

The well-nigh universal failure of ancient grammar to notice the shading of sub-dialectal speech, and its neglect of the existence in the living language¹ of survivals from its dialect life weigh heavily against a dialect covering so great an extent of territory as Ionic. The narrower range of Aiolic forbids the expectation that its minuter variations had attracted the attention of a race of scholars whose dialectological studies were pursued chiefly in connection with literature. In the case of Doric however, apart from the investigations of Trypho into the speech of Rhegion and Syrakuse (which followed in the wake of the study of Ibykos and Theokritos), the dialects of Krete, Lakonia, &c., were deemed of sufficient interest in themselves to invite research.

To the splendour of the Homeric poems; to the general belief of the ancients that Homer was a distinct personality, by birth and residence an Ionian; and to the wealth of grammatical learning brought to the elucidation of his diction by the leaders of the Alexandrian school, is due in great part the fact that the Iliad and the Odyssey overshadow all other monuments of Ionic genius as the repositories of information concerning the Ionic dialect. Though to the rhetoricians of the empire Herodotos was the *ἄριστος κανών* of Ionic, yet both he and the other Ionic prosaists awakened attention too late to be saved from suffering comparative neglect at the hands of the earlier scholars, whose authority was absolute in the view of the later grammarians whose works have been directly transmitted to us.

The result of this supremacy of the Homeric poems in the schools is clear. In almost every case in which we find in the grammarians the unqualified statement that this or that form is Ionic, it does not mean more to the modern dialectologist than that the form in question is Homeric. To such puerilities does this one-sidedness of view lead, that even tmesis, apocope, hyperbaton, &c., are called Ionic. Tzetzes is the chief sinner in this regard.

The value of grammatical literature is not vitiated only by its subserviency, as regards Ionic, to the composite and artificial dialect of Homer and even of Hesiod. Words that are the property of all the dialects, or words that are not Ionic at all

¹ Very rare are such observations as *ἕως νῦν παρ' Ἰωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατο. κριολὸ κόλοι λέγονται*, Schol. Ven. A on Π 117.

are stamped as Ionic solely because they happen to occur in a writer whose diction contains Ionisms. Gregory (p. 522) says that Osiris was Ionic for Dionysos. In utilizing the testimonia adduced in this treatise, the considerations here stated should guard us against attributing undue importance to the evidence of even such authorities as Herodian.

In the view of Herodian no word was worthy of discussion unless it was Hellenic, *i.e.* unless it occurred in literature or was used by the cultured classes of his day. All other words were vulgar (*βάρβαρα*). A word was Hellenic, if it occurred in but a single dialect author; a view that was disputed by some of Herodian's contemporaries and predecessors. On the other hand, a word was non-Hellenic if it was the exclusive property of the popular speech, or if it occurred in inscriptions. In all Herodian there are but three references to inscriptions, and these are derived, not from the stones themselves, but from literature. (*Ionic, Doric, Aiolic, &c.*, scarcely ever include non-literary words.) Herodian could not escape meeting with vulgar words in the works on the manners and customs of different parts of Greece, or in the geographers and glossographers, though these sources were rarely employed. But vulgar words need not conform to rule, and even if they do, they are rarely employed in illustration of the principle under discussion. Some grammarians possessed a more catholic spirit than Herodian, who failed to develop the germ of truth in Sokrates' remark (Krat. 409) that Hellenic words could be of barbarian origin. Herodian refused to derive a Hellenic word from one of vulgar source. In studying Herodian's theory of dialectology it must not be overlooked that he thought the language of the *epos* was not that of an actual dialect. Choïroboskos and Gregory never doubt that Homer is an Ionic author. But Herodian does not refer exclusively to Homer when it is his intention to set forth the Ionic character of a form. See Stephan, *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*, first part. Cf. note to § 25.

Though the ancient learning increases our knowledge of Ionic by scarcely a single fact that we do not already know from a study of the literary monuments of the dialect, it is fortunately accessible in a form sufficiently early, and thus sufficiently pure, to control the aberrations of pseudo-Ionism.

In the preparation of this volume the testimony of the following ancient grammarians besides those mentioned in the beginning of § 3, is adduced:—

Trypho, Apollonios Dyskolos, Herodian, Hesychios, *Etymologicum Magnum*, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, the *Etymologicum* of Orion, Theodosios, Choïroboskos, Eustathios, Priscian's *Syntax* in Maximus Planudes' Greek translation (Baehmann, *An. II* 105-166), the *Ὅμηρον ἐπιμερισμοί* (Cramer's *Anecd. Ox.* vol. I), Tzetzes' *Exegesis* of the *Iliad*, the minor tractates in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia. Parisiensia*, in Bekker's and Baehmann's *Anecdota*, the scholia on Hesiod (quoted according to Gaisford's lines), and the scholia of Venetus A on the *Iliad* (Dindorf, vol. I and II).

Phavorinus I have passed over, but the pseudo-Drakonian treatise *περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν*, dating from 1545-55 and the work of a Greek named Diassorinos, has been quoted here and there for the purpose of showing what views on Ionic were possible under the Renaissance. The Aldine edition was successful in foisting upon Herodotos many non-Ionic forms which tend to reappear in modern editions; and it can be shown that the copyists of the Renaissance have perverted the original reading because of their theories as to the love of Ionic for open vowels. The grammarians are quoted when they say outright that a form is Ionic, not when their statements point merely by implication to such an opinion.

Geographical Divisions of Ionic.

4.] It is upon the evidence of the stone records alone that we are justified in assuming a threefold division of the Ionic dialect.

(1) **The Western Ionic of Eubœia.**

- A. Chalkis and colonies: Kyme and Neapolis, Rhegion, Terone, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Ainea.
- B. Eretria with its colonies, Mende, Oropos.
- C. Styra.
- D. Kyme.

(2) **Ionic of the Kyklades.**

- A. Naxos with its colony Amorgos (Arkesine or -es, Aigiale)¹, Keos.
- B. Delos.
Paros with its colonies Thasos, Neapolis in Makedonia, and Pharos.
Siphnos.
- C. The remaining Kyklades: Andros, Ios, Mykonos.

(3) **Ionic of Asia Minor.** The Ionians of Asia Minor were the only division which in historic times bore the ethnic name 'Ionians.'

A. The Twelve Cities.

- (a) Miletos, and colonies: Prokonessos, Iasos, Leros, Kyzikos, Zeleia, Parion (colonized from Miletos, Erythrai and Paros), Sinope, Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Olbia, Istros, Tomoi, Apollonia, Naukratis², Myus (or Myes, cf. Steph. Byz.), Priene.

¹ Amorgos was colonized by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians. Inscriptions from Minoa are placed under Samos.

² The temple to Apollo was built by Milesians, the Hellenion by settlers from Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, &c. The temple of Hera was the work of Samians.

(b) Ephesos :

Kolophon and Smyrna (cf. Mimnermos 9).

Teos and colonies: Abdera, Phanagoreia.

Klazomenai.

Phokaia with colonies: Lampsakos, Hylele, Segesta¹, Massalia.

Inscriptions from Lebedos are wanting.

(c) Chios and Maroneia :

Erythrai (participated in the founding of Parion).

(d) Samos and colonies: Minoa in Amorgos, Perinthos,

Samothrake, Naukratis, where the Samians erected a temple to Hera.

B. Ionic cities in Karia :

Halikarnassos. Mylasa. Olymos. Bargylia. Keramos.

Aphrodisias. Tralles.

5.] **Western Ionic** has not abandoned the rough breathing. Proper names derived from κλέος agree with the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century in ending in -κλέης, not in -κλής. -κλής is the older form upon the stone records of Attika. The genitive of proper names, whose second component part is an *iola* stem, ends in -ιδος, not in -ιος. Herein too Western Ionic is in agreement with Attic. Whether this group had ττ for σσ of Island Ionic and Asiatic Ionic, is doubtful (§ 371).

Until we come into possession of documents of an antiquity sufficient to free their phonetical and inflectional system from the suspicion of Atticism, we are not in a position to hold that there are sharply marked differences in speech between the Chalkidians, Eretrians and Styrians. In the present state of our knowledge Eretrian Ionic seems to possess a more distinct individuality than that of Chalkis or Styra. It alone² shows examples of rhotacism, a phenomenon scarcely indigenious in Eretria, though its ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute.

In Eretria it was more usual than in the Chalkidian colonies to substitute -οι and -ει for final -ωι and -ηι. Neither the Ionic of the Kyklades nor that of Asia Minor shows any tendency to permit this substitution, which comes to light in Western Ionic about 400 B.C. Attic influence, at least so far as -ει is concerned, accelerated the change in Ionic, for in Attic we find well-attested cases about 380 B.C. To the same cause are due the instances of ττ for σσ in Eretria and Styra.

When Western Ionic differs from that of the other divisions,

¹ Cf. Kinch, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XVI 187; Meister, *B. P. W.* 1890, p. 672, *Philol.* 1891, p. 607.

² On Κτηρίνος an Eretrian, Styra 19₁₃₃, see § 331.

its preferences are, with the exception of rhotacism, in the direction of forms of Attic complexion¹.

Western Ionic alone in the period of its dialect life under the Ionic aristocracies was barren of literary offspring. The princely houses of Chalkis fostered the cultivation of the epos. It was Hesiod's glory to have gained a prize at a contest instituted at the funeral games of a Chalkidian. But whatever store of artistic capacity the Euboians may have received with their Ionic blood, so long as they remained in their Western home, they devoted it in great part to the manufacture of vases or of arms (Alkaios 15). It was only in the colonies sent out from Chalkis², in Leontini, Himera and Rhegion, the homes of Gorgias, Stesichoros, and Ibykos that Ionic genius, engrafting itself upon Doric, gave birth to a literature which it was not allotted to Euboian Ionic unaided to produce. There are indeed not wanting indications that Attic tragedy stood in closer relations to Stesichoros and Ibykos than to Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides.

Two additional points have been emphasized in some quarters as characteristic of Euboian Ionic: the retention of the original \bar{a} and the preservation of f . In § 157 the cases of \bar{a} in the Ionic of Styra are submitted to an examination. There is no proof that any quarter of Ionic in a period of dialect autonomy has adopted the Attic \bar{a} . The Chalkidian vases with their inconsequent treatment of the dialects (*Xόρα* C. I. G. 7459, *Ναῖς* 7460, *Γαρυφόνης* 7582, &c.) are on a plane herein with some of Campanian origin. The digamma in *Ἰῶ*, *Ἰφαρτίης*, and *Γαρυφόνης* is due to the possible mixture of nationalities in Chalkis, as has been shown by Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXIX 390. *Φουκέων* and *Φοι* in the inscription from Rhegion (Bechtel 5=Rob. I 180) may be ascribed to Doric influence (cf. *Thuk.* VI 5), since two idioms have contributed their quota to the document in question.

6.] **Ionic of the Kyklades.** In the group consisting of Naxos and Keos we observe that the palaeographic distinction, which seems to denote an original difference in the pronunciation of $\eta = \text{IE } \bar{e}$ (written E) and $\eta = \text{IE } \bar{a}$ (written Θ or H , see § 166), was retained a century longer than was the case in the group formed by Delos, Paros, and Siphnos. But since this variation is merely chronological, and since there are no linguistic data known to us justifying a separation of the Kyklades into two sub-dialects, we may regard the dialect of these islands as one.

¹ The encroachment of isolated Attic forms such as *ξένος* Oropos 189, is to be distinguished from the constant displacement of Ionic. *ξένος* occurs in Miletos 1006, perhaps of the fifth century. I have not ventured to constitute the use of $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ a criterion of sub-dialectal differentiation. Asiatic Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades have $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, while Western Ionic has both $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, a juxtaposition that is found in Homer and in Attic. Cf. § 715.

² It may not be inappropriate to notice that Chalkis, preeminently the literary centre of Euboea, was the birthplace of Isaios and of Lykophron.

Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos¹, the Ionic of the Kyklades thus forms the bridge which leads from Western to Eastern Ionic. It has furthermore -κλήης not -κλέης, -ιος not -ιδος (§ 5).

7.] **Eastern Ionic** is characterized chiefly by the early displacement of the rough breathing. The evidence of literature confirms to a considerable extent the testimony of the inscriptions, which speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the *asper* save in compounds. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has -κλήης and -ιος (§ 5). Of less importance is the fact, that of the few Ionic examples of -η for -ηι in the dative all are found on the Asiatic mainland.

8.] **Geographical Divisions of the Ancients.** Among the ancients the traces of a geographical and of a chronological division of Ionic refer almost exclusively to the dialect of the mainland of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands. Euboian Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades, which play an important part in the modern classification of the sub-dialects, are, with the exception of a few isolated and unsupported statements of Lesbos and some scattered notices as to Eretrian rhotacism, &c., excluded from the ancient geographical and the chronological division. From the point of view of literature they failed to excite the attention of the grammarians, whose field of observation rarely extended to an examination of local characteristics, and, if so extended, did not enable the critic to shake off his fearfulness in the face of authority². Even if a strongly marked Nesiotic or Euboian Ionic had existed in his time, the mention of either by Herodotos, in the passage where he discusses the speech of Ionia, would not have been imperative. When Euboea comes within the horizon of Herodotos, it is to show that the Abantes took part in the colonization of Ionia by the Ionians³ (I 146), or to describe the colonies of the Chalkidians and Eretrians (e.g. VIII 46). The Kyklades too are mentioned by Herodotos chiefly with a view to showing that their Ionic colonists came by way of Athens⁴; a theory that was confronted by the imperial power of Athens in the fifth century, with its tendency to dislodge the older legends and to affix to them an Attic

¹ Of the *logographer* Eudemos of Paros nothing has been preserved.

² See § 9, end, *Κάρησος*.

³ Pausanias tells us that a Chian family traced its descent back to the Abantes, under which name the Euboians appear in the *Catalogue of Ships*. The Abantes were Phokians who made Euboea a halting place on the way to Chios. Amphiklos, who led the Hestians from Boiotia, found Abantes in Chios. Strabo has nothing to say of the speech of Euboea except in X 448 (rhotacism).

⁴ Siphnos *Hdt.* VIII 48, Keos VIII 46, Naxos *ibid.*

colouring (Hdt. VII 95, IX 106, Thuk. I 12, 4, Isokr. *Pan.* 43, 44, Marm. Par. 27, &c.).

9.] Mention is made of local divisions of Ionic in the following passages:

(1) *Western Ionic*. Thuk. VI 5, of the dialect of Himera: καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη. Lesbos (An. Ox. IV 270 ff.): οἱ Εὐβοεῖς τοῖς θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ συνάπτουσιν ἐπίθετα· οἶον 'άλος πολιόιο.' ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς οὐδετέροις ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ ἐπίθετα, καὶ μετοχὰς ἀρσενικάς τε καὶ θηλυκάς· οἶον, κόριον καλ(λ)ίστη, μεράκιον λέγων.

Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς συντασσόμενοις δοτικαῖς αἰτιατικὰς πρότερον ἐπιφέροντες τὰς δοτικὰς συνάπτουσιν· οἶον, Διοτίσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς· 'Μυρίνην τὴν Ἀμαζονίδα περιβλεψάμενος, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀμαζονίδας μετακαλέσασθαι.'

Χαλκιδεῖς· τὰ ὀριστικὰ τῶν ῥημάτων εἰς μετοχὴν ἀναλύουσι καὶ ὑπαρκτικὸν ῥήμα, λέγων εἰμί.

Whether the statement: Κυμαίων, τὸ τοῖς ἐνικοῖς ὀνόμασι πληθυντικὰς ἐπάγειν ἐπιφορὰς· οἶον, ἡ πύλη ἐκλε(εῖ)ύθησαν· ἀντιστηματικά γὰρ ὄντα πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὡς ἔφασαν ἢ πληθύς, refers to the Ionic Kymaians is doubtful.

On the ancient witnesses to *rhotacism* in Eretrian, see §§ 331, 332.

An. Bachm. II 200₃₁ (on Lykophr. *Her.* 21): αἱ γὰρ αὐταὶ ἀπεχώρισον. ἔλθον—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπέτρεχον—εὐβοϊκὴ ἢ αἰάλεκτος· (in the margin *βοιωτικὸν ἔστι τὸ ἐσχάζουσαν*)¹.

(2) *Island Ionic*. Whether Lesbosax' remark (An. Ox. IV 270), that the islanders used the genitive instead of the dative (πλοῖσιος ἢ χροισοῦ), has any special reference to the Ionians of the *Kyklaides* is entirely uncertain.

(3) *Eastern Ionic*. The locus classicus is Hdt. I 142: γλῶσσας δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι [οἱ Ἴωνες] νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων.

1. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὐταὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηταὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ διαλεγόμενοι σφίσι,

2. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῆσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι.

ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραί.

¹ Cf. Tzetz. on Lykophr. 252, Aristophanes in Eust. 1761₂₃. For Χαλκιδαικῆς in An. Bachm. II 40₁₀, read Χαλκιδικῆς. In Bekk. An. III 1294, these forms are called Chalkedonian (cf. An. Ox. IV 182₁₀), doubtless through confusion with Chalkidian, because, on one view, Chalkedon was settled by Chalkidians. These -σαν forms may have been borrowed from Boiotia.

3. Χῖοι μὲν γινῆ καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ διαλέγονται.

4. Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μῦθοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

Constantin. Porphyr. *de Themal.* p. 42 makes the colourless statement: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μιλήτου μέχρι τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῆς Σμύρνης, καὶ Κολοφῶνος, Ἰώνων ἐστὶ κατοικία, οἵτινες τῇ τῶν Ἰώνων διαλέκτῳ χρῶνται. Then he says that from Kolophon to Klazomenai and on the opposite island of Chios we have Aiolic. Our inscriptions have no trace of Aiolism save in Chios. The dialect of the Ephesians is referred to An. Ox. I 19₁₉ on ἄφαρ: καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἄφαρὲ λέγουσιν, τὸ εὐθέως καὶ ἀσκόπως ποιεῖν τι, ἢ φθέγγεσθαι; I 447₁₈ τὸ σκύβαλον σκύβωλον τῆς Ἐφεσίου (-ων?) διαλέκτου. Schol. on Tzetz. *Chiliad.* 642 in An. Ox. III 375₂₅: Βύκκων δὲ ὁ βρύχων, ἦτοι ὁ ὄνος, παρά τε Αὐδοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον Ἴωσι λέγεται. βίλλος Hdn. I 158₁; on ἐσσήρ, see § 25, note. The remark of the Gramm. Leidensis § 8: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ' is the only trace of acquaintance with the quadrilateral division of Herodotos preserved in any Greek dialectologist.

Lesbonax (An. Ox. IV 270, ff.) Κλαζομενεῖς τὸ πορεύομαι εἰς ἀγῶνα, πορεύομαι σὺν ἀγῶνι φασί.

Κολοφώνιον ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχον τὴν δοτικὴν ἀντὶ γενικῆς¹. οἶον, τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

Πειρινθικόν ἐστὶν τὸ τῇ αἰτιατικῇ ἐπιφέρειν εὐθείαν. . . .

Ἰώνων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρίας, τὸ τὰ χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης δηλωτικὰ ῥήματα γενικῇ συντάττειν ἀντὶ δοτικῆς. οἶον, χαίρω τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ προσηγορικῷ ὀνόματι ἄρθρα τιθέναι. οἶον, τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον. τὸ τιθέναι τοῖς ῥήμασι περι-τ(τ)εύουσαν τὴν ἔχον μετοχὴν. οἶον, σπεύδεις ἔχων.

The Schol. Ven. A on M 20 says Τυραννίων ὀξύνει τὸ Κάρηος ὡς Παρνασός. οὕτως γὰρ ὑπὸ Κυζικηνῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει ὡς Κάνωβος. εἶπομεν δὲ ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἐπικρατεῖ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων χρῆσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὅποτε περὶ τοῦ Γλισᾶντα (B 504) διελάβομεν, εἶγε Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους συντέλλειν τὸ ἰ καὶ μὴ περισπᾶν τό τε Λύκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ ὀξύνεσθαι, ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων βαρυντόνως (B 647). The δημόται at Miletos bore the name γέρρηθες, according to Eust. 1433₄₂; ζῆτρειον was a Chian and Achaian word, Et. M. 411₃₃. On Chian υ for ε, see § 155.

Sub-Dialects of Eastern Ionic.

10.] If we apply the criteria of phonology and inflection to the Ionic of the Twelve Cities in the endeavour to test the accuracy

¹ Such observations of the dialectal use of cases occur elsewhere, e.g. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 794, cf. Schol. Ven. A on η 58.

of Herodotos' quadrilateral division, we find that the following inscriptional forms have been held to constitute possible mint-marks of the four sub-dialects.

11.] **The Ionic of Miletos.** 1. *ιέρω* Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A₃₃,
33, 50 = Bechtel 128 (third or second century), Tomoi in Arch.-
epigr. Mitth. VI 8, no. 14. has been taken as a gen. of *ιερής*, also
the Arkado-Kyprian form of *ιερεύς*. *ιέρω* is, on this view, from
**ιερῆο*. To the gen. *ιέρω* in the dialect of a colony of Miletos
we have the nominative *ιέρως* in Miletos itself (Bechtel 100₄).
Another explanation of the form *ιέρως* (*sic*) has been put forward
by Dittenberger (*Syll.* no. 376), who maintains that in the same
manner as *ἡμιέκτεων* is derived from *έκτεύς*, so is *ἀρχιέρως* derived
from *ιερεύς*; and that from *ἀρχιέρως* the nom. *ιέρως* could be
abstracted. Cf. § 477.

2. *λάφεται* Miletos 100₄, and *κατελάφθη* 113₇ in Zeleia which
in all probability was settled by Milesians. Cf. § 130.

3. *ῶρη* (not *ῶρή*) Miletos 100_{2, 5, 6} has been held to stand for
οῦρή. Cf. Merry and Schol. H. Q. on *ἄωροι* μ 89: *Ἀρίσταρχος*
ἀκόλους· τοὺς γὰρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασὶ τὴν κωλῆν ῶρην καὶ ὠραίαν¹.
It is noteworthy that in no. 100 we have *κωλῆν* l. 4. The
comparison of *ῶρη* with *οῦρή*, upon which this peculiarity of the
Milesian has been based, is defective. *οῦρή* is derived from *ὄρσ-*
(O. H. G. *ars*), while *ῶρη* = *ῶρη* is probably to be connected with
Lat. *sūra* (so Bechtel). A Milesian *ω* for *ov* of the other sub-
dialects is at least not proven.

4. *ἀτε[λ]εῖην* Kyzikos 108 B₃, an exceedingly corrupt archaistic
inscription, scarcely older than the first century B.C., represents
an unsuccessful attempt at reviving the older document 108 A;
and is hence worthless as a source of information concerning
sub-dialectal differentiations. Though we have elsewhere no
trace of *ἀτελείη* save in Hdt., all the inscriptions, even Eryth.
199_ε (after 394 B.C.), having the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, there is no
reason for assuming that the idiom of Miletos or any other
quarter of Ionic territory had originally rejected the Ionic ending
in this word.

5. *βησιλέως*, quoted by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto*
p. 18) from a Milesian inscription edited by Rayet in the *Revue*
Arch. XXVIII 109, and proclaimed as a peculiarity of Karian
Ionic, is nullified by *βασιλεύς* Mil. 100₇. *βησιλέως* is indefensible,
and nothing more than an orthographical slip, the stone having
BHBIAEΩΣ.

12.] **Lydian Ionic** (Ephesos, &c.). The absence of inscriptional
testimony of the fifth century from other portions of the territory

¹ See also Eustath. 1715₂₅.

of the Twelve Cities renders valueless the claim that in *δινάμει*, Teos 156 B 31, we have an instance of an inflectional peculiarity of 'Lydian' Ionic. See § 488. The dialect of Teos alone supports a form *δέχομαι* (156 B 20, also in Amphipolis, where it may be Attic). The unaspirated form is known to us solely from the literary monuments. On *ἐσσήν*, an Ephesian title, see § 25, note.

13.] **The Ionic of Chios-Erythrai.** 1. On the basis of *Δεοῦς*, Maroneia 196, 1, and *Δεοῦδος*, Eryth. 198, the claim has been set up that this sub-dialect has *ε* for *ι* in this name. We have however *Δεῦνσος* in Anakr. 2₁₁ 11 and ΔΕΟ, probably for *Δεοῦσᾶδος*, in Abdera 163, 1, a colony of Teos. This argument is as baseless as would be the contention that, on account of *Διειύσαι*, Amorgos 31, Island Ionic had *ε* for *ο*.

2. Gen. in *-εῦ* in the \hat{A} declension, *Ἀρ]χηγέτευ* Eryth. 201, narrow side l. 6, dating from the fourth century. Other examples, Eryth. 206 A 33, B 9, C 35, are to be placed in the first quarter of the following century. This form is however not confined to Chios-Erythrai, since we have *Πυθεῦ* Smyrna 153₂₅.

3. Gen. in *-ω* in the \hat{A} decl. (*Ἀνικῶ* 174 C 13, *Ἀσίω* C 27, *Πυθῶ* D 4, *Λυσῶ* D 17). But in Chios we have also *-εω*, and the *-ω* forms recur in Halik. e.g. 240 A 38, B 3, and, when *iota* precedes, also in Abdera 163, 16.

4. *πάλεως* Chios 174 A 13, B 12, a form found also in Xenophanes 2₉, 22. Cf. § 485.

5. *πρήχμα* Chios 174 B 17-18. But the variant *μυριχμένας* Archil. 30 (in *B*) cannot belong to a Chian sub-dialect. Cf. also *ἐσμυριγμέναι* *μυμυρισμένοι* in Hesychios.

6. *ἀνγρίθεντοι* Chios 174 B 25-26, whereas *ἀνερίθεντος* is the usual form (cf. C. I. G. 2671₄₅, 2693 D 5). The absence of the word from any other quarter of the Ionic of the mainland forbids any argument on the question.

7. *ἐσλής* Chios 175₁ (epigr.) may well be a form known to other quarters of the mainland. The absence of the *θ* is attested in Arkesine 35, and in Aiolie and Doric. There is no reason for holding it to be one of the Aiolisms of Chian Ionic.

8. Subjunctives in *-ει* instead of *-ηι*: *ποιήσει* Chios 174 A 12. The same proto-Hellenic termination comes to light in Teos and Ephesos.

9. Subjunctives in *-ωισι* (*λάβωισι* Chios 174 B 16-17) and in *-οισι* (*πρήξοισι* 174 A 16-17, 20) are found in Chios alone. Since, however, they are alien to the character of Ionic they must be regarded as adventitious Aiolisms.

10. The genitives of the numerals; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14, *τεσσε[ερα]ε[δ]ντων* 174 C 16, *πεντηκόντων* 174 D 8, *ἐνενηκόντων* C 26. These genitives are, like the subjunctives in *-ωισι* and

-οισι, Aiolic loan-forms and not merely local variations of normal Ionic.

See also below § 17, for points of contact between Chios and Erythrai.

14.] **The Ionic of Samos.** *δημιουργός* for *δημιουργός* 220₂₉. Cf. *ἀλογγῆ* 220₁₆ and other forms § 297 III A, where it is shown that one and the same dialect may possess both *δημιουργός* and *δημιουργός*. Other divisions of the Ionic of the mainland may thus have had the -οργός forms.

Πρωληῆι or *Πρωρηῆι*, Samos 212, is the only example of -ηι from an ηυ stem upon Ionic soil.

15.] **Testimony of literature as to the existence of sub-dialects in Ionia.** If we question the Ionic literature of the Asiatic mainland, the fragments of Kallinos and Hipponax of Ephesos, of Xenophanes and Mimneros of Kolophon, and the remains of the prose writers whose birthplace was Miletos, we discover no trace whatsoever pointing to a differentiation in phonology and in inflection between the sub-divisions of Ionic territory. Ionic literature, at least in its extant condition, refuses to own the influence, save in the scantiest measure, of local form and pressure. Hipponax must have reckoned upon an ephemeral effect. In him we might think to find indications of Lydian phonology and inflection as well as words picked from the slums of Ephesos or Klazomenai¹. Yet his Billingsgate is inflected after the most orthodox Ionic fashion.

The dominance of Ionic in the literary world of Hellas must at an early date have proved an insuperable bar to the admission into literature of word-forms not in accordance with the canons of a catholic taste. Had the epos pressed with less weight upon the development of Ionic lyric genius; had Ionia been the home of a spontaneous and individual melic poetry unaffected by the advent of Attic tragedy; and had Ionia been spared the fall of Miletos with the ultimate stagnation of its political and literary aspirations attendant upon that disaster, then and then only might we with reason have indulged the hope of discovering in the monuments of Ionic literature some of those mint-marks of sub-dialectal differentiation which can scarcely have failed to exist in that long stretch of territory, extending from the Aiolis to the Karpathian Sea, which had fallen under Ionic sway.

16.] It is then to the inscriptions as a court of last appeal that we must turn in the endeavour to test the accuracy of the

¹ The diction of Hipponax excited the attention of the grammarians only less instantly than did that of Herodotos. Cf. Herodian II 282₇ = Et. M. 204₂₈, *βόλιτον βόλιτον δὲ Ἴωνες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰππῶνας*, and see Stephan *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*, p. 23. On Lydian vocables in Hipponax see § 44.

Herodoteian, or of any other, system of sub-division. Owing to the paucity of material at command, the evidence of the very few phenomena, which seem to point in the direction of sub-dialectal differences, is vitiated by the fact that it largely rests upon the argument from silence. By far the larger portion of the stone records represent, not the easy flow of the dialect of the people in its unconstrained simplicity, but an official Ionic, which, though perhaps not as formal as the decrees of some non-Ionic states, is nevertheless impatient of the *lingua rustica*. The fate of Ionia in ancient and mediæval times, its exposure to the political influence of Persia on the one hand, and, on the other, to the sway in the domain of language exercised by Athens, have alike contributed to the uprooting of the idiom of the soil. Of all the phonetic and inflectional phenomena presented above there are but few which are sufficiently characteristic to deserve the dignity of being accounted criteria of sub-dialectal difference.

These are the forms of Aiolic texture in Chios, and certain peculiarities of the dialect of Miletos. Is this scanty evidence corroborated by other testimony?

17.] **Dialect of Chios-Erythrai.** The only possible ground for admitting the existence of a sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai is the presence of Aiolism. In § 13 we have seen that the subjunctive terminations *-οισι(v)* and *-οισι(v)*, and the genitives of the numerals 10, 40, 50, 90 have been enfranchised in Chian Ionic. Other traces of Aiolism are as follows. The name of the highest mountain in Chios is *Πελινναῖον*, though Meineke in Strabo XIV 645 edits *Πελινναῖον*. That the form with the geminated nasal is correct is evident from *Πέλινα*, name of a city in Hestiaiôtis (*Catalogue Brit. Mus. Coins, Thessaly*, 38). *Βόλισσος*, name of a city on the west coast of Chios mentioned by Thuk. VIII 24, 3, was by some regarded as Aiolic. See Steph. Byz.

All these Aiolisms are Chian. In Erythrai we have the epic and Aiolic *ἀργεινόν* in *Ἄργεινον* mentioned by Strabo XIV 645 (*ἄκρα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*). The geographical extension of this name of a promontory is seen by its occurrence in the Troad, Lesbos, and Sicily. *Ἀργεινοῦσαι* is supported by a good MS. Thuk. VIII 101, 2. An *ἀργεινός* appears never to have come into vogue.

From the point of view of phonology the links between Chian and Erythraian Ionic are exceedingly weak. Names of places, unless bearing the distinct impress of a dialect and agreement in vocabulary or in cult, prove but little in the case of contiguous localities. With *Καύκασα*, name of a harbour of Chios, *Καυκασι[α]* upon a recently discovered Chian inscription

(*Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1889, p. 1195), we may compare Apollo *Καυκασεύς* and Artemis *Καυκασίς*, Eryth. 206 A 19. *Κοῖλα* appears to have been a locality in both Chios and Erythrai (*Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Κοίλοις* 206 B 29). Dittenberger has suggested (*Jenaer Litt.-Zeit.* 1877, p. 569) that the *χέλληστος* à *Ἐρυθραίων* C. I. G. 2168 B = C. D. I. 278 may point to a closer connection between Aiolic and Chio-Erythraian. Both the dialect of Chios (183 A 46) and that of Erythrai (201₂₇) have retained the old word *οἶη* *village*¹, one of those hidden treasures which are continually forcing their way upwards in the bosom of the earth in order to reach the light, and whose possession by any one sub-dialect can never be proven. To the joint possession of this word by the dialects of Chios and Erythrai a fictitious importance may easily be attached. *ᾄδος* was known solely through a passage in Hipponax and an Hesychian gloss, until it appeared in an inscription from Halikarnassos.

Until there are discovered prose monuments of the Ionic of Erythrai equalling in antiquity the Chian document no. 174, which dates back to the fifth century, we must remain in ignorance as to whether the bond which united Chian and Erythraian according to Herodotos was or was not the presence of an Aiolic element. *πεντήκοντα* and *τριήκοντα*, each in combination with a genitive, in Eryth. 202_{16, 17} dating from about 350 B.C., do not disprove the existence of an Aiolic ingredient in Erythraian.

Roehl (I. G. A. no. 381) noticed that *λάβωσιν* and *πρήξοισιν* were not Ionic; Schulze, *Hermes* XX 393, regarded as a matter of chance the agreement between *λάβωσιν* and Aiolic forms in *-ωσιν*. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 110, remarked that Chios, so far from being originally Ionic, was Ionized only at a tolerably late period. He might have noticed the observation of Pausanias VII 4, 10: οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε (Ion of Chios) καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας. Though a colony of the Abantes of Euboeia (see above § 8), Chios must have contained both Aioliens and Ionians, and have become definitively Ionic under the pressure exercised by Miletos and the Panionion. It is incorrect to imagine that Chios was first Aiolic, then Ionic. The dialect must have been mixed at a very early period.

18.] **Dialect of Miletos.** Upon such a weak foundation as the possession of *ἰέρεως*, gen. *ἰέρεω* and *λάφεται, κατελάφθη* it is futile to erect a Milesian dialect. And yet this is the sole evidence to be extracted from the inscriptions. *ἰέρεως* was Attic as we learn from the scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. An. p. 1197, and if Attic, why not Samian as well as Milesian?

¹ Cf. *οἰατῶν κωμητῶν. οἶαι γὰρ αἱ κῶμαι* Hesych., Hdn. I 302. Cf. Attic Ὀα, Ὀα, an Attic deme of the tribe of Pandionis; Ὀη (Οἰήθεν), a deme of Oineis. See KYPRIAN § 38.

The mere fact that Herodotos has traces of the theme λαβ where we should expect λαμβ (but cf. § 130), possibly of *ιέρως* for *ιερεύς* or *ιρεύς* (§ 477), or that *δασέα* is Milesian (§ 167), cannot lead to the belief that the diction of a native of Halikarnassos was Milesian. That the language of Herodotos should have been the Ionic of his native city, which early in the fifth century abandoned Doric for Ionic, at least in its state-documents, or that it should have been Samian Ionic, was impossible in view of the overshadowing influence of Miletos. If any sub-dialect was elevated by the early prose writers to a position of supremacy in literature, a Tuscan amid less polished idioms, there can be no question that it was that of Miletos.

The influence of Miletos upon the pan-Ionic *πανήγυρις* established the orthodox creed that none should be regarded as genuine Ionians save those who accepted Kodrids as their oikists. Phokaia had to purchase admission to the Ionic league at the price of Kodrid rule. At Miletos were born Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Kadmos, Dionysios and Hekataios. Pherekydes came from the neighbouring Leros. Prokonnessos, the home of Bion and Deiochos, and Lampsakos, whence came Charon, were both colonies of Miletos. Phokylides has the Milesians in mind when he says:—

πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες,
σὺν κόσμῳ στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἔοιτες.

Demodokos levels his blow at them:—

Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν
οὐκ εἰσί, δρῶσιν δ' οἷά περ ἀξύνετοι.

Anakreon wrote before the Ionic Revolt:—

πάλαι κοτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

In the struggle of the two¹ Ionic alphabets for mastery that of Miletos gained the day as early as the sixth century, and spread in course of time over all Ionia. The so-called 'Ionic' alphabet is in reality the alphabet of the chief city of Ionia. In the field of numismatics we find that the electrum staters of the Milesian standard were in vogue in the sixth century among Ionians not connected with Miletos by colonial ties².

¹ See Hirschfeld *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV p. 467, who supposes the two groups to have been developed by the eighth century and that Ω was added by the Milesians by the seventh century at the latest.

² To the later Greeks Miletos was naturally the centre of Ionic civilization. Herakleides Pontikos calls the Milesians the representatives of the Ionic race. In discussing the question of colonization and the transference of the mother dialect to the colony, Miletos is the example chosen by the grammarians to represent Ionic. See An. Ox. IV 423₅ = Choirob. 75₁₅, and also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 1075.

The origin of an artistic vehicle of expression in Ionia must be sought in a territory, whose political supremacy and whose position as the rallying point of intellectual activity rendered it capable of becoming the dictator in the development of a literary dialect. The idiom of this locality, freeing itself, as the representative of the national culture, from the bondage of the less polished local usages, might well in time become the organ of the new prose literature. No city of Ionia can advance so cogent a claim to be regarded as the starting-point and home of this new literature as Miletos. The dialect of its cultured classes was as essential a foundation for the literary dialect of Ionia as was that of the cultured Athenians for the literary dialect of Attika.

While it is tolerably certain therefore that the language of the early logographers, more local in tone than that of Herodotos, was the idiom of their native city, it may not be a baseless theory to hold that the story of the downfall of Ionia was told by Herodotos in the dialect of a city which was as much the eye of Ionia as Athens was of Greece. If we find in the development of Greek literature the operation of a law of Hellenic art, whereby the language of the original home left its impress upon any species of artistic composition, we shall be loath to deny that Herodotos may have followed in the main the norm established by his predecessors.

19.] Whatever probability may be attached on literary grounds to the *a priori* assumption that of the four sub-dialects mentioned by Herodotos, one at least—that of Miletos—actually existed, it is idle to disguise the fact that it is impossible to prove Herodotos or his predecessors to have made use of that variety; or to demonstrate its existence on the lines of difference in phonetics and in inflection. With the materials at present under our control, we are unable to cherish the hope of showing that there existed any clearly stamped sub-dialectal differences in the traditional quarters of Ionic. In the case of Chios only we have found that there is a stratum of Aiolic forms of sufficient authority to warrant our setting apart Chian Ionic as provided with the requisites of sub-dialectal differentiation. Erythraian Ionic, so far as we know its structure at the present day, presents too little Aiolic colouring to admit of being classed in the same category as Chian.

20.] Now if Herodotos' quadrilateral division is based upon the modern assumption that the only satisfactory tests of dialect colouring are yielded by phonology and by schemes of inflection, the historian would seem to err when he says that the language of Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia

is 'totally different' from that of Miletos, Myus and Priene. If we grant that the evidence might be increased by later discoveries, we are nevertheless at present in possession of data sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there was no radical difference, at least in the inflections, between the Ionic of Lydia and that of Karia. The inflections in the monuments discovered outside of the territory embraced by the Ionic Dodekapolis cannot be said to vary in any essential feature from those current among the original Ionic cities. Literary and inscriptional monuments unite in proclaiming the fact that Ionic does not offer such marks of dialect differentiation as meet us in the investigation of other dialects, both those of wider and those of narrower geographical extension.

21.] But does the delimitation of Herodotos rest upon the modern conception that phonology and inflection determine dialect character? His system of division would assume a totally different complexion, and at the same time lose much of its apparent value, if he held that differences in vocabulary constituted criteria of sub-dialectal differentiation, and that the presence of sporadic loan-words from contiguous speech-centres gave to a dialect its peculiar colour. On this view, which is held to have been that of the historian by such eminent dialectologists as Kirchhoff and Bechtel, Herodotos' second *τρόπος* would be an Ionic interfused with Lydian, such as Hipponax' *βεβήσις* and *καρίσκη*¹. The Ionic of Miletos, Priene, &c., would then contain an admixture of Karian words², and the Ionic of Chios-Erythrai be interpenetrated with Aiolisms; while the dialect of Samos alone would represent uncontaminated Ionism³.

Apart from the intrinsic probability or improbability of the view that Herodotos' theory of the nature of dialect differences was different from that now in vogue, we know of no Karian word (not a proper name) adopted either by the Milesian folk-dialect or by literature. If, as seems probable, Karian belongs to the Indo-European family, there is no trace in any Ionic word of the adoption of a Karian deaspiration of I. E. *gh*, *dh*, and *bh*, a deaspiration which Karian seems to possess in common with

¹ The ancient grammarians rarely cite Lydian words or Lydian usage of Hellenic words. Cf. Eust. 1082₃₁ (*ἀγνεῶν* = *πορνεῖον*) and §§ 9, 44.

² Karian was not an ill-sounding language according to Strabo (XIV 662), who cites Philip, author of *Καριὰ*, to the effect that it adopted many Hellenic words.

³ No coincidences between the language of Hdt. and that of Samos (*c. g.* *ἰσπερὶαι* Hdt. V §3, Sam. *ἰσπεργά* 220₂) suffice to rehabilitate Giese's view, exploded half a century ago, that the New Ionic of the historian was that of Samos. It is noteworthy, however, that Giese defended the proposition that the Ionic of Samos was 'less mixed' than that of Lydia. (*Der aiolische Dialekt* pp. 152, 153).

Balto-Slavonic; nor do any of the phenomena which indicate that Lydian followed a different path from that followed by Hellenic in its treatment of I. E. sounds occur in Ionic.

22.] The rhetoricians and dialectologists of antiquity did not, it is true, draw with sufficient precision the line between vocabulary and style on the one hand, and phonetics and inflection on the other, as dialectal standards. The rhetoricians, especially Hermogenes, believed that the *ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων* was the chief standard to be applied in the criticism of the dialect of the Ionic prose writers. The ancient conception of *ποικιλία*, of the difference between 'pure' and 'mixed' Ionic, and in part the confusion between *Ἰωνικῶς* and *ποικητικῶς*, have their root in the belief that vocabulary and style are the mint-marks of a dialect¹.

Under the influence of sources in which the theories of the rhetoricians are visible, Gregory of Corinth is not infrequently led into quoting a word as Ionic, not because of its Ionic complexion, but because of its occurrence in an Ionic author (cf. § 79 ff. and above § 3). But if the grammarians of greater calibre, and in the main even such *magistri* as Gregory, do not lose sight of the fact that phonetic and inflectional changes are the essential points to be held in view, it must give us pause before we assume that Herodotos, whose brain was not befogged by the canons of the rhetoricians, should have been completely in the dark. The merest boor, who says of a visitor from another dialect district that he does not speak 'correctly,' refers, not to the choice of words, but to the variations in sound and inflection which stamp the stranger as less cultivated in his estimation. Herodotos' elder contemporary Aischylos saw clearly enough what constituted dialect speech. In the Choeph. v. 56; Orestes says:—

ἄμφω δὲ φωνὴν ἴσομεν Παρηησίδα
γλώσσης αὐτῆν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.

And yet in the face, not only of the evidence of literature and inscriptions, but also of the distinct statement of Herodotos as to the complete difference in character between the speech of Miletos and that of Ephesos, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that the presence of Karian and of Lydian words affixed to two of the *τρόποι* their distinctive character. It may not, however, be over-bold to maintain that, inasmuch as the exact

¹ The preeminent position occupied by vocabulary in the rhetorical studies of the Hadrianic age is evident from the attitude of Lukian in his critical remarks on Thukydides. See below, § 25, note, for examples of the study of Ionic vocabulary.

scale of pronunciation¹ current in different quarters of Ionia is involved in obscurity; inasmuch as the laws of contraction and crasis are treated with a freedom sufficient to yield varying results: inasmuch as our inscriptional material presents not a single instance of the occurrence of $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ and congeners, of κ for π in $\kappa\hat{\omega}\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, &c.—distinctive features separating Ionic from all other dialects—and since we are confronted, even in the few epigraphical documents at present known, with isolated phenomena whose wider extension cannot be disproved; it may not, I say, be over-bold to assume that some of these matters played a part in the system of sub-dialect division which has been handed down to us by an Ionian. The student of the Greek dialects has always to bear in mind the fact, too often neglected, that contemporaneous evidence is of a peculiar value. Its conclusions may be based upon shadings of vowel and consonantal sound too elusive to warrant graphical representation. Nor can it be emphasized too strongly that the different sections of Greece assumed very different attitudes towards the graphical representation of the sounds of their dialects. In those dialects which had developed a literature at a very early period we find a thorough-going objection to phonetic spelling; while in others, subject to the control of scarcely any literary monuments (as Boiotian), or none at all (as Eleian or Arkadian), we find, even in the official documents, the widest divergence from the form adopted by the language elsewhere. If the dialectologist of future generations, endeavouring to establish dialectal divisions of the speech of England or America, or seeking to mark the differences between English and American, or German and Austrian, or Swiss pronunciation, had a material as limited as the Ionic material in our possession, could he by any possibility succeed in his attempt? The Herodoteian quadrilateral division, if it deserves any recognition at the hands of modern dialectologists, must be regarded as a division based upon observation of the distribution of phonetical and inflectional phenomena. If it is false, we are for the present at least unable to demonstrate the existence of any other.

Bechtel has suggested² that augmented inscriptional material may ultimately enable us to dispose the sub-dialects of Ionia as follows:—(1) *South Ionic* (Miletos, Ephesos³, Samos), free from the admixture of any Hellenic dialect. (2) *North Ionic* (Chios), with Aiolic ingredients. (3) *Halikarnassian*

¹ That the pronunciation of $\sigma\sigma$, for example, was not uniform, may be inferred from the $\tau = \sigma\sigma$ in Halikarnassos (238₂), Mesembria (Rob. I, § 75), Teos (? Bechtel 156 B 23), and the inter-relation between $\sigma\sigma$ and $\tau\tau$ in the allied Attic dialect.

² *Die Inschriften d. ion. Dial.* p. vii.

³ The Aiolic $\tau\rho\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$ in Hipponax 51 is a puzzle if the speech of Ephesos is pure Ionic.

Ionic, with Doric ingredients. Without further evidence, so tentative a scheme, though plausible in itself, can scarcely be adopted. As yet we have no inscription that might represent the third division¹.

Chronological Divisions of Ionic.

23.] The actual life of the Ionic dialect begins in its earliest ascertainable form with the Homeric epos and ends languidly in the second² or third century after Christ, though its artificial life was prolonged by the canons of literary tradition to a period considerably later. The retention of that *η* which is specifically Ionic, the genitive in *-ιος* from stems in *iota*, and the non-contraction, at least in writing, of some forms of the adjectives of material in *-εος*, were the most carefully guarded heirlooms of the dialect. Their preservation in inscriptions in the latest period of its existence is due solely to the conservatism of the lapidary style.

From about the middle of the fourth century before Christ the history of Ionic is a history of the gradual displacement of the dialect due to the vigour of its rival Attic. (In the fourth century Aiolic could scarcely hold its own against the intruder which was sapping the strength of Ionic, and in the preceding century the name Aiolian is merged in that of Ionian in the public documents of Athens.) Though in the detailed examination of the dialect care will be taken to delineate its history as a living idiom, from the time it first encountered the strong hand of Attic till its final extinction, our interest in the life of the dialect is necessarily centered in the period when it was a controlling force in the development of Greek literature. Ionic was the dialect of the literary world³ from at least the eighth century until it was dislodged from its commanding position by the dialect of Athens. Ionic was in all probability the official medium of communication adopted by the semi-Hellenic world of Makedonia and by the barbarian courts of Persia and Egypt⁴. By the end of the fourth century

¹ Ἀλικαρνατ(εω)ν Becht. Halik. 238₂ = Rob. 145₂ is the only possible trace, and that in a proper name, of Doric *ā*. The same inscription has Ἀλικαρνησσόν l. 41. In a Vienna papyrus (*Philologus* XLI 746 ff.) of the fourth century B.C. we find (l. 3) ταύροσαντο(ῦ), which suggests the possibility of the writer being a Dorian from Halikarnassos (cf. Ἀρτεμισίη in l. 1). Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXX 572 suggests that Herodotos' ἔμπωτις is a loan form from Doric. Cf. § 715.

² Lukian, however (XXXIX 15), says of the language of a woman from Smyrna that it was καθαρῶς Ἰωνικόν. Cf. XIV 13-15, XXI 1, XXV 16 (Tauch.), and Lobeck *Aglaoph.* II 997 ff., Tatian *adv. Graec.* p. 161.

³ The Ionisms of the supposititious letters of Pittakos indicate the belief of the ancients that Ionic was the literary language before Attic.

⁴ Cf. the spurious letters of Artaxerxes and Amasis.

Attic had become the language of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater in their state letters (Cauer no. 430). Until the rise of Attic, every creative effort of Greek thought, save the Doric choral ode and the Aiolic love and drinking song, found expression in a dialect that was largely, if not wholly, Ionic. The earlier Aiolic epos lost its outlines as it merged into the Ionic poem under the hands of the bards, whose evanescent personalities unite under the name of Homer; the elegy, conscious of its source, did not disclaim its Ionic origin under the hands of Theognis or other non-Ionians; the lampoon was impatient of the admixture of a non-Ionic element. Ionic was the language of science, philosophy, and history till almost the end of the fifth century. All who would appeal through the medium of prose to be heard in the world of Hellenic culture were compelled to write in Ionic, no matter whether their native city was Kos, Mitylene, Pergamon, Syrakuse or Rhegion. Just so in the early period of Teutonic literature, Hartmann, Wolfram and other poets used the tempered Bavarian dialect though they came from different quarters of Germany. At the period when the power of Ionic was most autocratic, Doric prose was still in swaddling-clothes which it was destined never to effectually cast off, and Attic prose did not exist. But by the time that her alphabet was becoming universally enfranchised throughout Greece, Ionia was effete. When the Renaissance of the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates came with the Hellene-loving Hadrian, Ionic fell into the hands of Kappadokians, Bithynians or Syrians, who adopted it because of the fine archaic flavour it imparted or because it had become the technical vehicle of expression for the medical guild. Native Ionians, caring nothing for the rehabilitation of their mother tongue, wrote in the *κοινή*.

The creation of an idea, even in the narrower sphere of dialect life, is attended by subsequent exhaustion or paralysis. When Ionic developed a prose literature, it had reached the last effort of an energy which for three centuries had been continuously creative. But, as if in compensation for the loss of its dominant position in literature, we find that now the dialect is widening the area of its influence. When the genius of the Ionic people, together with its liberties, was extinguished, and when in its home the dialect was succumbing more and more to the intrusion of Attic, we discover that other dialects are more and more displaying a tendency to adopt forms of Ionic colouring. Notably is this the case in respect of *ει* for *εο* in Doric idioms. In the third century other Ionisms are found in Kos. But the ripple which then scattered memorials of Ionic upon Doric and Aiolic shores, only followed in the wake of that more vigorous wave which carried Attic forms into a position from which they could

not be dislodged by the expiring efforts of dialect life. Ionic contributed a not inconsiderable contingent of forms and also of vocabulary to the *κοινή*. But it is as imprudent to claim that the *κοινή* is nothing more than a vulgar Ionic, carried throughout the world by the Ionians, the greatest of Greek colonists, and afterwards elevated to the rank of an organ of literature¹, as it is ill-advised to give undivided attention to Photios² when he tells us that Ionic was Attic which had lost its ancestral flavour (*τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον*) from contact with barbarians.

24.] The ancient grammarians divided Ionic³, from the point of view of its appearance in literature, into *ἡ ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς* and *ἡ νεωτέρα* or *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰᾶς*. A two-fold division of this nature was generally adopted in antiquity in the case of the other dialects.

ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς connoted in the opinion of the ancients either (1) the dialect of the time of Homer, or (2) that of the period of the Ionian migration eastwards while the colonies were founding under Kodrid rule (Joh. Gram. 242 *Ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς μετέπεσε παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατοικοῦντων παρατροπήν, διέμεινε δὲ ἕως ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων, ὅτε ἐποιήσαντο Ἰῶνες τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ διεσπάρησαν εἰς πλείονας τόπους*, and so with slight verbal changes Greg. Corinth. p. 490). On this second view Old Ionic does not differ from Old Attic; which was the opinion of Strabo VII 333: *τούτων (διαλ.) δ' αὐτῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν Ἰᾶδα τῆ παλαιᾷ Ἀθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φημέν (καὶ γὰρ Ἰῶνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιω οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἰῶνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένη γλώττῃ Ἰᾶδι)*⁴. See below § 71,

¹ Thus Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Verhandl. deutsch. Phil.* 1878, p. 40. The *κοινή* adopted not only words whose use had been confined to Ionic writers, but forms which bear marks of Ionic phonetics, e.g. shifting of aspiration, as *κυθριδίοις* in Clem. Alex., *κυθρογαίλους* in Josephos. Cf. *Ἰαστί* Ἐλληνιστί. Hesych. The expression *Ἰᾶς κοινή*, in which, according to a view of some scholiasts, Theokritos XII and XXII are composed, is unique. It is unknown as a division of Ionic, and has no apparent connection with the relations of Ionic to the *κοινή*. See § 118.

² Photios 640, on *φάρμακος* in contradistinction to Attic *φαρμακός*; *ὑλιον ἢ βάρβαρον ἢ Ἰακόν*, Ail. Dionys. in Eust. 1160₁₆. This theory of Ionic in some form or other reappears from time to time. Salmasius (*De Hellen.* Chap. 7, p. 427) held that Ionians from Attika, corrupted by contact with the *βαρβαροφώνοις*, Karians and Leleges, perverted their ancient speech until it adopted *ἑωντός*, *λόγοισι*, *Πηληιάδew*, *δεσπότεα*, &c. Latterly Hesselmeier has found in Ionic a Pelasgian dialect!

³ Some thought that Ionic was the most ancient of the dialects (Bekk. Anecd. II 786₁₄).

⁴ Cf. Eust. on Il. p. 8, 39. Many of the so-called Atticisms in Homer, according to the grammarians, are to be explained from their point of view of the identity of Old Attic and Old Ionic. Homer was even called a poet *τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἀθίδος*. Ephoros appears to have been the first to set up the identity of the *ἀρχαία Ἀθίς* with the *Ἰᾶς* which is affirmed by Strabo. Ephoros was led to this view, not by linguistic evidence, but by historical conceptions.

where other evidence from antiquity to the same effect is adduced, and the interrelation of Ionic and Old Attic discussed.

As the normal usage of the term *Old Attic* referred to the dialect of a definite period in Athenian literature (cf. for example Dionys. Halik. p. 454₈), so *Old Ionic* was generally applied to the dialect of the Homeric poems in contradistinction to the *νέα Ἰάς*, of which Herodotos was regarded as the foremost representative. So in the case of Doric, ἡ *νέα Δωρίς* was the dialect of Theokritos, ἡ *παλαιὰ Δωρίς* that of Epicharmos and Sophron.

Ionic was never divided by the grammarians into more than two divisions. The three-fold division of Attic, as usually adopted, covers merely the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries (Moiris s.v. *πλυνεῖς, χολάδας*, Ailiios Dionys. *apud* Eust. Od. 1761₅₁). οἱ *παλαιοὶ Ἰῶνες* Hdn. II 603₁₁, 642₁₄ = An. Ox. III 237₂₃, 674₈ = Choir. 209₂₉; οἱ *ἀρχαῖοι Ἰῶνες* Joh. Gr. 242, An. Ox. I 28₂₃, Hdn. II 673₂₉ = Choir. 209₂₁; οἱ *νεώτεροι Ἰῶνες* Hdn. II 265₁₉ = An. Ox. I 366₂₄ = Et. M. 667₁₉ without direct reference to Ionic, Hdn. II 603₁₁, 674_{2,7} = Choir. 209_{24, 29}, An. Ox. I 247₁₀, 366₂₁, Schol. Viet. on Il. XV 421, Eust. 1643₂; οἱ *μεταγενέστεροι Ἰῶνες* Hdn. I 394₂₈, 465₇, II 107₁₈, 642₁₆ = An. Ox. II 237₂₇; ἡ *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς* An. Ox. I 265₆; ἡ *δευτέρα Ἰάς* Hdn. II 344₅ = Schol. Apoll. I 108₂ = Et. M. 821₄₀ not used by Homer; ἡ *νέα τῶν Ἰώνων διάλεκτος* Gram. Aug. § 25; ἡ *ὔστερον Ἰωνικὴ γλῶσσα* Eust. Od. 1714₁₆; ἡ *νεωτέρα Ἰάς* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081; οἱ *νέοι Ἰῶνες* Et. Gud. 99₄₄.

25.] It often happens that forms adduced as the property of the *νέα Ἰάς*, belong neither to it nor to the *ἀρχαία Ἰάς*, so far as the monuments under control permit a conclusion. For example Herodian II 674₄ (= Choir. 209₂₄, cf. Et. Gud. 99₁₁) states that Ἀχιλλεῖος and βασιλεῖος are the property of the *νεώτεροι Ἰῶνες*, as they are, with different accent, the property of Aiolic also. Though the *ει* of Ἀχιλλεῖος may be explained (§ 220) after a fashion different from that adopted by the ancients, the form itself is unattested in any period of Ionic, and perhaps never existed. When Herakleides *apud* Eust. Od. 1643₂ (but cf. Il. 1160₁₆) says that δλίζον for δλίγον was used by the 'younger Ionians,' we should be tempted to indulge the hope that an unusual form not adopted by literature¹ had been preserved, were it not for the fact that the belief was wide-spread that the Ionians substituted ζ for γ, a belief that was supported by such examples as πέφυζα, πεφυζῶς, and φύζω. The Attic δλείζων, the Homeric φύζα and πεφυζότες may have been the source of the confusion.

The preeminent position occupied by the Homeric poems in the study of Ionic by the ancients, overshadowing the approach to a minuter study of the diction of Herodotos, to say nothing of the logographers and Hippokrates, resulted in the belief that the distinction between 'Ionic' and 'poetic' was

¹ See note below.

evanescent¹. To the later generation of grammarians and commentators, 'Ionic' is equated with 'poetic,' while 'poetic' and 'Ionic' become commensurate terms. Not merely is any phonetic or inflectional phenomenon, but also any word, which comes to light in Homer, set down as Ionic, without regard to the possibility of its occurrence, or its actual occurrence, elsewhere. Even in the professed treatises on dialects we find the same perverse attitude. Had Gregory or his chief source Johannes Philoponos rigidly applied his two-fold method of division, by ascribing to Old Ionic that which is Homeric, and attributing to the New Ionic the forms he met with in Herodotos, his procedure had at least merited praise for possessing some method. But 'Ionic' with him covers the entire period from Homer to Herodotos. We are never sure of our bearings unless either the name Homer or Herodotos is actually employed, or the provenance of the form under discussion is known to us. Had Johannes Philoponos been able to place under contribution an investigation into the complexions of Ionic in the iambographers and elegists, we might expect to find that his excerptor had used greater discretion on the side of chronology. In but one instance is the dialect of Homer compared with that of a later Ionic

¹ According to Herodian, Homer used Old Attic, Ionic, and probably Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian and Doric, though the last two dialects are not expressly stated to have contributed to the poet's diction. The recent epic poets were, in his view, untrammelled as to the use of the various dialects. Herodian differentiated *Ionians* and *poets*. The later grammarians did not keep them apart except when they echoed the opinion of Herodian. In the terminology of the later grammarians the *poets* are the epic poets. Herodian applied the word either to all poets, or (more frequently) to the epic and elegiac poets. It is very unusual for Herodian to call a word *poetic* for any other reason than that it has undergone a poetic *πάθος*. Poetic words are not necessarily the same as words *κατὰ διάλεκτον*, though the *πάθη* of each may not be dissimilar. The character of the *πάθος* has usually to determine the question whether a word is *poetic* or *dialectal*. Occasionally, however, it is use which must decide whether forms, whose *πάθη* are due to metre or hiatus, are to be called poetic or dialectal. Often Herodian makes grievous mistakes, e.g. *κεινός* is poetical, not Ionic, because the diphthong is due to the metre, an explanation which was correctly applied in the case of *Οδλυμπος*. Whenever Herodian calls a form poetic or dialectal, his hesitation may be due to a contamination of the views of his predecessors, or because he may actually have been in doubt. See Stephan on Herodian for the working out of these views. Rarely do we meet with an attempt in the later grammarians to differentiate 'Ionic' from 'poetic': *Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί* An. Ox. I 347⁷; II 412²⁶; Choir. 515¹⁰; 517¹⁰; cf. 519⁶; *Ἰωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς* An. Ox. I 395¹; Choir. 513²⁰; 501²⁰; 593¹; 609²⁰; 637⁸; *Ἰωνικῶς καὶ ποιητικῶς* An. Par. III 116¹⁹, cf. 120⁵; Choir. 593⁸; *ποιητικὸν Ἰωνικὸν* Philoponos, Choir. 593⁴; *ποιητικὰ οὐκ Ἰωνικά* An. Ox. I 159²⁰; *οὐκ Ἰωνικὰ ἀλλὰ ποιητικὰ* An. Ox. I 38¹; *Ἰωνικῶς ἔατο καὶ ποιητικῶς ἔλατο* An. Ox. I 174²⁰; *Ἰωνική, κοινή, ποιητική* An. Bachm. II 365²³. Some forms called Ionic are also called as archaisms, Tzetz. Ex. II. 92¹⁵. Extremely rare is such a conjunction as *Ὀμηρος καὶ Ἰωνες*. Max. Plan. in An. Bachm. II 61²⁵, cf. *Ἰωνες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰππῶναξ* Hdn. II 282², cf. II 384¹. Of Amakreon, Pollux III 98 says that he used *ἦσε*. *Ἰων καὶ ποιητῆς ἀνήρ*. The first and second persons of iteratives were used by the poets *κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἰώνων*, Choir. 633²⁴, following Herodian's view.

poet from the point of view of Ionic form. On Ψ 88 ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς, the Schol. Ven. A remarks: αἱ πλείους τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλῃσιν ἐρύσας· καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικότερον. "ἀστραγάλοι δ' Ἐρωτός εἰσιν μαρίαί τε καὶ κυδοίμοι." Ἀνακρέων.

Note on Ionic Vocabulary.

Subjoined is a list of some words called Ionic in the ancient lexica. For others see the *Ἱεροδ. λέξεις*, Joh. Gr. 242. Greg. Kor. § 8. to § 191. Hekataian words. § 87 note. the fragments of the iambographers, especially Hipponax, and above § 9.

ἀγαί = αἰγιαλοί Et. Gud. 4₂₁, cf. Hesych. *s. v.*; ἀνάγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἄγειν Eust. 1839₁₉, cf. 708₃₈, 1507₁₀₃; ἄρπείζον = αἵμασία Eust. 1851₂₅; ἀφαρεί = ταχέως Et. Mag. and Gud.; βόλβιτον = βόλιτον Et. Mag. 204₂₈ (Hipp. 70 A); βρόταχος, see § 147; βρούκος = ἀκρίδιον εἶδος, Ἴωνες Hesychios. βρούκαν is Κυπrian; γάλλος = μητραγέρτης Phot. 183₃₁; γέγγηθες = the δημόται at Miletos, Eust. 1433₃₄; γέρινος *tailor* Eust. 1864₆; Plato has γυρίνος, Nikander γέρννος; δαυλός = (δᾶλός) Schol. Viet. on Il. XV 421, Et. Mag. 246₇; = Attic δαελός, a form called Syrakusan by the same authority. Cf. μηρίων δεδανμένων quoted from Simonides Amorg. in Et. Mag. 250₁₈; δειδίλλων = περιζλέπων An. Par. III 56₁₈; ἔραται· ἐπιθνμεῦ ἢ λέξις Ἰωνική Schol. Ven. A on I 64; ἐργύλον· στότην. Ἴωνες Hesych.; ἔσσην = ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίων Et. Mag. 383₃₀; ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ τῶν μελισσῶν βασιλέως ὡς εἶρηται ἔσσην (*sic*) . . . Ἰωνικὴ δὲ ἢ λέξις Et. Gud. Ἐσσην was the title of a priest of Artemis at Ephesos, Paus. VIII 13, 1; Εἰδοθέεια = Εἰδοθέα Eust. 1501₅₂; ζήτρειον σημαίνει τὸ τῶν δούλων δεσμοκτήριον, ἤγουν τὸν μύλωνα, παρὰ Χίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς Et. Mag. 411₃₃, cf. Eust. 837₄₄; ἡγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου Hesych. See Anakr. 26; ἡγός = ὁ εὐσαίμων Et. Mag. 390₃₇; ἰβυκινήσαντες· . . ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἰβῆ παρήκται ἢ λέξις, καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν ἐπίρρημα . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρκος Ἰωνικός Hesychios; κηγχός Apoll. *de Adv.* 184₉ (Schm.); κιττάλης = κλέπτης Joh. Gr. 242 B. cf. Teos 156 B 19; κηστός, ποιός, τις, ἄρτος παρὰ Ἴωσι Eust. 872₉, Hesych. *s. v.*; κοκκύας (*sic*) = πρόγονος Et. Mag. 524₃₇; κοκύας An. Par. IV 74₃₄; κριοὶ κόλοι. ἔως νῦν παρ' Ἴωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατοι . . . λέγονται Schol. Ven. A on Π 117; λόγχας τὰς μερίδας Ἴωνες λέγουσιν Et. Mag. 569₃₁, Orion 94₂₅; μῆνις· ὀργή Bek. An. II 739₂₀; μήτρως Eust. 971₂₆ ff; μικκόν = μικρόν Eust. 217₂₉, 610₃₅; μύττακες· μυκκαί. Σικελοί, Ἴωνες, Hesych.; ὀμφαλητόμος = Attic μῦσα Eust. 971₃₇ (Hippokv.); πάτρως Eust. 316₈, 100, 971₂₆, 37; πέργαμον· τὴν πύλιν Ἴωνες λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πάντες τὰ ἰσηλά An. Bachm. I 337₃; πηλός· οἶτος, Ἴωνες Hesych., Orion 86₂₉, cf. 178₂₇; σῆτες τὸ ἐπέτους Et. Mag. 711₄₃; σκύβαλον = σκίβαλον Ephesian Ionic. An. Ox. I 447₁₈; σμῶζαι = πατάξαι Et. Mag. 721₂₁, Orion 141₆; στέρφος· ἔρφος

τὸ δέρμα, ὅπερ Ἴωνες στέρφος λέγουσιν Schol. Nik. *Alex.* 248; τρώειν = βλάπτειν Eust. 1304₄₅, 1532₁₀, 1803₂; τρώμη = τρώσις Eust. 1653₅₂, 1803₂, cf. 102₃₂, 991₆₀; ὑπέρτερος = νεώτερος Eust. 884₃₃; ὑποκρίνεσθαι = ἀποκρίνεσθαι Eust. 687₁₅, 1437₃₁, cf. 515₁₅, 900₄₂, 1876₄₇, 1877₂; φάρμακοι = Attic φαρμακοί Eust. 1935₁₅; φῆμις = φήμη Eust. 1956₆₂, cf. 799₁₀, 1563₃; φωλεός *schoolhouse* (Pseychios) called Ionic by L. S. may belong to some other dialect; χλοσός· ἰχθὺς ἐπὶ Ἴωνων Pseych.; χρεῖω = χρεῖα Eust. 698₁₁; ψύδραξ· οἱ Ἴωνες ψυδρακας λέγουσι τὰς ποικίλας Et. Mag. 819₁₉; ψῶ is called by Greg. Kor. 549 an ἀγροικικὸν προσφώνημα, the only instance of a distinct reference to the vulgar speech; ὠρή = κωλή Eust. 1715₂₅ (see § 11).

Some of these words are doubtless provincialisms, which have not received the consecration of literary usage; and among them there may be words older than those that have won for themselves a place in literature. In the course of the development of Ionic life in its home on the Asiatic mainland and on the adjacent islands, one community may have clung with peculiar tenacity to the old-time words, while another may have offered a less stubborn resistance to the encroachment of neoterisms. At the *πανήγυρις* of the Ionic cities there may have been heard words that sounded as strange to the ears of a Milesian as the provincialisms of an Eastern County man sound strange to the ear of a Londoner.

In examining the vocabulary of Ionic literature, especially in its prose monuments, modern students of style have not been deterred, despite the scantiness of materials, from setting apart this or that word in Herodotos or Hippokrates as 'poetical' because it is Homeric. Who can say how much of the epic vocabulary which reappears in Ionic prose is not the idiom of the day? Outside of Ionic prose literature *ἀτρεκέως* occurs only in poetry. It might be set down as an instance of the dependence of Herodotos and Hippokrates upon Homer, did we not know that the word was in use in Doric (cf. Et. Gud., Et. Orion, and C. D. I. 3219). *ἀτρεκής* is found also in Demokr., *Phys.* fr. 1. The list of words (*A. J. P.* VIII 467), which before the discovery of the Kyprian inscriptions were not known to exist outside of Homer, should warn us against holding too fast to the poetical character of the Herodoteian diction¹.

¹ To Prof. Strachan (*Herodotos VI*, p. xxix) I owe the following list:—*δαπεῖσθαι* Demokr. 71, *δεδάσθαι* Diog. 6, *δίσημαι* Demokr. 10, 20, Herakl. 8, 80, *ἐλπομαι* Herakl. 7, 122, *ἐρδειν* Demokr. 101, 106, 118, 135, 203, *ἕκλος* Demokr. 21. Cf. Kleemann, *Vocabula Homerica in Graecorum dialectis et in cotidianis sermone servata*, 1876.

*The Ionic Element in Homer and the Relation
of 'Old' to 'New' Ionic.*

26.] If we eliminate from the Iliad and Odyssey the few forms whose Doric complexion is the result of a mistaken transcription of the original text, the occasional instances of forms specifically Attic, whose admission is due either to the Attic diasceneasts, to the authority of Aristarchos (who held that Homer was an Athenian), or to the copyists, and finally such non-Hellenic monstrosities as the so-called distracted verbs, whose explanation transcends the phonetic laws obtaining in every Greek dialect, the remainder of the 'Homeric dialect' falls under the two divisions Aiolic and Ionic. By far the greater part of the sounds and inflections in the language of the Homeric epos is pan-Hellenic, and hence the joint property of both dialects, and in actual use at the time of the final construction of Iliad and Odyssey.

Such archaisms as the instrumental in $-\phi\iota$, $-\phi\omega$, which do not bear either the Aiolic or the Ionic stamp, are likewise pan-Hellenic¹ and hence do not fall within the immediate purpose of the present work. But even within the domain of the phenomena which are manifestly dialectal, a successful delimitation of Aiolic and Ionic in the traditional text of Homer is attended by well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. It must be based upon a knowledge of the structure of both these dialects at the date of the composition of the various constituent parts of Iliad and Odyssey, and in fact upon a consistent view of the origin and development of the epos itself. As long as so fundamental a matter as the complexion of the dialectal \bar{a} is under dispute, as long as Philodemos' view is being resuscitated that the epic dialect was a farrago of all manner of dialects, and as long as it is undeniable that the diction of Homer is, partly at least, a highly artificial product, so long may a prudent scepticism affirm the futility of attempting any definitive demarcation between the dialect affinities of the Homeric dialect.

In the discussion of Aiolic an effort will, however, be made to bring together some examples of those sounds and inflections which may fairly be held to be the property of that dialect; and the view will be advanced, that the appearance of the Aiolic ingredient can with propriety be reconciled with the general Ionic colouring of the whole only when it is seen that

¹ By the ancients regarded as either Aiolic or Boiotian. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ and other forms ascribed by the ancients to this or that dialect, but whose complexion is probably pan-Hellenic, are excluded from the present discussion.

the dialect of the Homeric poems is, in greater or less degree, an Ionicized Aiolie. So far as the Ionic residue is concerned, the question at issue turns upon the character of the Homeric Ionisms in their relation to those of the age of Herodotos, and in fact upon the correctness of the ancient division into 'Old' and 'New' or 'Later' Ionic.

27.] In the view of the moderns, New Ionic is restricted to the dialect of the fifth century, as it appears in Herodotos and Hippokrates. It is probable that the ancient dialectologists included under the appellation New Ionic all that is post-Homeric, *i.e.* the dialect of the lyric poets as well as that of the philosophers, historians, and scientists. To the ancients Homer was farther removed from the lyric age than he is in the view of the moderns. The New Ionic included at least Hipponax¹, who is mentioned by the Marmor Parium under Ol. 59, 3 (= 542 B. C.), and placed by Pliny in Ol. 60.

In reality the application of the term New Ionic to the form displayed by the dialect in Herodotos and Hippokrates signifies nothing more than the ordinary use of the term 'dialect' as a cantonal idiom. It does not imply that this form may not in part have existed before the time of Herodotos and Hippokrates and elsewhere than in the pages of these prosaists. So the term 'Late Lakonian' does not denote either that much of its structure may not be of very considerable antiquity, or that Lakonia was the sole residence of certain linguistic phenomena. All chronological and geographical divisions of dialect life are purely conventional and hence of extreme elasticity. The boundaries of New Ionic might be so far enlarged as to include the entire dialect of the oldest inscriptions, of the lyric poets, and of Herodotos, and this New Ionic contrasted with the oldest portions of the dialect of the Homeric poems, *i.e.* those that may reasonably be placed before the year 800. But since modern usage has chosen to affix to the dialect of Ionic prose the name New Ionic, this designation may, under certain limitations, be here adopted as the basis of the discussion as to the interrelation between the Old and the New Ionic.

It must be understood that in the comparison of the ἀρχαία with the μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάδς, an importance has been heretofore attached to Herodotos utterly out of proportion to the real value of his history as a representative of the later division. The text of Herodotos, even when built upon the consensus of testimony of

¹ Τὸ λαδὸς ἄτρεπτος ἔμεινε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάδι τραπέν ληὸν ἀθρήσας, Ἰππῶναξ (88); An. Ox. I 265e. Strabo VII 340 classes Hipponax among the νεώτεροι, and even Archilochos falls under the same appellation (Schol. Z 507, cf. frag. 176).

the best MSS.—which often does not exist—can claim, unless supported by extraneous evidence, only an inferior position as a standard by which to estimate the character of the Ionic of the fifth century. The diction of early Ionic prose, and preeminently that of Herodotos, is permeated by lexicographical, stylistic and syntactical affinities with the language of Homer. But far more significant is the erratic conduct of the phonetical and inflectional system, preferring now the Homeric now the contemporaneous dialect; the frequent aversion to the living speech when its forms contest the field with those consecrated by Homeric usage; the inconsistencies in one and the same word as presented by the MS. tradition. All these considerations, which are discussed at greater length below, § 88, create a presumption in favour of the view that the text of Herodotos had undergone a transformation at a time when exact knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century had vanished even from the schools.

From this it follows that all the modern comparisons of Homeric phonology with that of Herodotos, as it exists in the best MSS. of the historian, will (unless they rest upon the assumption that Herodotos intentionally commingled a dead with a living speech) have to confront the objection that the retention, in such large measure, of open forms originally separated by *μολ* (and to a less degree, by *ϕ* and *σ*), from the earliest known period of Ionic until the fifth century, is a phenomenon unique in the history of the language.

While the greater part of the dialect of Herodotos is contemporaneous Ionic, there is a residue of formations either entirely obsolete or obsolescent¹ in the fifth century. So far then as New Ionic embraces the dialect of Herodotos, it is only that part of the dialect which may either be proved, or inferred by the argument from analogy, to be the Ionic of the historian's time. With this limitation as regards the dialect of Herodotos, and in a less degree as regards that of Hippokrates, the date of the New Ionic may be marked off with tolerable chronological exactness as the Ionic of the fifth century.

28.] What is Old Ionic? The conventional application of the term to the dialect of the entire epos pays no regard to the fact that under the name Homeric are classed dialectal phenomena ranging from perhaps the eleventh to the seventh century. While the oldest portions of the Iliad, even those of distinctly emotional character, antedate the earliest monuments of the

¹ For example *καλέοι*, *καλέοιτο*, *φρονέοιεν*, *λυπεόιστο*. The inscriptions have but one case of the retention, as an archaism, of the open, and older, form. The poets have *-οίμεν*, *-οίμεθα*, *-οίεν*. The iteratives still live on in Herodotos though with impaired vitality.

Ionic lyric, there yet remains, in the *Doloneia* and various lengthy passages in books B, I, Λ, Σ, Υ, Ψ, an irreducible minimum that is contemporaneous with Archilochos or even with Simonides of Amorgos. And so far as the *Odyssey* is concerned, all of that which is called by Kirchhoff the 'second enlargement' is placed by him as late as 660 B.C.

And yet, so similar in texture is the diction of the later to that of the earlier accretions which have grown about the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that it is virtually identical with that of the primitive bard. The elasticity of their art did not debar the workers at the fabric of the epos from the use of forms either obsolete or obsolescent in their day, nor on the other hand from having recourse to analogical formations of an archaic stamp.

Tempting as is the comparison of book K and the greater enlargements of the *Iliad* and the second enlargement of the *Odyssey* with the fragments of Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos, such a test yields no proof that the language of these latest portions is the language of the seventh century. The tendency to adopt contracted forms is perhaps the only sign of the assimilation of the literary to the popular form of the language¹. In the older portions of the epos the fusion of vowels may have been a matter of poetic license. The exigencies of the verse may anticipate by an indefinable period the processes which operate in the ordinary speech of the day.

Subjoined is a list of some instances of contraction and synizesis, which deserve attention from those who approach the comparison of the epic with the iambographic dialect from the point of view of vowel openness or contraction². Forms showing synizesis come to light alike in the older and the later parts of the poems; contracted forms increase in frequency in passages whose later origin may be inferred on other grounds.

Apart (1) from instances of contraction occurring in those words, which, without vocalic fusion, could not find admission into the hexameter, and (2) the contractions in the sixth foot (except a few isolated cases mentioned below), there occur the following instances of later forms, most of which resist all remedial treatment save of the severest character. Cases which show the disappearance of *yod* are less noteworthy than those where *F* or *σ* has been lost. Where the syllable of contraction or synizesis is not under the ictus, this is denoted by a star.

¹ Yet the termination *-εολη*, when preceded by a single consonant, must have been in ordinary use at the end of the seventh century. By the year 479/8 it was old-fashioned in Teos. See footnote, p. 36, and § 45 (1).

² In reference to the position assumed by Menrad in his *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homericis*, see my review *A. J. P.* VIII 224 ff., Christ's *Ilias*, § 102 ff., and the articles by Mr. Arthur Platt, in the *Journ. Phil.* XVIII No. 35 ff., which deal immediately with some of the forms quoted above.

Α 15* χρυσέω, Β 684 καλεῦντο, 490 χάλκεον, 677* Κῶν(?); Δ 113 σάκεα, 384* Τυδῆ; Ε 387* χαλκῆω, 525 ζαχρειῶν, 256* ἐᾶ; Ζ 220 χρύσειον; Η 394 ἠνώγειν (-γειν?); Θ 217* κηλέω (cf. Ο 744); Ι 605 τιμῆς(?), 75* χρεῶ, 266 ἀθλοφόρους; Κ 285 τπειω. 449 μαθῶμεν: Λ 282* ἄφρων. 282 στήθεα, 611 ἔρειο, 708 πολεῖς. 179 πρηγεῖς, 699 ἀθλοφόροι, 151* ἱππεῖς; Μ 347, 360 ζαχρειῖς; Ν 684 ζαχρειῖς; Ξ 7 λούση (λοῦ?), 274 ὄσι: Ο 21 ἠλαύττω. 65*, 68* κτερεῖ, 444 θελεν, 339 Μηκιστῆ; Ρ 451 βαλῶ: Σ 136 νεύω. 493 ἠγίονον. 539 ὀμίλειν, 612 χρύσειον. 475 τιμήματα; Τ 184* ἐκφαρεῖ, 202 ἦσαν. 402* ἰῶμεν, 88 ἄτην (6th foot), 95 ἄσατο; Υ 218 ὄκρον, 72 Ἐρμῆς (6th foot); Ψ 361 μεμνῆστο, 121 ἴσπευοντο (6th foot), 412* κατακτερεῖ, 834 χρεώμενος, 226 Ἐωπφόρος, 792 Ἀχιλλεῖ (6th foot); Ω 290 εὔχεν, 503 αἰδέο, 722 θρήνον, 101 χρύσειον, 354* νόον(?), 28 ἄτης (6th foot), 734 ἀθλεύων, 769 δαέρων.

α 183 πλέων; β 358 ἀναβῆ, 421 ἀκραῖ (?); γ 221 φιλεῦντας (6th foot); ε 54* Ἐρμῆς (6th foot); ζ 210 λούσατε, 216* λούσθαι, 219 ἀπολοῖσθαι (from λού?), η 94* ὄντας. 110* τεκηῆσαι, 107 καιωνταῖων, 118 θέρεος. 116* συκαῖ; θ 550 κάλων, 334* Ἐρμῆν, 483* ἦω. 160 ἄλλων. 271 Ἥλιος; ι 269 αἰδέο. 44 ἠνώγεα, 240 θέρεον. 283 νῆα (ναῖν?); 347* κρέα (6th foot). 136* χρεῶ; κ 229, 255 καλεῖντες (6th foot), 518* χεῖσθαι. 263 ἠνώγεα, 240 νοῖς; λ 61 ἄσε; μ 249 καλεῦντες (6th foot); ν 78 ἀερρίπτουν; ξ 86* βῶσι, 435* Ἐρμῆ; ο 74 φιλεῖν, 88 νεῖσθαι, 533 γένεος, 248 υἱεῖς; π 383 φθέμεν, 367 ἄσαμεν; ρ 55 ἠνώγεα; σ 247 πλέονες; τ 136 ποθέωσα, 489* οὔσης, 331 τεθνεῶτι, 34* χρύσειον; υ 14 βεβῶσα (6th foot); φ 218* πιστωθήτορ. 47 θυρέων, 178 στέστος; χ 456 ἐφόρον. 385 καίλων; ψ 77* ἔα; ω 337 ἦτων. 323 ἔρχο, 491 ὄσι, 437 φθέωσι, 1* Ἐρμῆς. 394* θάμβεις (6th foot); 398 Ὀδυσσεῖς, 523 Εὐπειθέα, 341* συκάας, 360 προῦπεμψ'.

29.] Now if the dialect of the epos represents the period of Old Ionic according to the ancient and modern conception, and the language of the fifth century is New Ionic, it might be questioned whether there is not in the monuments of the sixth century an intermediate stage of the dialect. That such a middle period does not exist is evident from the study of the literature and inscriptions from 600-500 B.C. A few examples will in fact suffice to show that 'Middle' Ionic has no existence whatsoever.

Thus for example the oldest Ionic form of λαῖος is ληός, found first in the misread Homeric Λειώδης and Λειώκριτος. ληός itself does not come to light in the monuments of the dialect until the second half of the sixth century (Hippias 88) while the Herodotean λεῖός had been formed as early as the

seventh century (Archil. 69), and was in use in Miletos (Bechtel no. 93) in the sixth century; to say nothing of the Homeric Ἀγέλεως χ 131, 247. Herodotos has also in Λευρυχίδης an example of a third form. While Herodotos has λεώς (lāfos, it is doubtful whether he has νεώς (vāfos).

Again: in at least eleven passages ranging from the earliest to the latest books, the genitive in -oo can be exhumed, a form which is the immediate parent of -ov and the direct descendant of -oio¹. It may serve as the type of those forms whose archaic character is so clearly marked as to justify their ascription to a stage in the history of Greek in which lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between Ionic and Aiolic. Though we shall find it impossible to define accurately the life of 'pre-Homeric' forms, it is clear that the -oio form must have been in possession of the field centuries before the first accretions began to grow about the primitive Iliad and Odyssey. Even its offspring -oo must have acquired an archaic flavour at the time of the composition of the poems. A distinct stage in the life of the dialect, when -oio was old-fashioned and -ov had not come in, cannot be discovered.

Now if it could be shown from these and similar examples, that the life of a considerable number of individual forms was conterminous, a period of 'Middle' Ionic, such as is set up by Professor Sayce², might be said to have existed. But there is no trace of a halting-place where a number of distinctly intermediate forms consort. All the meaning therefore that can be extracted from the expression 'Middle' Ionic, is that, in the most general sense, between the close of epic and the rise of prose literature there was an interval, the existence of which in no wise carries with it the conclusion that the inflectional and phonetic development of the language had reached an intermediate stage.

The assumption then of a Middle Ionic, in fact the comparison of Old with New Ionic, is of almost no value in the eyes of a science which deals not with periods, but with the life of the individual form. There may indeed be a primitive, a middle, and a final period in the life of the individual form, if it chance to have undergone three distinct phonetic changes which are actually attested or which may be inferred.

30.] The study of the life of the individual form in Homer, the lyric poets, and the inscriptions, reveals an organic development of the dialect, whose recognition has been forced to wait upon

¹ In La Roche's text the occurrences of -oio and -ov are: -oio Il. 1085, Od. 702, -ov Il. 1015, Od. 808. This count includes the instances of -oo for -ov.

² *Journal of Philology* X 111, cf. *Monro, ib.* IX 253.

the formation of a just estimate of the position of Herodotos. If it be admitted that the sounds and inflections of the diction of Herodotos and Hippokrates are not epic as such, the conclusion is irresistible that the form often assumed by these sounds and inflections in the MSS. especially of Herodotos, is antagonistic to this organic development of the language, whose beginnings may be traced in Homer, and whose later aspects are visible in the epic, in the iambic writers and the inscriptions.

31.] In that portion of the Homeric dialect which, after the separation of the Aiolic element, we call Ionic, there co-exist, as we have seen, forms of very different dates. In determining the chronology of the Ionisms of the epos, there are several considerations which deserve ampler recognition than that usually accorded them. (1) No single verse or passage, of which the verse is an indissoluble part, is older than the date of the youngest form it contains; provided the passage in question is not an interpolation, and the form is not due to the exigency of the metre. (2) Forms which have disappeared completely at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the poems, and whose existence is due solely to reconstructive criticism, are not necessarily of the most archaic type. (3) If there are passages of greater or less compass—even single lines or parts of lines—which have suffered transposition from Aiolic into Ionic, the Ionic forms which are metrically equivalent to those of Aiolic complexion, will belong to an early period of the dialect¹. As a matter of fact, apart from the probability or improbability of Fick's conception of the genesis of an Ionic Homer, it is frequently, but by no means invariably, the case that where the Aiolic form cannot be substituted for the Ionic form in the text, this form in question represents a later stage of the development of Ionic. (4) The joint ownership by Homer and Herodotos of formations, of which the Attic seems to offer more ancient by-forms, is not *per se* indicative of a later origin of the Homeric passages in which these formations occur. $\tau\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ is no less a neologism than $\tau\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\iota$. (5) Homeric Ionic is not invariably older than that portion of the later dialect which is independent of epic influence. Yet in its totality the complexion of the Ionic of the Iliad and Odyssey is sufficiently archaic to exclude the suggestion that portions of the poems containing forms found alike in Epic and in 'New' Ionic, are later accretions. (6) The assumption that, wherever Homer makes but rare use of

¹ The older the forms, the more nearly alike are they in all dialects. This fact of language has no necessary connection with a transference from one dialect to another of a product of literature.

a formation that grows apace in later Greek, this formation has been brought in by diasceuaists or copyists, is destructive of all linguistic perspective.

While not constituting a period of Middle Ionic, the dialect of the iambic writers is a bridge leading from the epic to the form assumed by the dialect in the fifth century. On the one hand it agrees with the Ionic of Homer in its freedom in treating the demonstrative as a relative pronoun; a freedom which has been somewhat restricted in Herodotos, and much more abridged in Hippokrates. In Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax, and Ananios, we encounter $\delta\varsigma$ in its ordinary relative use, and also the employment of the article as a relative. In Herodotos the τ -forms prevail in the oblique cases and in the neuter of both numbers, while $\delta\varsigma$, η , \omicron , α occur in the nominative, after prepositions which suffer elision, and in certain formulae. Hippokrates adopts the Attic use. Furthermore the following instances of divergence from the prose dialect are noticeable. In a few cases the poets preserve open in vocalic stems forms which later suffered contraction, notably in Hippokrates. The ι of diphthongs is less frequently lost before a following vowel than in Herodotos. There is in fact no case of such a form as $\theta\eta\lambda\epsilon\alpha$. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ are preferred by the iambic writers to the longer forms, which find favour in Herodotos and Hippokrates. For verbs in $-a\omega$ we find $-\epsilon\omega$ very rarely in the poets.

32.] It is difficult to discover any phonetic change of the fifth century (occurring in a word found also in Homer¹) which does not appear in some portion of the epic. Oftentimes it happens that younger forms which come to light only sporadically, notably noun and verb forms which have lost *god*, *sigma*, or *digamma*, are admitted in the later Ionic, which casts off the older form prevailing in the epos. Each set of forms deserves individual treatment, as it by no means follows that all younger forms² in the epos are universally adopted by the iambographers or the inscriptions; a consideration that must have weight in the reconstruction of the Ionic of the fifth century, when no light is cast by the iambic writers or the stone records.

Perhaps the most important marks of distinction between Old Ionic and the Ionic of Herodotos' time are the loss of the dual and of F , and the curtailing of the iterative formation in the latter. How far other phonetic differences may be set down as characteristic differences of Old and New Ionic is not always

¹ This limitation excludes $\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ &c.; see under *Pronouns*.

² Thus $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ O 444, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\alpha$ Δ 113 (to say nothing of $\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\epsilon\alpha$, $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\alpha$, $\sigma\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\alpha$ in the 6th foot) do not exclude $-\epsilon\alpha$ from the lyric dialect, though there $-\epsilon\alpha$ may be more frequent than the open form.

clear. Some of the more marked changes are *τέσσερες* for *τέσσαρες*, *θῶμα* for *θαῦμα*, and *ῶν* for *οῦν*; *κ* for *π* in pronominal forms. The existence of the spiritus asper is imperilled and the contraction of vowels has set in to a very considerable extent in New Ionic. On the other hand the dialect of the Ionic iambic poetry runs parallel with that of the inscriptions, save in the fact that the former has *κῶς*, *κότε* &c., while the latter has no case of the *κ* form. Except in this particular the language of the iambographers is more closely allied to that of the stone records than it is to the diction of Herodotos.

Homeric Ionisms.

33.] The *résumé* of Aiolie forms under the head of Homeric Aiolisms, AIOLIC §§ 12-39, relieves us of the responsibility of treating in detail the Ionisms of the Homeric diction. All that is not Aiolie in Homer (with the exceptions referred to AIOLIC § 10) is Ionic. The following sections call attention to a few points, some of which are not free from doubt, where Ionic stands out in direct opposition to Aiolie.

34.] **Vowel-system.** When, in conjunction with *ρ*, we have variable forms in *a* and *ε*, as in *θάρσος* *θέρσος*, the presumption is in favour of the Ionic character of the *a* forms.

Ionic *ε* is = Aiolie *ā* in *τέως*, *ἔως* (*τείως* and *ἔως* are misrepresentations of the older Ionic forms in *η*), in *Ἄγέλεως* χ¹³¹.

Ionic are all cases of *η* except those which are pan-Hellenic. Ionic *η* has often been obliterated by incorrect transcription of *E*, as in *Λειώκριτος* which stands for *Ληόκριτος* (cf. *Κριτόλαος*), and in *Λειώδης* = *Ληώδης*, the equivalent in meaning of Thessalian *Φασίδαμος* C. D. I. 371. *Ληώδης* is from *ληφο-φαδης*. The Ionians appear in Homer in the non-Ionic form *Ἰάονες* N 685, while *παιήων* A 473 is genuine Ionic (cf. *Archil.* 76).

Ionic are all long vowels and diphthongs due to compensatory lengthening (but not to epenthesis) in cases where the Aiolie dialect geminates the preceding consonant. Examples under §§ 196, 224. The sound *ει* is Ionic as the result of the contraction of *εε* to *ει*; and all contractions of *οο* to *ου*. When Homeric *ει* has *εω* = *εφ* as its counterpart in Aiolie, this *ει* is Ionic.

ει and *ου* under the ictus in cases for which comparative grammar can find no morphological explanation: *ειλήλουθα*, *Εἰρέτρια*, *Οὔλυμπος*. *χρῦσεος* is Ionic, *χρῦσιος* Aiolie.

Though the contraction of *ε* and *ο* assumes in a few instances

the form of *ευ* in Aiolie, all cases of *ευ* in Homer may safely be classed as Ionic¹. In a stage of development of the Homeric poems so remote as the supposed 'Aiolie period,' while the synzesis *εο* might be possible, the contraction to *ευ* would scarcely be admitted. Besides the instances given in § 28, the following may be mentioned:

ἐρέβεις Θ 368, λ 37 (cf. Hym. Dem. 410), ἀύτεν Μ 160, (ἐ)γεγώνευν ι 47, μ 370, ρ 161, νεικεῦσ' Υ 254, εἰλεῦντο Φ 8, ὄχλεινται Φ 261, θεῦντο Η 444, Κ 524, σφαραγεῦντο ι 390, 440, φοβούμενος Θ 149, αἰρεύμενοι Π 353, ἰκνεύμεναι ι 128, οἰροχοεῦντες γ 472, ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι χ 103, λωτεῦντο Μ 283. In most of these verbs open *εο* was impossible. Furthermore in ἐμεῦ (twenty-six times), μεν (sixty-three), σεῦ (thirty-five), εῦ (seven), τεῦ (sixteen).

Menrad's *De contractionis et synzeseos usu Homericæ* attempts to heal many of the contracted forms in § 28 and in § 34, which are by other scholars rightly held to be hystero-genous. Cp. *A. J. P.* VIII 224. ἐπιβώσομαι α 378, β 143, ἐπιβώσομεθ' Κ 463 (cf. X 254), βώσαντι Μ 337 has parallels in no dialect except Ionic. On ὀγδάκοντα Β 568, 652, see § 207.

35.] **Consonants.** κτ in πολυκτῆμων (Ionic κτέομαι), where Aiolie has πάομαι as in πολυπάμων. Movable *uu* in such collocations as θῆκεν, τοῖσι δὲ κ.τ.λ., Ψ 153. Movable *uu* seems to have taken its start from Ionic territory.

Ionic never geminates labials as in ὀππότε, &c., nor at any period of the dialect was κκ used instead of the Aiolie ππ. Nor does Ionic geminate τ in ὀττι, &c. When Homer has τ = Aiolie π, as in τῆλε, the τ form is Ionic.

Since the Ionic dialect seems to have lost the rough breathing at a later date than did Aiolie, cases of the *lenis* for the *asper* are more probably Aiolie.

36.] **Â Declension.** Nouns in -η and -ης in the nominative, and -η in all other case forms.

Gen. in *εω*. Dissyllabic -*εω* is found but once, in ἄλτεω Φ 86, where the ἄλταο of Cod. C suggests an easy change. *εω* thirty-seven times in the Iliad, twenty-eight times in the Odyssey, chiefly in the arsis of the second, the third, or the fifth foot. ἀγκυλομήτεω is found at the end of the verse, Ἰδεω begins the verse I 558 (Meleager episode). ἰκέτεω occurs in the arsis of the fourth foot Ω 158, 187. σνβώτεω in the thesis of the same foot ξ 459, ο 304. In the cases of -*εω* from Πηληϊάδης, Πηλείδης, ἄλτης, Νηληϊάδης, ἄτρείδης, Αἰνείης, βορέης, α' may be sub-

¹ According to the ancient grammarians *ευ* was both Ionic and Doric.

stituted, the genitives occurring always before a vowel¹. Τυδεΐδης does not admit of a like substitution, a fact which has called forth some speculation as to the position of Diomedes in the galaxy of the heroes.

The genitive in -ω is always preceded by a vowel: ἐνμυελίω Δ 47, 165, Ζ 449, βορέω Ξ 395, Ψ 692, ξ 533, Ἑρμείω Ο 214, Αἰρείω Ε 534. βορέω never occurs save before a word beginning with a vowel.

Gen. plur. Dissyllabic -εων is found only Η 1, Μ 340, φ 191. -εων by synizesis twenty-one times in the Iliad, nineteen in the Odyssey.

-ων: thirteen cases of -ιδων, furthermore τῶν six times, σῶν Ε 818 (σέων Aristar.), ἀντῶν Γ 302.

37.] **O Declension.** Βριάρεων Α 403 seems to be Ionic alone, but Ηγγέλειω Ν 62 need not be regarded as containing the Ionic λέεις. On ἀγός in Homer, see § 29. ἀγήρω *c.g.* Ρ 444 for ἀγηράω. I see no reason for regarding the instances of -οις as proofs of Ionic workmanship. Though -οιο occurs more frequently in the post-epic Ionic than in the Aiolic lyric, we cannot distinguish between the dialects as regards its appearance in Homer.

38.] **Consonantal Declension.** On γέλως, ἔρωσ see under Homeric Aiolisms; κυκείω Α 624. Whether the Aiolians ever used πλέορες, -ορας, is doubtful. Ὀδυσσεὺς ω 398 is certainly Ionic, as are all other instances of εὔ §§ 28, 34.

39.] **Pronouns.** Ionic are the forms beginning with ἡμ- and ἱμ-. In many cases ἡμεῖς ἡμέας are found where Fick cannot readily substitute the Aiolic equivalents, *c.g.* β 86, 244, δ 294. σφας Ε 567, *cf.* Μ 43, seems to be Ionic.

40.] **Verbs.** κτεριῶ Σ 334, κτεριοῦσι Α 455, ἀεικίω Χ 256 seem to be Ionic rather than Aiolic. On other contractions see §§ 28, 34. All forms of the contract verbs such as ἐποίει are Ionic. αἰρέω is Ionic = Aiolic ἀγρέω, ἄγρημι.

Inf. in -ναι and -ειν are solely Ionic (Aiolic -μεναι, -μεν and -ην). Those in -εειν from the second aorist stem seem to be the work of Ionians.

41.] **Varia.** μία = Aiolic ἴα, τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκοντα, τεσσαράβοις.

εἰς in Homer is both Ionic and Aiolic, εἰς Ionic in all probability; ἄν may be Ionic in contradistinction to Aiolic κέ.

¹ On the Homeric genitive, see *i. a.* Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 12, 99.

The Ionic of Iambic, Trochaic and Elegiac Poetry.

42.]

- AHRENS : *Ueber die Mischung d. Dialekte in d. griech. Lyrik*, 57-63. *De hiatu apud elegiacos Graecorum poetas antiquiores*, *Philol.* III 223.
- FICK : *Die Sprachform der attionischen u. attischen Lyrik*, *B. B.* XI 242, XIII 173, XIV 252.
- FLACH : *Das nachhesiodische Digamma*, *B. B.* II 1 ff.
- KIRCHHOFF : *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms*, *Hermes* V 48, 1871.
- LAEGER : *De veterum epicorum studio in Archilochi, Simonidis, Solonis, Hipponactis reliquitis conspicio*, 1885.
- RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, *Curtius' Studien* I 1, 133 ff.; I 2, 1 ff., 1868. *Ueber das Formwesen im griech. Epos und epische Reminiscenzen in der älteren griech. Elegie*, 1872.
- SCHULHOF : *On the early Ionian poets and on the interrelation of Ionic and Attic Greek*, *Trans. Oxf. Phil. Soc.*, 1889.
- SITZLER : *Ueber die Sprache der Elegiker*, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* CXXV 504.
- SCHNEIDEWIN : *Beiträge zur Kritik der Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 1844.
- WAGNER : *Quaestiones de epigrammatis graecis ex lapidibus collectis* (by Kaibel) *grammaticae*, 1883. See also *AIOLIC*, § 100.

43.] It is advisable to approach the investigation of early iambic, trochaic, and elegiac poetry from the point of view of the nationality of the poet. The poetry of those who 'purchased fame by keen iambicks' is redolent of the soil from which it springs. The elegists, on the other hand, fall into two distinct divisions: those of Ionic blood, whose contemporary dialect is tempered solely by the diction of Homer, and secondly those of non-Ionic birth, who, though they may colour their dialect with forms drawn from the soil either of their birth-place or of their adopted home, are debarred by the laws of their art from inter-fusing their dialect with forms that are specifically Ionic ($\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$), *i. e.* forms whose use had not been sanctioned by having been adopted by Homer. Otherwise these non-Ionic elegists have equal recourse to the fountain head of elegiac diction, the epos.

Dialect of the Iambists.

44.] Iambic poetry was the weapon which dealt the sabre-thrusts of Ionic invective; and the cultivation of the iambic measures remained an almost exclusive prerogative of the Ionic race until the trimeter was claimed for a higher and wider purpose by the literary successors of the Ionians. Its reception by Solon paved the way for its adoption by Tragedy.

The dialect of the three iambographers adopted by the Alexandrian canon was the pure Ionic of the century and a half during which the iambus was cultivated by the race which had first used it as a vehicle of literary expression. In the lyrical parts of Archilochos we observe a widening of the dialect horizon. These are considered below § 62; on his trochaics, see § 52.

Hipponax alone has so coloured the diction of his 'halting' iambics with words not Hellenic, but drawn from Lydian¹ or Phrygian², that he gained among the commentators the name of βαρύγλωσσος. *τροῖσι* in 51 recalls the Aiolie scheme of inflection of the numerals. In the hexameters of Hipponax we find epic forms.

In the examination of the phonetic and inflectional system of Ionic the diction of the iambographers Archilochos of Samos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos, Ananios, and Herodas, will be investigated in detail. The other monuments of iambic verse outside of tragedy and comedy are too scanty to yield information of value. A few interesting forms are found in Skythinos.

Though Ananios' personality is scarcely to be separated from that of Hipponax, his language speaks in favour of his being considered as a distinct poet. In some respect his inflections do not follow the strict norm set by his predecessors. Anakreon's iambics are too scanty to permit a conclusion as to their dialect.

The original colouring of the Ionic of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, though partially obliterated by the ignorance or perversity of copyists, can nevertheless be restored without recourse to a violent disturbance of MS. tradition. In one or two cases epic forms seem to have forced an entrance into the text. In weighing the MS. evidence in the case of Archilochos, the testimony of the Thasiote dialect must be considered.

On the resuscitation of choliambics by the Dorian Herodas, perhaps a contemporary of Theokritos, Ionic came again into fashion. The Alexandrians confessed their allegiance to the Ionic norm; and Babrios' *μυθίαμβοι Αἰσώπειοι* attest, at least partially, the persistence of the Ionic standard. Cf. also Tzetzes in An. Ox. III 308.

The newly discovered papyrus of Herodas presents a tolerably faithful picture of the Ionic appropriate to this species of iambic composition. The Ionisms seem to be imitative, and not drawn from a living dialect, though there occur forms hitherto unknown in literature. Most of the Atticisms are

¹ βεβρός 64 cf. Hesych. βέβροξ' ἀγαθός; κονίσκε 64; μαυλιστήριον 126; Κανθαῦλα 1 ('Μηρονιστί'). Perhaps the Hesychian glosses βάσκε πικρολέα' πλησίον ἐξεθάσζε and βαστιζακρόλεα' θάσσον ἔρχου were derived from Hipponax.

² νηγιάτον 129; cf. 135

due to a disturbance of MS. tradition. In the case of others, however, where there is no fluctuation (οὐχί twelve times), it may be doubted whether they are not to be ascribed to the author himself. The MS. has in places been corrected in the interest of the Ionic forms. Forms of Doric complexion may be referred to the speech of the poet's home. These are especially such as show a contraction of $a + \epsilon$ to η . The crasis of *καί* shows more forms with η than with \bar{a} . *δράω* regularly has η (*δρήs, ὄρη, ὄρητε*). *γλάσσα* or *γλάσσα* is not necessarily Doric. *νιν* is not uncommon. Some of the most interesting traces of Ionism are the following:—(1) *Vowels*: Over 150 forms have the Ionic η , less than ten have \bar{a} after ρ , ϵ , and ι . The contraction of $\epsilon + o$ to $\epsilon\upsilon$ is very frequent; regularly so in verbal forms. *ἐντων* 2₈₅, 6₃₅ and *ἀργυρεῦν* 4₆₂, 6₅ are unique. Hyper-Ionic *εὔ* occasionally comes to light as in *δραμεῦσα* 5₅₁, *χασκέωσθ*, 4₁₂. *εω* is generally so written in noun and verb, though it must usually be read *εω*. *Πρηξιτέλεω* 4₂₂ is a singular exception. $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$ and $\epsilon + \eta$ are always contracted when the forms were originally separated by *υοί*. $o + \eta = \omega$ in *βῶσον* 4₁₁, 1₅; *ἰρός* is frequent, as is the synizesis of $-\epsilon a$ in neuter plurals. The Ionic *ου* appears in *κοῦρη, γουνάτων, νοῦσος*. *ἐορτή* is attested 5₈₅, cf. *ἐχθές* 2₃₈. *μέζων* is found twelve times, *μείζων* but once.

(2) *Consonants*: κ for π is very frequent. Traces of *f* are scarcely discernible; cf. 2₅₂ *τὰ οἰκίρ*, but in five other passages the word has no *f*. The hiatus in 4₁₈ is excused by the caesura. There are many indications of psilosis, though these are outnumbered by the occurrences of the rough breathing. While *ἀδτιs* is found there is no trace of *οὐκί*. *χύτρη* 7₇₆ and *ἐνταῦθ'* 3₃₃ have driven out the Ionic forms. *σσ* holds its own (*ττ* only three times). *γλήχω* occurs. *θλήται* 3₁₁ and *θλή* 2₈₃, 5₁₁ (?) are not Ionic.

(3) *Noun declension*: *εω* generally, and $-\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ probably everywhere in the genitive of \bar{a} stems. $-\alpha\iota s$ and $-\alpha\iota s$ are certain, though the longer forms occur. Iota stems have $-\alpha\iota s, -\iota$.

(4) *Pronouns*: *μεν, σευ, τέο; ἡμέωv, ὑμέωv* (2, 7) and *ὑμέωv, ἡμέωv, ὑμέωv* as well as *ἡμᾶs* and *ὑμᾶs*. The Doric *νίν* is slightly more common than *μίν*. Reflexive pronouns in Ionic dress are *σεωυτήν* 2₆₆, *σεωυτοῦ* 7₉₉, *ἑωυτόν* 5₇₈ (cf. *ὠυτήs* 6₈₁). The demonstrative officiates occasionally as the relative.

(5) *Verbs*: *ἐποιέμεσθα* 4₁₇, *ἐσύλευν* *Class. Rev.* V 481 no. 3. Pure verbs that contract in Attic are always contracted though the *scriptio plena* is often found. *δρώρηκα* 5, &c. and *ἀκῆκουκας* 5₁₉ are new forms. *οἶσθας* 2₅₃ is the same form that Zenodotos regarded as Homeric.

(6) *Adverbs*, &c.: *ἦν* almost always, *ότεένεκ'* 5₂₀, cf. 7₁₀₃, *μᾶ*; *ἐs* is much more common than *εἰs*.

The following is a brief statement of the position of the dialect. For a detailed examination, see the discussion of the sounds and inflections of Ionic.

45.] **The Vowels.** *λαός* though frequent in the elegy, is not found in the iambists. *ληός* is attested in Hipponax 88. Supposed Doric forms such as *κωρίδες* S. A. 15 (cf. Anan. 5₂) or *πάλυπος* in S. A. 29 do not vitiate the conclusion that the iambo-graphers did not mix dialects. See under OΥ.

If *νόσοι*, found in S. A. 1₁₂ is correct, it must be classed with *νόσημα*, &c.

On *ὄρεας* in Hipponax 35₅, see under OΥ.

οὔνομα in Simonides of Amorgos 7₈₇ savours of the epic

transformation of the Ionic *ὄρομα*. It is probably a misread form. Usually the prosaic is also the poetical form, as witness Archilochos' *ἐνάλιος*.

Ionic *η* still occurs in Skythinos 1.

As to the contraction of vowels the iambic poets speak with no uncertain voice.

(1) When *γολ* intervened between *αε*, *αο*, *αω*, *εε*, *εη* and *εει* contraction has resulted, even if, as happens in a few cases, the contraction is not visibly expressed; as in Sim. Amorg. I₉, where the form *δοκέει* must be scanned as an iambus. *ειω* results always in a monophthong as does *ελο*, though the orthography varies between *εο*, with synizesis, and *ευ*, which is perhaps due to the later manner of writing.

(2) Vowels originally separated by *̄* or *σ* may, but need not, contract. *εσι* yields *ε̄ι* in all other cases except Hipponax II, where Bergk's reading *ἀγε̄ι* has an initial *ā* that is not in harmony with the etymology.

46.] **The Consonants.** The *κ* equivalents of the Homeric *π* forms appear at the opening of the seventh century and remain in undisturbed possession. The presence of *ὄπας* upon an inscription from Thasos is no proof, as Wilamowitz opines, of the avoidance by Archilochos of the *κ* forms. The rough breathing appears intact in the Thasiote Archilochos (with the exception of but two instances), a fact which seems to bespeak its presence in the Nesiotic Ionic of the seventh century. From the MSS. of Simonides of Amorgos no conclusion can be drawn in reference to the *psilosis* of the dialect, but Hipponax offers proof that the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland was devoid of the influence of the *spiritus asper*, save in fixed compounds of preposition with verb. Digamma seems to occur only in *οἶ* (Arch. 29₂ and Sim. Amorg. 77), though the number of cases directly opposed to its presence is so overwhelming that we are compelled to regard *ἦ δέ οἶ* and *οὐδέ οἶ* as mere formulae, proving nothing more than similar cases of hiatus in the tragic poets.

ἄμμορος in Hipponax seems to be the Epic and Aiolie form. See § 339.

Movable *nu* is employed, though sparingly.

47.] **Declension.** The dual is extinct. The genitives in *-εω* and *-εωυ* are completely established in the beginning of the seventh century.

In the dative plural instances of *-αις* and of *-οις* before consonants are rare, if permissible at all. It is by no means certain that (in the few examples which occur) we are not to recognize the instrumental which is obsolescent even in Homer. Scholars

of Nauck's proclivities have not succeeded in ousting all cases of this form from the *epos*. To cure Arch. 23 the knife must cut deep. The later Ananios without doubt used *-ois*.

-oio is rigorously excluded from iambic poetry. Archilochos in the elegy has a sure case of the archaic form. Hipponax bears witness to the influence of the *epos* only in his hexameter *παρὰ θιν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο* (854).

-εσσι, in nouns which are non-sigmatic, is a stranger to all the iambographers except Ananios.

48.] **Pronouns.** The iambographers used *κεῖνος*, *κεῖθι*, the elegists both the longer and the shorter form.

49.] **Verbs.** The presence of the syllabic augment is rigidly enforced. Where the contrary seems to be the case, as Sim. Amorg. 745, *hyphaeresis* must be assumed to have taken place. The temporal augment may be neglected in the case of verbs whose initial syllable is long by position. The existence of parallel forms in *-αω* and *-εω* begins as early as Archilochos, though it is not till the New Ionic period that these puzzling forms appear in great numbers. The elegy recognizes the existence of the *-εω* form in but one verb (Theog. 169 *μωμεύμενος*, 369 *μωμεύνται*).

50.] **Prepositions. Adverbs.** *ἐς* is the preferred form. *ἄν* obtains everywhere except in Ananios who has the epic *κέ*.

51.] The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute proof of the Ionic character of a form in question unless the inscription is older than 400 B. C. and contains no form specifically Attic. The language of the iambists, when supported by that of the inscriptions, is the surest warrant of the Ionic character of any form, cf. § 92. The differences in inflection between iambic poetry and the literary Ionic of Hekataios, Herodotos, and Hippokrates tend mainly in the direction of the preference of the latter, or more strictly the preference of their MSS., for open forms. In iambic poetry diphthongs are less frequently deprived of their second element, *e.g.* in adjectives in *-vs*, *-εια*, *-v*; there is no shifting of surd and aspirate in the dental and guttural series. The poets use both *θέλω* and *ἐθέλω*, while Herodotos and Hippokrates seem to have confined themselves to the use of the latter.

The relative and demonstrative pronouns are not restricted in the use of the poets to the Herodoteian rule. An external difference lies in the fact that the graphical expression of crasis is more frequent in the poets than in the prosaists and the inscriptions. *ἔοικα* seems to have been the usual form of the

perfect, as it is found in Sim. Amorg. and Herakleitos, while Herodotos uses *aisa*. Verbs in *-αω* are just beginning in Archilochos to admit the presence of the parallel form in *-εω* which has extended its domain so widely in the New Ionic. A sharp distinction between Herodotos and the older Ionic might be drawn on the lines of the existence of forms in *-οω* verbs made upon the model of *-εω* verbs. But the MSS. of Hdt., which alone contain these formations, have probably been vitiated to a considerable extent by theories as to the preference of Ionic for *εν* in all stages of its history.

The iambographers agree with the inscriptions in making a much freer use of the movable *νν* than was made, according to the prevalent, but incorrect, theories as to their diction, by the first writers of Ionic prose. See § 340.

Dialect of Trochaic Poetry.

52.] No more surprising example of the extreme delicacy with which the lyric poets intervined one dialect with another, can be discovered than the diction of early trochaic poetry. It is upon the foundation of contemporaneous, native speech, that both elegy and iambic poetry are raised: the elegy, however, permitting a recourse to the language of the epos which is alien to the genius of iambic verse. Midway between the two, in contents and in spirit, stands trochaic poetry. Its dialect too is not exclusively that of the poet's native speech, but is nevertheless far more deeply rooted to the idiom of the soil than that of the elegy. Homeric forms, even if belonging to another dialect than that of the poet, occasionally force their way in to heighten the pathos of this species of composition.

Less impetuous than the allied iambic rhythm¹, trochaic verse under the hands of Archilochos expresses an elevated moral purpose which bids man contemplate without surprise the marvels of his outward life, and hold him steadfast in the shock of calamity. The tone of fr. 56, 66, 74 recalls the elegiac to Perikles, as well as the 'No care have I of Gyges' golden store.' When utilized for a less lofty purpose the tetrameter of the inveterate hater may become the vehicle of indirect attack. Yet it never 'bites into the live man's flesh like parchment' as does the terrible and keen-edged iambic. It rarely descends to the coarseness of the latter rhythm.

¹ Of the trochaics it has been said: *uxores virilium iamborum non eodem impetu quo iambi incedunt*. Hermog. *de Id.* II 349 calls them γοργότεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι and well adapted for use when ἐπιείθεσθαι ὁ λέγων δοικῆι.

In the Archilocheian trochaic tetrameter are found the following cases of divergence from the dialect of iambic verse:— (1) *Διωρύσοι* 77 is the only instance of this elision¹ in Ionic, non-Homeric poetry, and the only occurrence of the *-οιο* form in this species of verse. *-οιο* is not found in the iambs of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, or Hipponax. It may be noted that when Anakreon uses *-οιο* it is not in a trochaic fragment, but in an acatalectic iambic dimeter with anapaestic anaerucsis. (2) *καθανοῦσι* 64 may easily be forced to yield to the form without apocope. Its removal, however, is unwise, since there are not wanting traces of apocope in monuments of the dialect which are free from the suspicion of having been influenced by the epos. At best these traces are very rare. Apocope is confined almost exclusively to Aiolic and Doric. (3) *φορηῆς* in 59 has been regarded as containing the Homeric ending, which had disappeared from Ionic by the time of Archilochos. We find however in Samos *Πρωρηῆς*, on which see § 510. (4) Omission of the syllabic augment in 73 is not an Homeric reminiscence. Read *ῥκιχῆσατο*.

Solon's tetrameters are couched in pure Attic save *μοῦνον* 33_ε, and *κέει* 33_γ, the latter form being interesting from the fact that it is the only non-Ionic, but Homeric, form employed in trochaics. *βίης* in 32₂ is probably an Ionic interloper.

Lesser trochaic rhythms employed by Archilochos show the beginning of melic poetry, and are therefore referred to § 62.

Dialect of the Elegy.

53.] The history of the elegy from the earliest to the Attic period is in great measure the history of the receding of the Homeric forms, notably those of Aiolic tone, before the wave of modernization. As the freedom and mobility of the speech of the *Divina Commedia*, which set the form for the literary language as Homer did for his successors, were to be restrained in the course of time, so the epos was to lose something of its opulence and plasticity as it passed into the hands of the elegists.

The elegiac poets, whether of Ionic or non-Ionic birth, accepting the language of the Homeric epos as the basis of the fabric of their verse, subject it to two modifications. Either (1) the archaic forms are shaken off, or (2) those peculiar to the poet's home and age are adopted. To the forms which were found alike in Ionic and Aiolic, but were obsolescent at the time of

¹ See Platt, *Class. Rev.* II 99, Lugebil *Der genit. Sing.* § IV.

the completion of the Iliad and Odyssey (800-650 B.C.), the elegy, as the voice of the present, displays a varying degree of repugnance. Thus the archaic ἐθέλωμι has become an impossibility, of *F* there is but an echo, -φι added to nominal stems scarcely survives, -εειν in the second aorist no longer imposes upon our credulity, the open verbal forms are advancing rapidly, by way of synizesis, to the contraction stage. On the other hand the adaptability of -αιω still ensures its perpetuation.

It may be the result of chance, or it may be due to the innovating spirit of the Ionians, that in the fragments of the elegists not of Ionic birth we find more archaic forms preserved than elsewhere. Thus the suffix -θειν is found only in Tyrtaios and in Theognis, φι is preserved by Theognis alone, and the 'eolic' ὄε, found once in Archilochos (epode 98), occurs in Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis. The terminations -σι (ἐθέλωσι), -σθα (ἐχέισθα), and -μεσθα (φερόμεσθα) are dead except in Theognis.

The bond of sympathy between Homer and the elegy is not felt in equal force by the different poets of the elegiac guild. Stylistic reminiscences of Homer are more frequent in Kallinos and in Mimnermos than in the elegies of Archilochos, the Ionian of the Ionians. It is the colours of war that are most eagerly transferred from Homer to the canvas of the elegists, and Kallinos and Tyrtaios contain more Homeric reminiscences than any other elegists. Some small part of the sententious wisdom of Solon and Theognis is an echo of that of the *bourgeois* Hesiod¹. In the adoption of epic reminiscences Theognis and several of his contemporaries evince a fondness for those of Aiolic structure.

On the one hand then we have a contraction of the freedom permitted to the diction of the epopee. On the other, the elegists drew from the soil such forms as had not been deemed suitable in tone to express the splendour and remoteness of the epic. We can thus admit without hesitation the κ forms of the Homeric πότε, πῶς, &c., even where the MSS. have π-, perverted by copyists who had the Attic form in their mind's eye. The inability of the Ionic to geminate κ ensures the correctness of Kallinos' ὀπότε κερ δῆ, which has proved a stumbling block to Fick's theory that the elegy in the hands of native Ionians contained no form not pure Ionic in character.

¹ When Phokylides in his hexameters (3) uses the Doric τετόρων, he borrows not from the Homeric, but from the Hesiodic epos, which has left its traces in Theognis and Solon. Cf. *Works and Days* 698 and Kinkel epic frag. No. 248 (τέττορες). Hesiod, as a rule, was not popular with the Ionians of Asia Minor. There is scarcely a trace of an Hesiodic formula in Kallinos or Mimnermos.

Kallinos was not troubled by the thought that the form did not belong to the Ionic element in the Iliad.

54.] The chief feature in the linguistic character of the elegy that permits a line of division to be drawn between the older elegists Kallinos, Archilochos, Mimnermos, and Tyrtaios on the one hand, and the later Xenophanes, Phokylides, and Theognis on the other, is the presence of a greater number of Homeric Aiolisms in the latter class. These Aiolisms will be discussed under the head of AIOLIC.

A few noteworthy marks of the Ionic of the elegists are here recorded.

55.] **Vowels.** The indubitable Ionic form $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ (see § 160) is unknown to the elegy, despite the fact that it must have existed as early as the Ephesian poet Kallinos. From his time to that of Xenophanes, $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$ was regularly used, if we accept the testimony of the MSS. It is inconceivable that it can have been employed in the sixth century as a living Ionic form¹. The preservation of each archaic word must have its special history. $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$ may have been archaic, as *folk* is, but with more distinctive dialectal colour. Archilochos may have used \bar{a} in proper names at a time when Ionic η before vowels had passed or was passing into ϵ .

56.] **Consonants.** Xenophanes and Phokylides show no trace of the influence of the *spiritus lenis*.

Though Mimnermos probably adopted $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, $\kappa\acute{\omega}s$, &c. (whereas Tyrtaios could not adopt so peculiarly Ionic a phonetic change), yet our MSS. treat both poets alike in presenting only the form with the labial.

F is practically dead in the elegists of Ionic extraction. In Mimn. 2₁₁, Bergk writes $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, where the hiatus can be explained on the same view as Solon's $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and Archilochos' Ἐνναλίωιο ἄνακτος . On Mimn. $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \omicron\iota$ 12₉, Xenophanes' $\acute{\omicron} \omicron\iota$ 2₉ (which recall ϕ 9), see § 389. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$ Mimn. 6₂ is a prose as well as a poetical form. Tyrtaios has, in comparison with Kallinos and Mimnermos, more traces of the labial spirant, while in Theognis the retention of the F was facilitated by the speech of his ungrateful fatherland.

Assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition which has suffered apocope occurs but rarely (Arch. 6₂, Mimn. 12₃, 14₄) and savours of Aiolic, though evidence from prose may be adduced in support of its Ionic character. Tyrt. 11₁₉ may be epic or Doric.

¹ Fick's explanation of the presence of $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$ in Homer is that the Ionization of the poems did not take place until about 540 B.C. when $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ was antiquated. With this view I do not agree, nor with that of Monro, *H. G.* p. 390. See AIOLIC, § 10 ff.

57.] **Declension.** Ionic *-εω* and *-εων* are to be read with *synizesis*, *-αιο* occurs twice in the elegies of Archilochos, four times in Mimnermos and in Tyrtaios, *-αις* and *-οις* are not to be removed from Tyrtaios and Theognis. Their expulsion from the Ionic elegists can be accomplished only with great difficulties.

The inflection of *πόλις* shows forms of various ages. Xenoph. 2₃ has *πόλεως*, Tyrtaios *πόληϊ* 12₁₅ but *πόλει* 4₁₀, Theognis *πόληος* 757 but *πόλεος* 56. Archilochos has the old Ionic *ηός*. Kallinos preserves the old form of *ην* stems in *Ἡσιονῆας*, which has its parallel in *φονῆες* Arch. tetr. 59. Tyrtaios and Theognis admit the *η* forms more freely. Phokyl. 1₂ professes to have *Προκλέους*, an impossible Ionic form. *ἔρωσ*, which is stamped as Ionic by Archilochos (ep. 103), is also Theognideian.

58.] **Pronouns.** *σαντοῦ* is read Mimn. 7₃, though Bekker's *σ' ἀντοῦ* shows that the critic could not reconcile himself to so early an appearance of the pronoun. *σαντοῦ* Theog. 795 is generally declared to be Attic, while for *ἐμαντόν* Xenoph., which Bergk (II p. 116) retains, Schneidewin proposed *ἐμεωντόν*.

59.] **Vowel combinations** are contracted in the elegy with almost as much freedom as in iambic or trochaic poetry. An *-εει* from *-εω* verbs is unknown. *τελέων* Mimn. 11₃, *κλονέοντα* 14₃, Xenophanes *καλέουσι* 2₅ and *δοκέουσι* Phokyl. 9, are the only examples of vowels uncontracted in verbs upon the disappearance of *γολ*. Forms from adjectives in *-αλεος* which occur only in the elegists, likewise remain open. *ἠέλιος* is not displaced by the prose form. Contraction is not imperative upon the loss of *F* or *σ*.

60.] **Particles.** *ἄν* is regularly employed by the Ionians, except in a single instance when Kallinos uses *κέν*. In the latter part of the sixth century (Theognis) *κέν* is more frequently employed.

The second book of the Theognideian collection contains many forms which must be allowed to stand, though inconsistent with those that are usual in the earlier portion. So too in all portions which can be shown to be the result of later imitation, Attic forms must be allowed a place. This may excuse such forms as *εἶ* 456, but is chiefly applicable to the contraction of *ε+ο* to *ου* which occurs in the Alexandrine elegy in conjunction with the Ionic *εω*. The correctness of some Doric forms is not to be impeached because of the adoption of a Doric element by the later elegists. Until it is accurately determined what portions of Theognis are ancient, what of quite recent date, his text is an insufficient criterion in cases where a just doubt may arise as to whether or not a given form is contemporary Ionic.

The Ionic Element in Solon.

61.] In Archilochos no great interval in tone separates the iambic from the elegiac fragments. In Solon, too, the spirit of the elegiacs is not appreciably different from that of the iambic trimeters and tetrameters. Perhaps a greater measure of objectivity is discernible in the former than in the latter species of the lyric art as cultivated by the Athenian lawgiver. In the domain of language, however, each form of composition is subject to its own conditions.

The iambs are composed in the pure dialect of the first half of the sixth century. The pathos of the *γλωσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας* (369) echoes the spirit of the Athenian, to whom the adoption of an un-Attic idiom was not easy; a fact attested by the language of the epigrams discovered upon Attic soil which almost without exception adopt the contemporary Attic form. Cf. §§ 72, 75, 2, 189.

The fragments of the oldest Attic elegy as represented by Solon, and in fact the remains of the entire Attic elegy to the time of Kritias, have been handed down in a form whose correctness, so far as the interrelation of the Attic *ā purum* and the Ionic *η* is concerned, has been disputed, notably by Kirchhoff¹. The form of the Soloneian elegy as presented by the MSS. is practically that of the later epigrams, which do not scruple to use, now the Attic *ā*, now the Ionic *η*². Kirchhoff contends that an Attic elegy with *ā purum*, or an Attic elegy with *η* throughout, would be conceivable; that we could not take umbrage even at a mixture of Attic and Ionic, provided there were discernible some law governing the interrelation of the two dialects; but that an arbitrary procedure which permits now *ā purum*, now Ionic *η* in the same word, is, in the light of the evidence afforded by the contemporary elegiac fragments upon inscriptions, utterly inconceivable.

In § 72 it is shown that the language of the Attic elegy in the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries is, as far as the use of *ā purum* is concerned, pure Attic without a single trace of the Ionic *η*. The evidence of the stone records contemporary with, or subsequent to, Solon speaks therefore with no uncertain voice in favour of the view that would expel all cases of Ionic *η* from the text of the ancient lawgiver. In confirmation of this opinion may be adduced the fact that the MSS. of Solon have

¹ *Zur Geschichte d. attischen Epigramms* in *Hermes* V 48 ff.

² Wagner, *Quaestiones de epigrammatis*, p. 25.

passed through the hands of scribes who substituted Ionic for Attic forms. In XIII 46 there is no other reading than the hyper-Ionic *οὐδεμίην*. Similar forms have been dragged into the text of the philosophers (cf. Anaxagoras, 4). With all his dependence upon the diction of Homer, it must therefore be held that all cases of purely Ionic *η* must be expelled from Solon's text.

On the other hand the inscriptional evidence does not support the contention of those scholars¹ who would find in the early Athenian elegy nothing but contemporary Attic forms; as it disproves Kirchhoff's view that the Old Attic epigrams contain nothing but Attic forms, the Ionic epigrams nothing but pure Ionic, and that a mixture of Attic and Ionic is unknown in the earliest period. *κούρη* we find in C. I. A. I 469 (§ 75, 2), *εἴρεκα* in conjunction with *γενεᾶς* C. I. A. IV 477 E (§ 78), *Ἄϊδαο* C. I. A. I 481, *ἀπο]φθιμένοιο* C. I. A. IV 477 C., *ποτί* C. I. A. I 466. This admixture of the Attic and Homeric dialect which we meet in the sixth century B.C. is the forerunner of that constant juxtaposition of Attic and Ionic which exists in the epigrams of the latest period. With *Φρασικλέας, κούρη* in C. I. A. I 469, cf. *Λυκείας, κούρην* Kaibel 152. Kirchhoff indeed holds² that *κούρη* is an Attic form, the 'survival of older phonetic conditions of the Attic idiom.' Even Kretschmer, who contends³ that *Διόσκουροι* is genuine Attic, does not venture the assertion that this *ου* is Attic save in compounds in which the accent preceded the syllable containing the diphthong.

If the Attic elegy, as it found expression among the common people in funereal monuments, did not refuse to own at least a partial allegiance to the epic, it is the more improbable that, in its literary form under the hands of Solon, it should have cast off all forms not of Attic colouring. *εἰπέμεναι* has, indeed, long ago retired before the *εἰπεῖν μοι* of Aristotle; *ἔρμεναι* may only occur in a spurious verse; but all efforts to disturb *ἡγεμόνεσσιν* must be fruitless in the face of the fact that this form comes to light in the elegy upon the deeds of Kimon preserved by Plutarch (*Kimon* 7).

In general it may be said of the dialect of Solon that it goes along with that of his Ionic predecessors or contemporaries. Open *-εω* has ceased to exist in verbal and substantival forms, *-εω* or *-ω* being substituted therefor; Ionic *-εϋ* is found four, and Attic *-ου* three, times in the elegies. Verbs in *αω*, *εω*, *οω* are always contracted. Upon the disappearance of intervocalic *σ* contraction results almost invariably. Solon has *Παιῶνος* 1357,

¹ Notably Fick, *B. B.* XIV 252.

² *Hermes*, V 54.

³ *K. Z.*, XXXI 442.

whereas Archilochos had *παιήονα*, but there are cases where vowels originally separated by *F* are kept apart. Traces of initial *F* do not exist. The Ionic form in *σσ* seems to have forced its way in, to the entire exclusion of the native *ττ*. Apocope of *ἀνά* occurs once (112). *-οιο* is found but twice, while *-οις* and *-αις* are so rare that their existence has been denied. Wherever there is a variation in the MSS. between Attic and Ionic forms the former should be adopted.

On Solon's trochaics, see § 52.

Ionisms of Melic Poetry.

62.] **Archilochos (Epodes).** Forms not in consonance with the native dialect of the poet are: *κόρης* 120 (iobacchics), *δρέων* 115, a fragment of like metre with 114, if the final syllable of *δυσπαιπάλους* be regarded as anceps. In 114 (asyndetic, dactylic tetrapody + ithyphallicus) we find *λίπε*, a case of omitted augment which is not analogous to *κικήσατο* 73 and *ποῦατο* 186, where hyphaeresis may account for the unusual form. The hiatus in *ἦ δέ οἱ* 97 recalls that of 29 (iambic), and is probably stereotyped.

Of the lesser trochaic rhythms¹ Archilochos manifests a preference for the ithyphallicus both in conjunction with the dactylic tetrapody, as in 114 and 115, and also when the paroemiacus precedes, as in 79, a fragment containing *Χαρίλαε*.

The trochaic tripod installed itself early in favour with the pure melic poets. Sappho united two ithyphallics to form a single verse, Anakreon employed the tripod after an iambic dimeter. Whether the *Hail to the Chief* of Archilochos (119) contains a catalectic trochaic tetrapody is doubtful. The occurrence of the form *Ἰόλαος* (in the iambic trimeter) is at least worthy of note. *λαός* does not appear in the pure iambs of Archilochos.

63.] **Anakreon.** The dialect of Anakreon is the Ionic² of his time with an admixture of Aiolisms (see under Melic AIOLISMS) sufficient to indicate the debt his genius owed to the Lesbian school. These Aiolisms are not rigorously confined to the metres inherited by the Teian bard from his Mitylenaiian predecessors. Dorisms, though found in the fragments handed down by Hephaestion, held to exist by Eustathios (1862₁₁) and suggested by Bergk in his emendations, are totally foreign to the atmo-

¹ On the tetrameter, see § 52.

² *ἔγραψεν ἐλεγεία καὶ ἰάμβους, ἰάδι πάντα διαλέκτῳ*, Suidas.

sphere of the poet. The following Ionisms attest the character of his language: κ for π in κού, κώ, ἐσκατορῆς 1₆, ἐπίστιον 90₄. κάθοδος 43₆ is not a proof of the presence of the initial asper in the sixth century. ὀχάνοιο in 91 is the only example of the archaic ending in the Ionic melos¹; τιθέμεναι in the same fragment is another example of the persistence of the Homeric form (though both might be classed with the Aiolisms). Another older form is Ποσιδηϊῶν 6. The shorter forms -αις and -οις (e.g. 24, 64₁₁) cannot be conjectured out of existence. Anakreon is of great importance for the study of the supposed fondness of Ionic for open vowels. In vocalic contraction Anakreon followed his predecessors in the treatment of vowels originally separated by *yod*. φιλέει 70, δοκέεις 75₂ written with *scriptio plena* are due to Hephaestion and Heraklides Pontikos respectively. When *f* or *σ* intervened, Anakreon adopted the open or the contracted form. In a considerable number of instances the uncontracted forms appear in the MSS. despite the necessity of contraction or at least synizesis. Forms that are certainly open are rare, e.g. Θρηκίης 96 eleg. (but cf. 49, 75), πᾶς 21₁₃. In 45 we even find ᾄω (cf. 65), and in 63: ἐχέαι! Initial *f* is extinct. The genitives in -εω and -εων are monosyllabic. The expulsion of the second element of the diphthongs εἰ and οἰ occurs chiefly in Anakreon and Hipponax, and reminds us of the approach of the later prose usage. Crasis is not often expressed graphically (8₃, 21₇, 88, cf. 44₆).

The Ionic Element in the Epigram and in Melic-Poetry (Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides).

64.] The nature of the mixed dialect adopted by Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides of Keos, Pindar, Bacchylides, &c., who made use of Doric, Aiolic and Ionic, will be discussed in a later volume of this work in the chapter treating of the mixture of dialects in the earlier choral poetry and in the later universal melic.

The Ionisms which constituted a portion of the poetical apparatus of choral poetry, are drawn chiefly from the Homeric, less frequently from the Hesiodic epos.

REGARD to the virtue of each of the component parts² of the melic art dictated the presence of epic forms in varying degree.

¹ This fragment is the only example of an acatal. iamb. dimeter with an anapaestic anaerucsis.

² Plato, Rep. III 398 D: τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστὶ συγκείμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ.

When the substructure of the poem is Ionic and we find superimposed both Doric and Aiolic, Doric is the heavier, Aiolic the lighter element. When Doric lies at the base, the purely Ionic framework is more noticeable than the Aiolic.

65.] Forms of distinctly Ionic colouring are exceedingly rare in Alkman. In fr. 30 the MS. has *γούνατα* for which *γώνατα* is to be written with Hiller; so Dor. *δωρί* for *δουρί* fr. 68. In *ἔαρος* 26, *τρέϊς* 76, *ἄρνεις* 28, *ἀγείται* (-ῆται Schneid.) 93, the *ει* is Ionic, as is the case in *εἰμένα* 97 (Hiller ἤμένα). The *ει* of *εἴπατε* 47, 56 B is pan-Hellenic.

66.] In the following sections are examined the occurrences of the purely Ionic forms in the melic poets, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides. In the case of the epigrams of Simonides the occurrences of *ā* are noticed. Since a registration of such Homeric forms as are not absolutely Ionic is not attempted, all Aiolo-Ionic forms are excluded.

In order not to break the light thrown upon the dialect of the different varieties of lyric verse cultivated by Simonides, the epigram has been noticed here rather than in conjunction with the elegy (see § 53 ff.).

67.] The epigram was originally completely local in colouring and not restricted to the elegiac distich as a vehicle of expression. In the oldest monuments we find the hexameter¹, a metre which still proved serviceable after the distich had long been in vogue. Homer indeed was styled the first epigrammatist on the strength of H 89—

*ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ.*

Epigraphical monuments of the seventh century such as the Korkyraian inscriptions in honour of Polynovos, Menekrates, Arniadas (C. D. I. 3186, 3188, 3189) are composed in hexameters, but in the Korinthian dialect. Attic epigrams in hexametrical form are to be found C. I. A. I 468, cf. 465, 476, 478.

One of the earliest Doric epigrams in the distich form—

*εἰ μὴ ἐγὼν ὦναξ παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσὸς
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά*

¹ Cf. Hdt. V 59, Plato, Laws XII 958 E. Epigrams in iambic or trochaic metre are rare in all periods.

was designed for the colossus of Zeus, consecrated by Kypselos not long after Ol. 33¹. An early epigram in Boiotian is found in I. G. A. 146.

If the epigram was originally couched in the dialect of the person in whose honour it was composed, the rise of the elegiac distich² as the instrument for the expression of grief or of sententious thought, changed in course of time its linguistic framework. Instead of representing a purely local idiom in its literary form, the epigram often accepts the Ionic of the elegy as an ingredient. Antiquated terminations such as *-σθα*, *-μεσθα*, *-θειν*, *-φιν* are rejected, though *-οιο* is retained from the fact that it is well adapted to come immediately before the first caesura, and at the end of the verse.

With Simonides the epigram widens its horizon, does not disdain ornament, and admits Doric and Attic forms as a constituent part of a diction that is not a local, but an epic, Ionic. Some portions of Ionic territory such as Chios, where no trace of an admixture of Doric may be discovered, have yielded epigrams containing a slight infusion of Doric forms. The Athenian epigram, however, displays a repugnance to forms alien to Attic. This consciousness of the duty to the mother tongue finds expression as early as Solon (*γλωσσαρ (γλωτταρ?) οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας*). Epigrams that have come to light upon the soil of Attika generally contain nothing that is not pure Attic. But when a Dorian or an Ionian caused a monument to be erected in Attika in memory of a fellow countryman, we observe the introduction of Doric or Ionic forms. So in Simonides Dorisms or Atticisms are admissible in case Dorians or inhabitants of Attika are the cynosure of the poet's eye. These Dorisms must not be too remote, that is, specifically local in tone.

In the course of time, as the individuality of dialect life disappeared, the strictness of the principles regulating the diction of the ancient epigram relaxed. In late inscriptional epigrams from Attika we find Ionic and Attic forms commingling, much in the same manner as in the MSS. of the old-time epigrammatists, whose texts have suffered no little deprecation from the hand of time. Ἀ παιδείαι καὶ σοφίηι is not an unusual occurrence. Even when the general frame-work is Attic or Doric, Ionic forms continue to appear. Nor are these Ionisms restricted, as might be expected, to those enfranchised by the Homeric poems. The New Ionic occasionally makes itself heard. Errors of the stone cutters in the direction of the insertion of familiar forms become more and more frequent as

¹ Bergk *Gr. Lit.-Gesch.* II 174.

² Cf. Mackail, *Anthology*, p. 5.

time advances. The poet even ventures upon dialect collocations which would have been avoided at an earlier date. In an execrable elegy commemorating the exploits of a Megarian in the Korinthian war, the Doric is contaminated by Ἀθήνας (which is pardonable enough), and by ὀήμοι. We also meet with a Doric epigram in honour of an Ionian, whose name, however, still retains its Ionic stamp. In the epigrams of peoples who once spoke Ionic the admixture of Ionic forms is not more surprising than in those monuments which commemorate Dorians. Dialect epigrams became a matter of personal predilection dependent more or less upon the skill and taste of the local poet.

The investigation of the epigram at the period of its highest artistic excellence is beset with the difficulty that there has been fathered upon Simonides no inconsiderable number of creations of a later date (Bergk 178-188), whose spuriousness is not always easy to demonstrate. Junghahn's¹ criterion of the use of ὄδε and οὔτος is here of no avail. The possibility of deception was rendered comparatively easy in the case of the epigrammatists because it was not till late, as we learn from inscriptions², that the artist affixed his name to his work as a mark of its genuineness. The fragments of the lyric poets were collected without critical examination at a tolerably early date, and Alexandrian and later learning was impatient of the confession that it could not discover the author of an epigram that professed to have been handed down from the golden age of lyric poetry. The result was that to Archilochos, Pisander, Sappho, Erinna, Anakreon, and especially Simonides, much has been attributed that is the product of mendacious art or scholastic exercise.

68.] Ionic Η³. The choric poets agree in using \bar{a} for the Ionic η in all passages except those mentioned below, where the reading of the chief MSS. is stated; but pan-Hellenic η is not changed to \bar{a} .

(1) In the terminations of the first declension. Exceptions are rare, e.g. Sim. 46, 60, 66, 76; Bacch. 13₁, 24, 26, 27₁, 39; Stesich. 26₄, Pind. P. V 67. In several of these passages there is MS. authority for the \bar{a} form, as also in Ibyk. 20.

* In the epigrams composed in honour of Dorians \bar{a} is to be

¹ *Quaestiones de Simonidis Cei epigrammatis* (fourth Jahresbericht über das Luisenstädtische Gymnasium zu Berlin, 1869).

² The source of an epigram may be indicated in inscriptions by other means. In Hicks 11 we have a late restoration of an epigram by Simonides, whose name appears in the introduction.

³ See Mucke *De dialectis Stesichori, Ibyci, Simonidis, Bacchylidis aliorumque poetarum choricorum cum Pindarica comparatis*. Schaumberg *Quaestiones de dialecto Sim. Cei, Bacch., Ibyci*; Peter *De dialecto Pindari*. See AIOLIC, § 100.

accepted, *e.g.* Sim. 99, 103, 141, 160 where Ionic and Doric stand side by side according to the editions. The tendency to adopt epic instead of Doric forms is seen in 138, an epigram quoted by Thukydides, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and by Suidas with the Ionic 'Ελλήνων ἀρχηγός, μνήμη', though the historian expressly says that the words were inscribed by order of Pausanias. ἐμπορίην in 127 must yield to ἐμπορίαν since γενεάν precedes. The MSS. vary in the case of Nos. 105, 115, 116, 141. Conversely Doric forms have MS. authority when no reason appears to exist for their presence (*e.g.* 89, 108).

(2) In forms derived from verbs with stems in -a or from nouns of the Ἄ declension. Exceptions are *δησιόπολις* Sim. 53 (*ῶνασα* 55), *ἔστη* Bacch. 33 (cf. *ἔφα*), *θηγητῶν* Sim. 71, Bacch. 3 and *θηγητοῖς* Bacch. 9, 36. *Θνατός* is frequently attested. *ἀδμᾶτες* Bacch. 34, the conjecture of Bergk, must be adopted in place of Clem. Alex. and Eusebios' *ἀδμηῆτες* (*θεόδμητος* in a few MSS. Pind. Ol. III 7, elsewhere -*δματος*). In Sim. epig. 141₅, we have *νικήσαντα* and *αἰγλήεντα* 177 (hexam.); elsewhere the η forms except *μνάματα* 134₂, *μνάμ'* 138₂.

Pindar has *φάνασε* Ol. XIII 67 &c., *εἰδιάθην* P. XI 38 (*B* has η), *ὠκυδίναντος* Isth. V 6, *πεποναμένον* P. IX 93, *ποναθῆ* Ol. VI 11, the first and last verbs having η forms elsewhere. Boeckh's *φιλάσαντ'* N. VII 88 and *φίλασ'* N. V 44 have but poor support; *ἀπονοστάσαντος* N. VI. 50; *ὕμῶσαι* in all MSS. Isth. III 7.

(3) In the augment of verbs whose initial vowel is *a*. Sim. ἤρξατο 46 has long ago been corrected in the light of ἄλλοντο 40₃. For ἄρθη 16 the MSS. have ἠέρθη. In the epigrams Sim. has η (*e.g.* ἠρθη 111₄). Pind. P. IV 119 has *προσηύδα*.

(4) Forms with radical *ā*. S. has *ἀπρακτος* 5₁₆, 39, Bacch. *ἀπρακτ'* 20, Pindar *πράξις* &c., but *ἀπρήκτων* Isthm. VIII 8, which is defended by Boeckh on grounds that fail to produce conviction. Pindar has furthermore η in *σιδηρίταν* N. V 19. *ἰσιχίαι* is the better attested reading in six passages, despite the existence of *ἀσύχιμον* Ol. II 32, *ἀσύχιον* P. IX 22. *Μνημοσύνας* is supported by a consensus of all MSS. N. VII 15, and *στίλα* by the testimony of some in Ol. III 44. Elsewhere η is found only in proper names in Pindar:—*Ζηνί* fifteen times, *Ζηνός* four times, *Ζήνα* P. IV 194, IX 64; *Θρηϊκίων* P. IV 205; *Ἀσκληπίον* N. III 54 is condoned by Peter for the strange reason that the ode has an Æolic colouring (*Ἀσκλα-* is Æolic); an argument put forward by Hermann and Boeckh in defence of *πολυμάλφ* Ol. I 12, which Gildersleeve regards as = *πολυκάρπφ*. *μῆλον sheep* has η invariably in Pindar.

Simonides 79 with ἤδνμος brings up the question of the origin of the word and its relation to νήδνμος (see Leaf on B 2). In 41₂, 71 and 74 S. has \bar{a} . In the following words η occurs:— ἀμήχανος 511, cf. 43, ἤματα 12, ἡμερόφωνος 80 B, σηκός 46, κληίς 23, ἡλίθιος 55. On ὀνησίπολις 53, &c. see above (2). In 57₄ στάλας, not στήλας, is correct. In his epigrams S. has \bar{a} , as in Πελοποννήσου 91₂ (v. l. η), νᾶσος 96₂, δάμψ 155₁₀, σᾶμα 126, καρύσει 182₆ (spurious?).

In a trochaic fragment (28) Bacchylides has ἡδός, which is Attic rather than epic. In 24 we find πῆχυν, in 9 Ζηνί.

Ibykos offers Θρηήκιος 1, κῆπος 1, πεπηγώς 21.

Stesichoros νησύν 32, ἀμήχανα 51 (as Epicharmos and Theokritos) with which cf. S. 511, 43. Pindar has uniformly ἀμήχανος. Furthermore κήδεα 50, ἡλίβατος 83.

(5) In compounds whose prior member ends in σ usually. στεφανηφόρον (Bergk. P. L. G. III 734, l. 7) was formerly attributed to Pindar, whereas the correct form appears Ol. VIII 10. In P. XI 8 ὀμηγερέα or -γυρέα, despite ὀμάγυριν Isth. VII 46.

(6) Feminines in $-\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$. Pindar's Ἀλκμήνα (e.g. Ol. VII 27) led Schneidewin to correct Ἀλκμάνας Sim. 8. εἰράνα (*Lysistr.* 1081) should not cause any confusion as to the Doric character of the form εἰρήνα, attested by Alkman and containing a pau-Hellenic η . εἰράνα seems to be due to the influence of σελάνα, γαλάνα. In Pindar we have εἰρήνα in almost all MSS. Ol. XIII 7, P. IX. 23, N. I 69 (εἰράναν in the pseudo-Pind. adesp. 140). εἰρήνη in Bacch. 131, needs only the slight change to εἰρήνα and not Boeckh's more caustic remedy. Pindar has both Ἀθάνα (e.g. Ol. XIII 82) and Ἀθηναία¹ (Ol. VII 36) and Sim. in his epigrams has Ἀθάνας 151 and Ἀθηναίης 143₂. Compare the use in tragedy. If any change is necessary in Sim. 151, I should prefer Ἀθηνᾶς to Bergk's Ἀθήνης. This contracted form occurs in Attic as early as the sixth century. Ἀθήνη is a rare form, if it exists at all, upon old inscriptions. An instance is found Roberts I. No. 26, but at all events is too doubtful to permit us to assume that this form was a part of the poet's apparatus. Sim. has Ἑλλάνων 108₄ and 138 (epigr.) as Pindar, e.g. P. I 49, and Timokr. 2 Ἑλλανᾶς. Pindar has ἀπήνα Ol. V 3, ποτανός often, but ποτηρός P. V 114 (Peter proposes πετηρός or πετειρός); Μυκηνᾶν in P. IV 49 is strange.

(7) Suffix in $-\tau\alpha\varsigma$ = Ionic $-\tau\eta\varsigma$. Bacchyl. 42 ἀβρότῃτι, where the Doric form is intentionally excluded by the choice of rhythm and tone of the fragment. Pindar has $-\tau\bar{u}\tau-$ invariably.

¹ Peter thinks the η of Ἀθηναία was retained from the epic from a reverential regard for proper names. Cp. the treatment of Ἡρακλῆς in Boiotian and Thessalian. Most editors read Ἀθαναία in Ol. VII 36, N. X 84.

(8) Other suffixes: Ἰθακήσιος in Bacchyl. 38; καύχημα Isth. V 51.

(9) Ionic ημ = Doric αμ = Aiolic ἄμ, < ασμ. Ibykos 1₁₁ has ἡμετέρας which was corrected by Hermann. Bacchylides 11 has ἀμέτερον.

(10) In isolated words (radical syllables): Ibyk. 22 has νήριτον in the MS. which was changed by Boeckh to ἀνηριτᾶν. Bergk reads ἀναριτᾶν. In Ib. 1₂ μηλίδες (despite μᾶλον Stes. 29, Ib. 6) has been corrected by Hiller. πηρέλοψ Stes. 91 (schol. *Artes* 1302). πρᾶτον in Sim. 182 (probably spurious).

69.] Other Ionisms. (1) Cases of the adulterine diphthong *ei* are as follows.

Pindar: εἰνάλιος except P. IV 39 where ἐνάλιος occurs, ἀλεγεινός, ἐρατεινός, ποθεινός, σκοτεινός, κλεινός eleven times (elsewhere κλεινός three times, cf. κελαδεινός, φαεινός), κεινός Ol. III 45 and κεινός. In the case of κελαδεινός and φαεινός Homer uses the Ionic forms without exception.

The inf. in -ειν occurs besides that in -μεν and in -εν; εἰμέν P. III 60.

Stesichoros: κλεινᾶς 5, χειροβρός 4, κλαίειν 51.

Simonides: ποθεινός 71₂ (also in Ilikymn. 4), εἰαρινός 57₂, 73₂ (Pind. ἡρινός P. IX 46); χεῖρας 8₂, χειρῶν 17 (χέρα 37₄, χερσίν 5₂). In the epigrams Sim. has χεῖρα 141₆, χειρός 136₃, χεῖρας 107₂, 115₁; εἰροπόλοιοι 235 (Bergk αἰριπόλοιοι). ξεῖτος occurs only in the epigrams and elegies: Ξεινοφίλου 147₃, ξεινοδόκων 84₇ and as v. l. in 96, 92₁; κλειτοῖο epigr. 94₁ (κλειντόν ep. 120₃, κλεινόν by conjecture). εἰ also in εἰμί ep. 152₁.

Bacchylides: ἰκνεῖσθαι 33.

(2) The adulterine *ou* and *ou* due to metrical lengthening occur as follows:—

Pindar: Οὐλυμπος Ol. III 36, XIII 92, P. IV 214, N. X 84, Is. IV 55, frag. 30₄; Οὐλυμπιονίκας Ol. IV 9, Οὐλυμπία Ol. III 15, V 2, N. IV 75. Elsewhere Ὀλυμπος, Ὀλυμπιάς, Ὀλύμπιος.

μοῦρος P. IV 227, IX 27, Is. V 12, elsewhere μόρος; νοῦσος P. III 7, IV 293, elsewhere νόσος; κοῦρος κούρα throughout; δούρατος P. IV 38, δουρί Ol. VI 17, N. IX 26; γούρασι Is. II 26; οὔρεῖ Is. VI 32, οὔρεσι P. VI 21; οὐλόμενον P. X 41, -αν P. IV 293, frag. 107₁₀; μουσικός Ol. I 15, elsewhere Μούσα; Ἀρέθουσαν P. III 69. -ουσα in the participle is found in all MSS. Ol. VII 48, P. IX 23, Is. VIII 35; in P. VIII 4, Ol. I 31 some MSS. have -οισα, others -ουσα; -οισα elsewhere. Pindar uses either -οισι, or -οντι, as verbal terminations.

Stesichoros: κλείουσα 35; Μούσα 35, 44; κούρα 18, 35, κουριδιαν 8; μόνος 26.

Ibykos: *κούρα* 15, and 9 by conjecture (*κόρα* 45, *κόρους* 16 for *κουρ-* of the MSS., according to Dindorf). *θαλέθοισι* occurs in frag. 1.

Simonides: *δούρατι* 37₇, *δουρί* 53₁; *οὔρειας* 18₂; *κοῦροι* ep. 108₂, *κουριδίην* ep. 117₄ (but not in the melic fragments); *νοῦσε* ep. 117₁; *Ὀλύμπιοι* ep. 167₁ (*Ὀλυμπία* 125, *Ὀλυμπιονίκαν* ep. 149, *ὀλυμπιάδας* 152₂); *μῦνος* 87 (ep. 184₃), *μόνος* 77, 88₁ cl., 46₁; *οὔνομα* ep. 110₃; *Μοῦσα* 46₁, *Μουσᾶν* 44₂, *Μοισᾶν* ep. 148₁₂¹ are the MS. readings; *στρέφοισαν* 30₄ is a conjecture of Wyttenbach for *στρέφοιαν*; *στίζουσα* 78, *καλέουσι* 31₃, *κλέπτουσι* 42 are the MS. readings. Bergk adopts *ἀποτρέποισι* in 1₂ and *οι* throughout in *μοῦσα*, in the fem. part and third pl. The MS. evidence for this is very scanty. Pindar certainly extended the range of the Aiolic *οι* wider than Simonides.

Bacchylides: *Μοῦσα* 28₂, *μαρμαίρουσι* 27₈, *ἄγουσι* 27₁₀, are Attic; *μῦνος* 26 (*μόνος* 25 was changed by Gaisford to *μουρος*), *νοῦσος* 34, *κούρα* 48, eleg.

(3) *Varia*. The inf. in *-ναι* (*δεικνύναι* Pind. fr. 42₄, *δοῦναι* P. IV 35), a form that prevails in Simonides (*-μεν* 30₃, 31₂, ep. 85₁, 137₄), Ibykos, Bacchylides. *ἡμῖν* Sim. ep. 89₁, 97₃ (Bergk *ἄμιν*). *προδεδεγμένον* Ibyk. 19.

The Homeric genitive in *-οιο*, though more frequently retained in Ionic than in Aiolic, is to be regarded as the joint property of the two dialects. It is frequent in Pindar (who has also *-οι*) and is found in Stes. 8, 85, Ibyk. 9 (in *CD*). On the other hand, Ibyk. 29 has *Ἐνναλίου* though Homer has *Ἐνναλίοιο*. *ἔλικοβλεφάρου* is adopted by Bergk in Pind. P. IV 172, fr. 123₅ and Sim. 18. In the epigrams, Sim. has *-οιο* 84₃, 94₁, 113₁, 129₁, 143₁, 167₁ (179₁). Christ has collected² the traces of Pindaric and Doric *-ω* (gen. sing.) and *-ως* (accus. pl.), which may have been original, but supplanted by the Ionic forms.

The Nature of the Ionisms of the Universal Melic.

70.] A study of the dialect preferences in the remains of the melic poets shows that it is hazardous to assert the existence of a dialect that is absolutely uniform even in the adoption of Ionisms, to say nothing of a consistent usage in respect of Aiolisms and Dorisms. Truth lies then on the side of Ahrens and Bergk in denying the existence of a uniform melic dialect, which

¹ The last verse of ep. 148 is in a different metre from the foregoing. Verses 11 and 12 are perhaps spurious.

² *Beiträge zum Dialekte Pindars*, p. 52 ff.

was advocated by Schneidewin, Boeckh, Neue, and others. On the other hand Ahrens, while holding that Ionic may be found in Pindar, went too far (II 132) in demanding the expulsion of the epic σ when it is equivalent to the Doric $\tilde{\alpha}$. The paramount influence of Homer is seen in the fact that all the words containing an Ionic η , with the exception of the Simonideian $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\eta\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ and $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, are traceable to an epic source¹. $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ may be an error for $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - (cf. Sappho 39), a form actually found in some MSS. $\delta\eta\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ awakens suspicion when confronted with $\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha$.

The list of Ionisms given above shows that, while certain forms invariably appear in an Ionic dress, in other cases now the Ionic, now the Aiolic or Doric form is found. In general, however, the two latter dialects do not transcend the boundaries established for them by usage. The poets of the sixth century bear witness to the fact that at an extremely early period in the history of the Greek lyric certain words had assumed a fixed form. Departure from the stereotyped form contravened the principles of the melic art.

Relation of Old Attic to Ionic.

The following treatises deal chiefly with the stylistic relations between Old Attic and Ionic prose. See also p. 74.

CYRANKA : *De orationum Thucydidearum elocutione cum tragicis comparata*, 1875.

DIENER : *De sermone Thucydidis quatenus cum Herodoto congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis*, 1889.

NIESCHKE : *De Thucydidē Antiphontis discipulo et Homeri imitatore*, 1885.

C. F. SMITH : *Traces of tragic usage in Thucydides*. *Proceed. Am. Philol. Assoc.* Vol. XXII (1891), p. xvi.

71.] The identity of the *παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς* with the Ἰάς as asserted by Strabo², was widely held by the ancients³, by scholars of the

¹ $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\iota$ in Bacchylides' castigation of the Ionians (frag. 42) is also, despite *βασιλῆς*, an exception.

² Strabo VIII, page 333 : *τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φαμεν (καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθ' εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένῃ γλώσσῃ Ἰάδι)*. Cf. Galen, quoted § 95, Dionys. Perieg. 61 ; and § 119 on the dialect of *ἄγρια ἄγριας*. Apoll. Dysk. says more cautiously of the Athenians that they are *δυναμίει Ἴωνες, περὶ συνδ.* p. 228₁, Schn. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. I. 265₈ and above § 24.

³ Joh. Gr. 235, 241, Gram. Leid. 628 *δοκεῖ δὲ (ἡ Ἰάς) ἀρχαία εἶναι Ἀτθίς* according to the certain emendation of Koen *ad Greg. Kor.* p. 383. Dion. Halik. *περὶ τ. Θουκ. χαρ.* 23 : *οἱ τε τὴν Ἰάδα προερόμενοι διάλεκτον, τὴν τε τοῖς τότε χρόνοις (i. e. of Kadmos and Aristaios) μάλιστα ἀνθοῦσαν, καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα, μικρὰς τινὰς ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα*.

seventeenth¹ and eighteenth² centuries and in fact down to comparatively recent times. While the points of contact between the two dialects are patent, the question as to how long they pursued a parallel course of development and the problem as to the period when Attic may be said to have asserted an individual existence, have been answered in various ways.

The view maintained in the present work is that Attic and Ionic, so far as we can trace back their history, are, with all their correspondences, essentially separate and individual dialects; and that the argument which seeks to explain the Ionisms of Attic tragedy as Old Atticisms, that is as survivals of the period when Ionic and Attic were still undistinguished, builds upon a false foundation.

In § 172 the view is upheld that originally in Attic all cases of primary \bar{a} became η , and that at a later period this secondary η after ϵ , ι , υ and ρ became \bar{a} . At what period in the history of the Attic dialect did this recurrence to the original \bar{a} ensue? Furthermore, are there any traces in Old Attic of forms which are distinctly Ionic in colouring, forms which represent a still undivided Ionic-Attic, and which were uniformly abandoned by the later dialect of Attika?

Bergk, who was the first to maintain that Attic \bar{a} after ϵ , ι , υ and ρ was a development of η , was of the opinion that shortly before the Soloneian period we may trace the first beginnings of that revolution in Attic which, carried on shortly after Solon, became an accomplished fact by the time of Peisistratos. In Bergk's view then Attic did not receive the stamp of individuality until the sixth century. Gustav Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*, p. xxxii), while less positive as to the date of the separation of Attic from Ionic, makes the statement that it 'appears to be certain that the Attic spoken and written before the foundation of an Attic literature—that is, the Attic as we know it from the fragments of the laws and the inscriptions—was much more closely connected with Ionic than the later form of the language'.

72.] The oldest monuments of Attic dactylic poetry show scarcely a trace of an Ionic η ³, despite the fact that the elegy was a creation of Ionic genius and specially cultivated by the Ionians. In C. I. A. I 471, dating from the time of Solon or even from an earlier period, we find $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron[\rho\acute{\epsilon}]av$, $\eta\lambdaικίας$; in I 463, of very ancient date, $\upsilon\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\acute{\iota}$; in C. I. A. I 469 $\Phi\rho\alpha\sigmaικλείας$; IV C 422¹³ $\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\omicron\nu[\acute{\iota}]av$; in C. I. A. IV 477 E $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$; in I 468 $\Lambda\nu\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$; in I 478 A $\lambda\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$. All these inscriptions have η after

¹ For example, Salmasius.

² E. g. Bentley, Markland, Koen.

³ See Kirchhoff, *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms in Hermes V*, p. 48.

other sounds than those which caused the Attic \bar{a} . In inscriptions of the fifth century we find *Ποτειδαίας* twice in I 442, *βίαι* 3334, *σφετέραι* IV B, 446 A 51. The Ionic forms *αἰδοῖην* and *παύσεις* in I 477, and other occurrences of non-Attic η are due to the fact that the author of the elegy in which they occur is an Ionian.

It is but rarely that a specifically Ionic form has found its way into the oldest poetical monuments preserved in the Attic inscriptions. On *κούρη*, see § 75, 2. On *εἵνεκα* C. I. A. IV 477 E, § 78.

73.] The earliest inscriptions of Attic prose show no trace of a residue of Ionisms. In Klein's *Vasen* we have 'Εξηκίας, Στησίας *Καλλυφάρα* &c. (seventh or sixth century). Naturally the names of Ionic peoples such as *Ἀλιῆται*, *Ἰῆται*, *Ναξιῆται*, *Πριηνῆς* upon the Attic tribute lists from 456-424 B.C. are no exception to the rule. Oftentimes these very names have been Atticized. Ionic names may retain, non-Ionic names assume, the Ionic form, which is due in each case to peculiar reasons, *e.g.* *Ἐφύρη* Thuk. I 46, 4¹, *Θαλέω* Plato Rep. X 600 A, *Τήρεω*, *Πυθέω* Thuk. II 29, *Καμβύσεω* Xenoph. Cyr. I 2, 1. In V 71 Herodotos speaks of the *πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων*. The *ναύκρᾶροι* were instituted before the time of Solon. In the laws of Solon as adduced in *Lysias' κατά Θεομν.* we find *ἡλιαία, θίρη. οἰκῆος* *ib.* § 19, would, if correct, be the only example of an Old Attic η -form. But an *οἰκεός* might readily have been transcribed *οἰκῆος* because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time, and in Homer only forms with η are found². *κεραμ(έ)ως* is read C. I. A. I 467.

74.] Against this mass of evidence, the counter testimony in favour of the view that Old Attic was essentially identical with Ionic can make no stand.

In addition to the four cases of *Ἀθηναίη* in archaic inscriptions held by Bergk and others to be the stronghold of the identity of Old Attic and Ionic, but which have been disposed of by Cauer (*Curtius' Studien*, VIII 244-249³), the following instances of supposed Ionic-Attic forms are to be examined:—

(1) The genitive in $\epsilon\omega\nu$ in the psephism of Themistokles (*Plutarch Them.* 10): *τῆν μὲν πόλιν παλαιαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηρέων μεδεούσῃ*. On this passage Siefert and Blass remark that the expression *τῇ Ἀθ. μεδ.* was drawn from the original document by Plutarch's source, and that its Ionic colouring is due to the fact that the Ionic of the time of Themistokles was

¹ Cf. *Choirob.* in *Bekk. An.* III 1173, *Hdn.* I 340.

² Cf. *Dittenberger Herms* XVII 36 ff., *Wackernagel K. Z.* XXVII 263.

³ Cf. *Kirchhoff, Herms* V 33.

nearly allied to Attic. The phrase is primarily epic but adopted not only by the poets (Aristoph. *Knights* 763 Ἀθηναίη τῆ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούση; cf. 560, 585, *Lysistr.* 834), but also in ordinary speech, as on a tomb-stone in Samos (Bechtel No. 216), which contains the inscription: οὔρος τεμένεος Ἀθηναῖς Ἀθηρῶν μεδεούσης. Here the mixture of Attic and Ionic shows that the phrase was familiar to the Attic cleruchs of the island. μεδέουσα occurs in inscriptions in Ionic colonies (Latyschev, II 19, 28, 343).

Ἀθηρῶν in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 401 is found in a phrase of Homeric texture; in *Thesm.* 329 the MSS. have Ἀθηναίων, but Bergk's -εων is admissible, the passage being choral. In *Knights* 159 MSS. -αιων, Bergk -εων on the ground of the character of the passage and the metrical difficulty.

Furthermore, an Attic genitive in -εων¹ in the Ἄ declension was an impossibility even in the seventh century (cf. ἀρχαιοστῶν *Mith.* VI p. 106, cf. p. 118—the oldest known Attic inscription). In the decree concerning Arthmios, Demosth. *Phil.* III 42 we find Ἀθηναίων.

(2) That the accent of such Attic forms as μυριαδῶν, χιλιαδῶν (Choirob. in Bekk. *Anecd.* III 1263, Arkad. 136, Hdn. I 428₉) makes for the existence of an Ionic-Attic -εων in consonantal stems is incredible. In Herodoteian MSS. the insertion of the hyper-Ionic ε occurs, though not so commonly as in Hippocrates and the Pseudo-Ionists. If even in Hdt. both χιλιαδέων and μυριαδέων may be shown to be unwarrantable (§ 428), it is impossible that Attic -ῶν in these forms should be a survival of a period when both Attic and Ionic had -εων in -δ-stems. The sole means of rescuing the perispomenon accent is to assume that the *delta* stems have adopted the genitive ending of the Ἄ declension, for which procedure a parallel may be found in Hesiod's θεμιστέων *Theog.* 235 (-ίστων in M 3). See § 480.

75.] In the chapter of his *New Phrynicus* entitled the *Growth of the Attic Dialect*, Mr. Rutherford has advanced a theory as to the genesis of the language of tragedy which deserves notice, inasmuch as it trenches upon the question as to the interrelation of Old Attic and Ionic. Recognizing the fact that in Greece 'different kinds of composition had a tendency to adhere generally to the dialect in which they started,' and that even in comedy, when there was occasion to use hexameters, old words and forms were introduced, because 'epic verse did not deviate from that use of words which Homer had discovered to be most suitable to the genius of hexameter verse,' he holds—despite the obvious

¹ -εων is found in C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (400 B. C.), but it occurs in the name of a Thasiote exile.

objection that the Athenians were not the inventors of the iambic line—that ‘the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life.’ On this view Mr. Rutherford proposes to account for the discrepancy which exists, both in vocabulary and in coincidence, between tragedies and comedies of the same date.

The chief argument advanced in support of this theory is that whatever is peculiar to Herodoteian Ionic and to the Attic of tragedy is Attic of the sixth century, then, it is held, not distinguished from the Ionic of Asia Minor. That certain words in use in the time of Thespis have become obsolescent or entirely obsolete in the age of Perikles is due, it is claimed, to the extraordinary revolution undergone by the language under the influence of democratic institutions. And again: words whose lease of life was expiring in the sixth century were rescued from oblivion by their absorption into the literary dialect of tragedy.

The objections to this theory on the score of the differences in coincidence between Old Attic and Ionic have been ignored (*New Phrynichus*, p. 5). The argument in its favour on the side of similarity of vocabulary cannot claim our unqualified assent if it can be shown that the dialect of tragedy contains forms of the most ordinary occurrence which never existed in Attic in any stage of its development. Some of these forms which may here be mentioned will necessitate the modification of important particulars, if they do not tend to overthrow a considerable part, of the entire theory brought forward by Mr. Rutherford.

(1) If the language of tragedy is the Old Attic of the sixth century, how are we to account for *μῶνος*, *γούνατος*, *ξείνος*, words which are pure Ionic, and at no time Attic? *f* disappeared from **μόνφος*, **γόνφατος*, *ξένφος* in an extremely early period of Attic¹. In C. I. A. I 463 (sixth century) we find *ξέρος*, in I 20 (middle of the fifth century) *ξένια*. Solon’s *μῶνον*² 336 is an instance

¹ The solitary examples that may be brought forward to attest the actual presence of *f* upon Attic soil (*αφῦτάρ* C. I. A. IV C 477 P, *ναφύπηγός*] *ibid.* IV C 373²¹), and the examples cited to prove its power in shaping Attic forms, are powerless to give life to any theory that *f* was the cause of an Old Attic *ξείνος*, &c. Attic *πέρας* side by side with Ionic *πεῖραρ* < **πέρφαρ*, shows that Attic-Ionic *ἄπειρος* is from **ἄπειρος*; Attic *δειράς*, *Δειραδιῶται* belong to Skt. *Asiatic*, not to *ἄερφ*. *f* was retained in Attic until the movement which changed *η* to *ᾶ* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, *ρ* had spent itself; until **στενφόσ* had yielded *σπερότερος* and **πάρφος* had yielded *πῶρός* Agam. 284. The *f* of *αφῦτάρ* like that of Naxian *αφῦτροῦ* is used for a distinct purpose, and no more proves the longevity of *f* upon Attic soil than the Naxian word proves the existence of *f* as an essential part of the framework of contemporary Ionic.

² The Attic *Μουνιχία Μουνιχίων* &c., are ascribed by Meisterhans to dialect mixture, which no doubt often occurs in proper names. It may be doubted whether *μῶνος* is connected. That the *ου* is not Attic is clear

of the retention of an epic form in trochaic verse; cf. *κέν* 335. In his senarii, which represent contemporary Attic, Solon has *ῥους* 36₄ (Ionic *οῦρους*).

(2) *κούρη* in C. I. A. I 469, 355, IV C 373a⁵, 373²³, cannot outweigh the Old Attic character of *κόρη*. *ῥόρη* is the correct reading in an inscription of the sixth or even the seventh century (C. I. A. IV B 373, No. 97 B), and *Κόρει* occurs C. I. A. II Add. 57 B 8 (362 B. C.). In the second of the instances of *κούρη* quoted above, the words *Διὸς γ(λ)αυκώπιδι κούρηι* indicate sufficiently the source of the form. In the first instance, *κούρη* occurs in direct conjunction with *Φρασικλείας* which is Attic beyond dispute. See § 61. *Κόρη* in the later Attic documents (always in this form) is restricted to official decrees, whereas vase inscriptions and others of like character always use *Φεργέφαττα*.

(3) In Aischylos *ἦν*¹ occurs but twice (Pers. 708 troch. tetr., Sept. 1027 trim.), in Sophokles it has so gained on *έάν* as to be met with over twenty times, but never except in dialogue. *έπῆν* is found in Aristophanes (Birds 983, 1355, Lysis. 1175). This form is Ionic, not Attic. In C. I. G. I 8 B 7 (before 570 B. C.), in *Mith.* IX p. 117 (between 570 and 560) and in numerous instances in inscriptions of the fifth century, *έάν* is the prevailing form. So too in the fragments of the ancient laws; Hicks 59 (Drako's law taken from the first axon of Solon), Lysias' *Theomnestos* § 16, Demosthenes' *Lept.* 102. *ἦν* occurs nowhere in the Attic inscriptions.

These facts speak clearly against the assumption that the *ἦν* found in early Attic prose² is an Attic form. The testimony of the *στοιχηδόν* inscription C. I. A. IV p. 14, No. 46 B proves that the official text of the treaty given by Thuk. V 47 had *έάν* (cf. line 28 of the inser.), not *ἦν* which is read in all the MSS. The solution of the problem as to the variations between the stone

from the fact that it occurs in inscriptions from the fifth century B. C. to the third century A. D. Munichia, not Munychia, is the proper English form. That no case of *Μον-* occurs should warn against adopting Kretschmer's conclusion (*K. Z.* XXXI 442), that, with the accent removed from the syllable preceding *φ*, *μονφ-* yielded *μουν-*; or that for the *ου* of *Διόσκουροι* no other explanation is to be sought than a purely phonetic cause acting within the confines of the Attic dialect.

¹ Notwithstanding Brugmann's suggestion, *Grundr.* II p. 627, that *έάν* is from *ἦ-άν* and *ἦν* from *έι-άν* (though *έι-άν* after *καί* could become *άν*) the peculiar position of *ἦν* in Attic literature justifies our refusal to admit that it is an Attic word and the result of an Attic phonetic change.

² I find *ἦν* but twice in the *de republ. Athen.* (II 17, III 3), whereas *έάν* occurs I 4, 15; II 3, 4, 11 bis, 17, 18, III 5 bis, III 7.; *κάν* II 19, *άν* I 11, 17. In Antiphon there appears to be no case of *ἦν*; *άν* occurs *κατ. φαρ.* 23. *Tetral.* I A, 1. Isokrates made use of *ἦν* (Benseler *ad Arcop.* p. 146 ff.). The speech of Gorgias on Palamedes *circa* 411 B. C., which is genuine according to Maass, contains a case of *έάν* (§ 36).

record and the text of the historian does not concern us here¹. Perhaps the presence of *ἦν* in early Attic prose is due to the influence of Gorgias, who gave the impetus to the formation of a tragic prose dialogue as a counterpart of tragedy itself². Ionisms were adopted by Thukydides, not because they were also Old Atticisms, but because they were the result of certain stylistic tendencies in vogue at Athens before his exile, tendencies which ran their course in so brief a period of time that they were out of date upon the return of the expatriated historian. The later disciples of Gorgias made great concessions to the Attic norm.

76.] So long as the morphological and inflectional side of language constitutes the standard of exact dialectical differentiation, so long must Mr. Rutherford's theory as to the identity of Old Attic and Ionic be pronounced superficial. While the language of tragedy is replete with forms that are the common property of Attic and Ionic (*e.g.* *-οισι*, *-ησι* after consonants except *ρ*), forms that are also contemporary Attic, there yet remains a residue of pure Ionisms. These were not drawn directly from the epos, nor from the melic³ art of Simonides and Pindar⁴, though both epos and lyric may have indirectly contributed their quota of influence towards the adoption of forms which they had consecrated to the poet's use.

The occasional Ionic colouring of the dialogue portions of tragedy affords another proof of that artistic conservatism which forms so prominent a feature of the development of the Greek lyric and prose writing⁵. The dialogue of tragedy records the fact that the iambic trimeter was first cultivated by the Ionic race⁶, as its choruses record the fact that the choral ode was a creation of Doric genius. The bulk of the diction of tragic dialogue, so far from being solely contemporary Attic, reaches back into that obscure domain which lies beyond the awaken-

¹ Croiset (*Præf.* XX) thinks that *ἦν* was introduced into the text of Thuk. by the scribes who recognized that *ἦν* was the genuine Thukydideian form.

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, p. 313; Diels *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, p. 367; Maass *Hermes* XXII p. 366.

³ Gerth in Curtius' *Studien*, I B 269 contends that, as all the epic forms in the dialogue and lyric parts of tragedy are found in Pindar, the diction of tragedy has an exclusively lyric background.

⁴ It is noticeable that tragedy has more intimate connection, as regards myth and form, with Ibykos and Stesichoros than with Pindar and Simonides, though no great chasm in dialect separates the Eastern melic poets from the Chalkidian of the West.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, p. 310 ff.

⁶ It is not surprising that there are but few traces of literary reminiscence of the Ionic iambic poetry in Attic tragedy, *e.g.* Eurip. *Or.* 1547 = Sim. *Am.* I 1. The ethical intent, the political and social horizon were entirely different. So in the case of Pindar, who uses Aiolisms without regard to the distinctive character of the Lesbian poetry.

ing of Attic genius. The coincidences in vocabulary between the New Ionic of Herodotos and the Attic of the drama are indications that both Ionic and Attic had preserved to a large extent the old-time wealth of words¹ with their raciness, picturesqueness, and vividness, the *sonantia verba et antiqua*. But how much is contemporary Attic, how much archaic Attic in the vocabulary of the dramatists, cannot be discovered, because we are ignorant of the nature of the ordinary speech of the men of the time of Thespis.

A considerable portion of the words which Mr. Rutherford says were cast aside by the innovating spirit of democratical and imperial Athens may have been outworn, or at least found a resting-place in poetry, in the days of the Peisistratidai. Their retention at the same time by Herodotos is only another instance of the conservatism in language manifested by the colony, a conservatism which finds expression in the retention in the dialectal speech of America of many vocables that were part of the ordinary speech of the England of the seventeenth and earlier centuries². It is inconceivable that such a revolution in vocabulary, as is a necessary feature of Mr. Rutherford's theory, can have occurred between the birth of Aischylos and the death of Sophokles.

The beginnings of Attic comedy are not so far removed in point of time from the age which witnessed the dawn of tragedy that, had comedy not from the first breathed a different air from its sister art, it too might have preserved here and there survivals of that Old Attic-Ionic whose retention Mr. Rutherford regards as the prerogative of tragedy. The diction of Kratinos, whose *Wineflask* gained the day over Aristophanes' *Clouds*, cannot have been less redolent of the popular speech than that of his rival; yet the youth of Kratinos must have been passed under the same linguistic influences as those under which, on the view that the Attic of tragedy is the Attic of the sixth century, the vocabulary of Aischylos was formed.

The atmosphere of comedy was from the first local and foreign to the admission of old-time phraseology. Pointing their wit with the idiom of the soil, Deinolochos, Epicharmos and Sophron created a chasm which was always to intervene between the diction of the comic and the diction of the tragic art.

¹ The notes to Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's *Heraldes* often comment upon Ionic words in tragedy.

² Many examples might be given: In South Carolina *use* in the Spenserian and Miltonic sense may still be heard, in the Cumberland mountains in East Tennessee *contrary* in the Chaucerian sense ('For sothe I wol no lenger you contrarie').

Ionisms of Tragedy.

- ALTHAUS : *De tragicorum Græcorum dialecto curæ secundæ*, 1870.
 BARLEN : *De vocalis α pro η in trag. Gr. versibus trimetris usu*, 1872.
 DRESSSEL : *De Dorismi natura atque usu in trag. Græc. diverbiis et anapaestis*, 1868.
 EICHLER : *De formarum quas dicunt epicarum in tragediis Aeschylī atque Sophoclis usu*, 1873.
 GERTH : *Quæstiones de Græcæ tragediæ dialecto*, in Curtius' *Studien* I, 2, 193 ff. 1868.
 KUEHSTAEDT : *Observ. crit. de tragicorum Gr. dialecto*, 1832.
 LECHNER : *De Aeschylī studio Homérico*, 1862. *De Sophocle poeta 'Ομηρικωτάτῳ*, 1859.
 RUTHERFORD : *The New Phrygichus*, pp. 1-31, 1881.
 SCHNEIDER : *De dialecto Sophoclis*, 1822.
 VERRALL : *On some Ionic elements in Attic tragedy* in *J. H. S.* I 260, II 179.
 WEIDGEN : *Qua ratione Euripides in carminibus melicis Doridem, in anapaestis Atticam dialectam temperaverit*, 1874.

Other treatises, dealing with the Doric elements in tragedy, will be mentioned under DORIC.

77.] The following list contains a selection of such forms as bear an unmistakable Ionic mark. Epic forms not thus characterized are not mentioned. The diction of Tragedy does not adopt New Ionic forms when they differ from those in vogue in Homer.

1. II¹.

Θρηῆξ and congeners occur, not only in dialogue, but also in choral parts. Θρηῆκίος is also Pindaric.

Θρηῆξ Ant. 969 (ch.), Tereus fr. 523; Hek. 19, 428 (Θραξί), 682 (ch.), 774, 873, 1036, Alk. 483; Rh. 379 (ch.), 394, 409, 429, 522, 662, 732 (ch.), 733 (ch.), 744 (ch.), 804, 924; Θρηῆξ Erech. 362₄₈ (D).

Θρηῆσσα Ant. 589 (ch.), Tham. fr. 229; Alk. 967 (ch.).

Θρηῆκη Pers. 509, 566 (ch.); Hek. 75 (lyr.), 81 (lyr.), 856, 963, 1090 (lyr.), 1142, Alk. 67, Andr. 215, Rh. 279, 381 (ch.), 931.

Θρηῆκίος Pers. 870 (ch.); Ag. 654, 1418; O. R. 197 (ch.); Kycl. 329, Erech. 370₁ (Θρηῆκίον D). Hek. 7, 36, 710, Alk. 498, 1021, Rh. 297, 302, 313, 440, 616, 622, 651, 670, 745 (ch. iamb.), 950.

After ι we find Ionic η in proper names such as Ἀσιήτις, Ἀδρηηνός, and in foreign words such as ἰήλεμος, τιήρα. πολιήτις is also found e.g. Hipp. 1126 (ch.). In the Mediceus we find ἔδρηγ Prom. 201 and αἰτήην 226, forms that cannot be defended.

¹ Kirchoff, *Hermes* V 50, sees in the use of Ionic η a desire to produce an æsthetic effect corresponding to the nature of tragic ethos. The grammatical endings are, on Kirchoff's view, unaffected by this movement in the direction of Ionic.

Mr. Verrall does not scruple to introduce Ionic *-η* into passages which are tinged with Ionisms and which contain *-σύνη*, e. g. *οὐρανήν* Hipp. 166, *Ἀσίην* Persai 584, (Weil *Ἀσιηνάν*), despite the fact of their occurrence in choral parts. The occurrences of *-ση* in tragedy are inherited, on Mr. Verrall's view, from Ionic poetry, and carried as a rule associations that were literary, not local.

Ionic *η* frequently appears in choral passages, as in *μηλοθύρων* Eurip. H. F. 396, with which compare *Μηλῆς*, never *Μαλῆς*, in tragedy. On *πλήκτρον* Eurip. H. F. 350, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *ad loc.* *Ζηρός*, *Ζηρί*, *Ζήρα* as in Pindar, according to the best MS. testimony; *σκῆπτρον* Prom. 171 and other forms in lyrical passages where the Doric form is not admitted. The choral lyric had *σκάπτρον* (Pind. Ol. I 12). *η* furthermore in *Παρηγησίδα* Choeph. 563 (cf. 953), *πρύμνην* Philokt. 482 (§ 420).

2. *ευ*. (a) by contraction:—

πωλεύμεναι Prom. 645, in the recital of Io (only one MS. *πολούμεναι*); cf. Od. 2, 55.

εἰσοιχνεῦσιν Prom. 122 (anap.), cf. Od. 9, 120.

μυθεῦσαι I. A. 790 (ch.) in MSS.

ὑμνεῦσαι Med. 422 (ch.).

ἄπτειν Hipp. 167 (ch.).

(b) From *ην* in *πρευμενής* Aisch., Soph., Eur., cf. Hdt. *πρηγῆ-τερος*, Plato *πραότερος*.

3. Forms containing Ionic *ει*. *ξείνος* occurs but once in Aischylos—Sept. 942 (ch.) with 40 cases of *ξείνος*. Aischylos uses the Attic form of the vocative, whereas Sophokles merely prefers *ξένε* (about 40 times) to the Ionic *ξείνε*. In opposition to the view defended by Elmsley, that *ξείνος* is only then permissible when required by the metre, Hermann argued justly that since in Iph. Taur. 798 the vocative *ξέν'* would almost disappear, metrical considerations may be outweighed by rhetorical reasons. The first foot in the iambic trimeter line bears the burden of the chief emphasis. *ῶ ξείνε* occurs in the dialogue portions of Soph. 7 times (O. K. 33, 49, 856, 1096, 1119, El. 675, 1119)¹. In three passages the non-vocative form *ξείνος* has the support of the best MSS.:—

O. K. 1014 *ὁ ξείνος, ῶναξ, χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ | αὐτοῦ πανώλεις.*

O. K. 928 *ξείνον παρ' ἀστοῖς ὡς διαιτᾶσθαι χρεῶν.*

Fræg. 153 *ἐν Ἀργεὶ ξείνος ὧν οἰκίζεται.*

¹ Cf. Jebb on O. R. 1418. *ῶ ξένε* occurs when *ῶ ξείνε* was possible (O. K. 62, 492, El. 662, 1112). Eust. 1396, *ῶ ξείνε* (Phil. 791) cannot stand.

In these passages the occurrence of the Ionic form is defended by Gerth on the ground that there is a direct contrast of thought, while in such passages as O. R. 817, El. 975, Tr. 187 ξένου ἢ ἀσπί has become a mere phrase. In none of these passages, it may be remarked, is ξείν- metrically permissible. Ellendt, on the other hand, can discover no passage in Soph. analogous to the ξείν' of Iph. Taur. 798; and Jebb in O. K. 928 prefers ξένον of the Vat. to ξείνον of L and A, which is adopted and defended by Wunder in his excursus. Here at least there is no such contrast as that found in 1014, and it is the only place except I. T. 798 where the diphthong is not under the ictus.

In choral passages in Sophokles we find ξείνοι O. K. 174 (ξείνα MSS.), 184 ξείνος ἐπὶ ξείνης (ξείνης MSS.), 518 ξείν' (ξέν' MSS. see Jebb), 530 ὦ ξείν', cf. 510 and 215. Euripides uses ξείνος in the senarii but rarely (I. T. 798, El. 247), much more frequently in lyric passages (Hek. 82, 479, Alk. 598, Kykl. 510, Herakl. 355, I. T. 218, 226, I. A. 606); ξειναπάτου Med. 1392, ἄξεινον Andr. 793 in all MSS. except C, Πολυξείνη Hek. 76, πολύξεινος Alk. 568.

In Antig. 1241, L² has εἶν, for which some editors substitute Heath's ἐν γ'. In Trach. 495 κενόν has been substituted for κεινόν, though Aisch. Pers. 761 has ἐξεκείνωσεν. κεινός is both Pindaric and Euripideian (ch.). ὑπείροχος Prom. 428 (ch.), Trach. 1096 cannot stand.

If εἰλίσσω is from *FeλFικιω* we expect in Attic prose ἐλίσσω, which is Sophokleian. In Aisch. we find εἰλίσσω only in lyric passages. In sixteen passages in the extant dramas, Eurip. has ten cases of εἰλίσσω.

εἵνεκα (see below § 78) does not occur in the Laurentianus of Sophokles. In the same MS. of Aischylos it is met with Prom. 345, Suppl. 188 (οὔνεκα 4 times). None of the best MSS. of Euripides have this form, which stands in MSS. of the second class H. F. 210, Hek. 137, Andr. 251, 408, frag. 499₃.

Aischylos has δέρη, Euripides δειρή in lyrics.

Only in choral passages do the following words with Ionic εἰ occur: εἰνάλιος Ant. 346, Eur. Elekt. 450, I. T. 1240 (Kirchhoff), Troad. 1095, Hel. 526 (Herm.), εἰνόδιος Ion 1048.

4. **Forms containing Ionic ου.** μῶνος occurs 13 times in the dialogue portions, twice in choral, and twice in anaepastic passages of Sophokles. Aischylos has μουνῶπα Prom. 804, but never μῶνος. In the Rhesos 31 μοῦναρχοι is generally abandoned for μόναρχοι, Euripides having invariably μόνος. Gerth calls attention to the fact that in S. we never find οὐ μῶνον ἀλλά but always οὐ μόνον ἀλλά. The necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to

whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted. Cases of the emphatic use of *μοῦνος* (as Antig. 308), may be confronted with others where no emphasis is discernible. In Antig. 308 it is the word, not the form of the word, which adds emphasis; *μόνος* would have been equally effective.

Other cases of *ov* are *γούνατα* O. K. 1607 in the speech of the messenger (*γούνασι* Phil. 485). Aischylos has no instance of the *ov* forms, which in Euripides occur with the same freedom as the Attic (in the senarii Andr. 892, Hek. 839, Alk. 947, in lyrics Andr. 529).

δουρ-. Aisch. *δουρικλύτοις* Pers. 85 (ch.), *δουρικμηῆτι* Ch. 365 (ch.), *δουρίπηχθ'* in dialogue, Sept. 278. Sophokles *δουρίληπτον* Aias 894 (ch. iamb.), *δουρίληπτος* Ai. 146 (anap.), *δουριάλωτον* Ai. 211 (anap.), *δούρατι* Phil. 722 (lyr.), *δούρειος ἵππος* Troad. 14 (sen.) and in comedy (see below).

οὔρειος in choral passages Ant. 353, I. T. 127, 162, 1126, Troad. 533, Phoin. 232, 806, Elekt. 210 (*ὄρειος* Hipp. 144), *οὔρεισιβώτας* Phil. 1148. *οἰμιθρέπτων* Hek. 204 (*ὄριθρόμων* Bacch. 886 Kirch. and Sandys).

Οὔλυμπος but once Her. F. 872 (troch. tetr.).

οὔνομα is not found in tragedy despite Markland on I. T. 36. In Phil. 251 *οὔν-* of the MSS. is rejected by all, so Bacch. 320, where *οὔν-* is found in *P C* (see Elmsley).

νούσων Aisch. Suppl. 684 (ch.) where *νόσων* is possible.

κούρη has been seen (above § 75, 2) to occur upon Old Attic poetical inscriptions of the sixth century. In the Septem 149 Dindorf rejects *κούρα*, a form whose enfranchisement in choral diction is clear from *κουροβόρω* Ag. 1512 and *κούρα* O. K. 180, where the metre requires the diphthong, though elsewhere the half Attic, half Doric *κόρα*, *κόρας* prevails in lyrical passages. *κοῦρος* is an error Trach. 644 (ch.). Euripides has *κούρα* in lyrical passages Hipp. 141, Alk. 410, I. T. 210, 217, 402, Hel. 382, 1307, 1314, El. 481 MSS. (cf. 117), 1184, Hek. 462. In I. T. 1114 Kirch. reads *κόραν*; in Androm. 1224 *κόρη*, Troad. 144 *κόραι*: in El. 481 *κόρα* is due to Dindorf. In dialogue portions *κούρη* does not occur (*κόρη* is now read in Hel. 1098)¹. *κοῦρος* is met with nowhere out of lyrical passages (7 times). The same holds good of the Euripidean compounds *κουροτόκος* Suppl. 957, *κουροτρόφος*² Tr. 566, Bacch. 420. Neither *Διόσκοροι* nor *Διόσκουροι* appears in Aisch. or Soph. Eurip. uses the *o* form in the senarii eight times. In Hek. 943 (ch.) *T* has the *ov* form, which is rejected by Kirchhoff. *Διοσκούρων* I. A. 769

¹ *κόροι* also frag. 534c.

² In regard to the retention in prose of *κουροτρόφος* and similar polysyllabic words, we should not fail to regard the distaste manifested by Attic towards a succession of many short syllables.

(ch.) is defensible. *κούρω* was formerly held to exist in a supposed formulaic¹ *κούρω καὶ κόρη* (Plato *Laws* VI 785 A, where it has the support of but one MS.; cf. *κόρου καὶ κόρης* VII 793 E, *κόρους καὶ κόρας* 796 C). Since in proper names forms alien to the native dialect are not uncommon, and since [*Δι*]ο[*σκ*]ουρίδου is found C. I. A. II 66, 4 (356 B.C.) and Dittenb. *Syll.* 418, 2 (not before 292 B.C.) it need not surprise us that *Διοσκούρων* is met with Plato *Euthyd.* 293 A, Thuk. III 75₃ τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων (-*κῶρων* in only two MSS.) *ιερόν*, IV 110 τὸ Διοσκούρειον² (thus the MSS.). Phrynichos says that those who use the Ionic form are open to ridicule. *κουρέϊον*, *κουρεῶτις*, which Mr. Rutherford quotes from Lobeck's note, have nothing to do with *κοῦρος*. Their *ουρ* is from *ορσ* (cf. *κορσοῦν κείρειν*, and *κορσοτεῖς ἀκροσεκόμεης*). *ἐπῖκοῦρος* has probably nothing to do with *κοῦρος*, *κόρος*; cf. W. Schulze *Quaest. Hom.* 17.

5. Ionic forms in Declension. *φύσιος*, *πρήξιας* (Ambr.) Eurip. fr. 902, *δήριος* Agam. 942. *ὄρνις* Eurip. H. F. 72, is regarded as Ionic for *ὄρνιθας* by Wilamowitz, for what reason I do not know.

The forms of *ναῦς* with *η* are rejected by the editors despite their not infrequent occurrence (Kühner-Blass, p. 463). On *νηός* in New Ionic see § 170.

6. *Varia*. *κείνος* for Attic *ἐκείνος* (also in Attic prose after *η* or rarely after a short vowel or diphthong); *σσ* for *ττ*; on *Ἄλδης* with long *a* see § 160; *ου ἰρός* see § 300. *ζή* for *ζώη*; *πολλός*; *ποτί* a form that, however, never appears in any New Ionic monument. *ρσ* in *θαρσεῖν*, *ἄρσην*, &c. is possibly Ionic, cf. *Θαρρίας* C. I. A. I 445 (middle of the fifth century).

The Ionisms of Attic Comedy.

RUTHERFORD: *The New Phrynichus*, 32-52, 1881.

SETTI: *Il linguaggio dell' uso comune presso Aristofane in Museo di antich. class.*, I 113-130.

SPECK: *De Aristophanis dialecto*, 1878.

78.] Ionisms are admissible in the lyric parts of comedy, not excluding those of anapaestic movement. Even in the

¹ Cf. Pollux VIII 107, Apollod. III 123, 158, Schol. Acharn. 146, Diod. Sik. IV 61 *κούρους καὶ κόρας*.

² *Idn.* II 848; *-κουρέϊον*, I 375₁₂ *-κούρειον*, II 864₂₁ *Διοσκούρων κῶμη Λιβύης*. The treatise under Herodian's name (Moiris p. 445) cites *Διόσκουροι* but *Διοσκόρω*; a differentiation that could not last. That in one and the same dialect two different forms of the name of a divinity may occur is evident from *Κόραι* and *Κούραι* in Knidos (C. D. I. 3538_{1, 2}) and often in 3539-3544. 3546-48.

trochaics of the parabasis there is a well-attested case of an Ionic termination. Koch and Humphreys contend that the occurrences in anapaestic parts (*Ἀθηναίη* Knights 763, *Τριτογενεῖης* Clouds 989) and in the parabasis (*Σεληναίης* Clouds 614, Dindorf -as), are instances of the survival in the popular dialect of older, more poetical forms. That this is an erroneous position is clear from an examination of all the Attic inscriptions previous to the Peloponnesian War. In no inscription, whose genuineness has not been universally suspected, or whose Attic character has not successfully been disputed, is there a single occurrence of Ionic -*ῆη*. It is therefore impossible that *Ἀθηναίη* and *a fortiori* *Τριτογενεῖης* are Attic. Plato's *Ἀθηναίη* (*Euthyd.* 302 D) does not alter this conclusion in the least. The three instances quoted above are taken from an Ionic, and poetic source. On *Ἀθηναίω* see § 74, 1¹.

In the dialogue portions Ionisms are not admissible save when the speaker is an Ionian, in paratragedic passages, or when proper names have been preserved in an Ionic form by the pressure of Ionic tradition.

Peace 46: Ἴωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος
δοκέω μὲν, ἐς Κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται,
ὡς κείνος ἀναιδέως (τῆν) σπατίλην ἐσθίει

where *δοκέω* and *κείνος* hit off the Ionian. Phrynichos II 583 (2)² is either corrupt or the line was spoken by, or of, an Ionian. On *κείνος* in Euripolis see Koch I 294 (139). Eurip. *Orestes* 742 οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνον ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγεν was parodied according to the Schol. *κείνος* appears in lyrical passages *Thesm.* 784, *Wasps* 751.

κείνων is not adopted by Koch I 50, in his attempted restoration of *Kratin.* II 83 (6).

εἵνεκα is well attested in Aristophanes, Timokles, Plato, Philemo. That it was an Ionism adopted in Attic literature is evident from its occurrence in Thukydides, Plato, Isuios and Demosthenes (at least 20 times in Σ). In Old Attic poetry it is found in one passage (C. I. A. IV 477 E). By the period of the empire it has fully established itself in popular speech, to which it was heretofore more or less a stranger. See Wackernagel K. Z. XXVIII 109-130.

κοῦρος, κούρη. Aristoph. has *κοῦρε* *Birds* 977 (hex.), *κοῦραι* *Thesm.* 102, *κούρην* 1139 (lyr.).

In senarii *κουρίδιον λέχος* Peace 844, *κουροτρόφος* Plato II 674,

¹ See Caer l. l. p. 246, Speck *De Aristoph. dial.* 15 ff., 29.

² References are given to the paging of Meinecke's *Fragmenta* when his reading is that accepted by Koch.

cf. *Κουροτρόφος* in the Herald's proclamation *Thesm.* 297. Aristoph. has always *Διοσκόρω*, as Amphipolis and Menander. Chionides' *Διόσκουροι* II 8 (Koch I 5), if actually used by the poet, occurred in anapaests.

δοῦριος Birds 1128 (*ἱππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὄσον ὁ δ.*), cf. Plato II 688 (24), Diphilos IV 419 (7). All these passages refer to the Trojan Horse. Cf. Eurip. *Tr.* 14, Plato *Theait.* 184 D.

Οὐλύμπου Knights 9, where Dindorf suggests that the line may be a quotation or adaptation from a poetical source. Perhaps *Οὐλύμπου νόμος* had become a technical phrase.

Homeric in colouring are *οὐλοχύτας* Strato IV 546 (v. 34); *γούρατα* in the hexameters of Metag. II 751 or of Aristagoras II 761 (Krat. II 207 (91) has *γόρατα*); *παρέοντα* in the Cheiron of Pherekrates, II 335 (3); *μεδέοντα* Knights 585 (ch.), 763, *Lysist.* 834 (sch.), *μεδέων* Knights 560 (ch.) (cf. above § 74, 1). *οὐρέλαις* occurs in Birds 1098 (lyr.).

In *Thesm.* 878 the use of the Ionic *πεπλώκαμεν* (*πεπλεύκαμεν* D) is a jeer on Euripides (*Hel.* 461, 532).

In Birds 867 (herald), Peace 1064 (hex.), *-ησι* is found after *ι*; in *Wasps* 399 *πρίμνην* (§ 420). *οἱ* Peace 930 is called by the poet *Ἴωνικὸν ῥήμα*. It is also Aristotelian. *ἀρχηγέτι* *Lys.* 642 (lyr.) may be noted in connection with this.

ὄκος, Krates II 233 (1).

Dialect of Ionic Prose. 'Pure' and 'Mixed' Ionic.

79.] The criterion by which the ancient rhetoricians distinguished the varying aspects presented by the dialect of the early prosaists was its purity, that is to say, they sought to discover whether their Ionic was *ἄκρατος* or *μεμυγμένη*. Upon the basis of this standard of comparison, Herodotus was placed in the second, Hekataios¹ and Anaximenes² of Miletos, and Hippo-

¹ Hermogen. *De Ideis* III 399, W (cf. Strabo I, 7, 18): *Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' αὐτῷ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφελῆται ὁ Ἡρόδ. 'cf. Suidas s.v. Ἐκατ.', καθάρως μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σαφής, ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἡδὺς οὐ μετρίως, τῇ διαλέκτῳ δὲ ἄκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμυγμένῳ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ποιήσῃ, ἡττὸν ἐστὶν ἔσκα γὰρ τῆς λέξεως ποιητικῆς. καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ τοιαύτη, οὐδ' ὅμοιος ὁ κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐλαττοῦται πολλῶ τοῦ Ἡρόδ., ἀλλὰ πάντων πολλῶ. III 319, W: *καθαῖον δὲ μάλιστα διαρῆσθαι ἔσχε Ἡρόδ. τὴν γλυκύτητα. ἦτι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τὴν διάλεκτον ποιητικῶς προείλετο εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ Ἰὰς οὐσα ποιητικῆ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδέια. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατο τισὶ λέξεσιν, οὐδὲν ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρος καὶ Ἡσιόδος καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἐχρήσαντο μὲν καὶ ἄλλαισιν τισὶ λέξεσιν ἐτέρων διαλέκτων, τὸ πλεῖστον μὲν ἰάουσι.**

² Of Anaximenes, Diog. Laert. II 2 says *κέχρηται τε γλώσσῃ Ἰάδι ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.*

krates of Kos¹ in the first division. Herodotos stands alone, in the view of the ancients, as the representative of 'mixed' or 'variegated' Ionic, though Ktesias of Knidos, whose fragments have not been utilized in the present treatise, followed in the wake of Herodotos².

To the students of Greek style under Augustus, Herodotos had become the canon of the Ionic dialect³. The term ἄκρατος Ἰᾶς, when applied by the rhetoricians to the other Ionic prosaists, seems to have been employed with direct or indirect reference to the historian of Halikarnassos. It is instructive, however, to notice, in connection with this, the judgment of a grammarian, the greatest authority on syntax of his age, who was himself the author of a treatise *On the Ionic Dialect*, and hence more cautious than the rhetoricians whose criticism often lacks perspective. Apollonios Dyskolos pronounced against the claims of Herodotos and Hippokrates to be regarded as representatives of Ionic, and elevated to that position Hekataios, Pherekydes and Demokritos⁴.

Now if it could be shown that by 'pure' Ionic the critics of antiquity meant a dialect vigorous enough to repel the encroachments of a non-Ionic idiom such as Doric or even Attic, a dialect that preserves its native system of phonetics and inflections, the value of their criticism would be inestimable; and command the greater respect in view of the fact that many

¹ Bachm. Anecd. II 367²³, cf. Cod. Parisinus, p. 679 in Schaefer's Greg. Korinth.: Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ διφροφρευμένους λέγει τοὺς φορεῖοις φερομένους, καὶ Ἰπποκράτης πολ- λάκις χρήται τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ὃς ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰᾷδι χρήται· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδ. συμμίγει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. See Ilberg *Studia pseudhippocratea* p. 33, Lobeck *Philologus* VIII, p. 14 ff. Of the λέξις of the logographers Dion. Hal. (*de Thuc. jud.* VI 865, 819 R.) says: καὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ σαφῆς καὶ σύντομόσ ἐστιν, ἀποχρώντως σώζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστης διαλέκτου χαρακτήρα. A grammarian quoted in Schaefer's Greg. Kor. p. 910 says that for ξω, ἔσχω is used, οὐ κατὰ διάλεκτόν τινα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχηματισμὸν ποιητικόν, ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἐφ' ἕτερον τύπον ῥήματος. ὅτι Ἡρόδ. χρήται τοιοῦτοις μετα- σχηματισμοῖς. κλέπτεσκε γάρ φησι καὶ ἄγεσκον. μήποτε γοῦν ἰωνικά εἰσι ταῦτα μᾶλλον. ἀλλ' ἀναμφίβολον πάλιν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰᾷδι χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεμιγμένῃ τῇ ποιητικῇ. Longinos calls Herodotos Ὀμηρικώτατος (*Subl.* 12). Eustathios *Iliad* Δ p. 9, says: εἶκοι δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδ. τῷ Φερεκῦδι καὶ Ἐκαταῖω ὅμοιοι τοῖς καταβαλοῦσι τὸ τῆς ποιήσεως εὐδόκιμον.

² Of Ktesias, Photios (p. 45 a 7. 20 Bekk.) says: κέχρηται δὲ τῇ Ἰωνικῇ δια- λέκτῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις. ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ, ἐν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰωνίζει. The last words indicate that in Ktesias' time a partial Ionism was held to be sufficient to main- tain the tradition of the Ionic origin of the historian's art. Ionic obtained a foothold in the Doris before the birth of the author of the *Περσικά*. Herodotos and Hippokrates felt the pressure of the Ionic atmosphere of their surroundings.

³ Τῆς Ἰᾶδος ἄριστος κανὼν Dion. Hal., Photios *l. l.*, and in the epigram in St. Byz. s. v. Θούριοι:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξω κρύπτει κόνις ἦδε θανάοντα
Ἰᾶδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορικῆς πρύτανιν.

⁴ *De Pron.* 118B.

of the fragments of the logographers and philosophers have either perished completely or have been forced to submit to a more or less thoroughgoing deprivation of their original form. Unfortunately, however, this judgment of antiquity respecting 'pure' as distinguished from 'mixed' Ionic means no such thing. Its value is vitiated for the purpose of dialectology because it is a verdict based upon the insecure premise that vocabulary and style are essentially determinative of dialect character. So far removed from the immediate purpose of the rhetoricians was the conception that purity of dialect consists in the unimpeded transmission of an indigenous vowel and consonantal system and in a native method of inflection, that they are constantly exposed to the danger of not distinguishing dialect from diction. Exceptions are rare. When Dionysios of Halikarnassos wishes to display the power of the Herodoteian style in its marshalling of words, his first thought is to cast aside the veil of the dialect that no extraneous charm may reinforce his argument as to the perfect disposition of the tale of Gyges or of the descent of Kroisos¹.

The grammarians rarely², the rhetoricians never, busied themselves with any possibility of difference between the idiom of the soil and that of Ionic prose literature, filled from the horn of plenty of the epics. The nature of the inflections, the character of word forms, fail to trouble Hermogenes when he sets Hekataios³ off against Herodotos, or characterizes the poetical nature of the latter's diction⁴.

80.] The distinction between *pure* and *mixed* Ionic is therefore, in view of the attitude of the rhetoricians towards the creations of Ionic prose literature, a distinction destitute of authority for us in respect of matters of phonology and inflection. Whatever significance it may possess can be understood only in relation to the genesis and stylistic development of prose as a literary instrument.

Two views have been advanced in ancient as well as in modern times, which seek to penetrate into the obscurity enveloping the dawn of Greek prose.

¹ Cf. Quint. IX 4, 18.

² Dionysios Thrax ch. 1 illustrates the horizon of the grammarians:—*γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων.*

³ In the passage n. 1, p. 80, Hekataios' style is described as simple, in contradistinction to the parti-coloured diction of Herodotos. The passage ending with *ποιητικός* may have reference to epic style and vocabulary. See Zarncke *Literatursprachen*, note 32.

⁴ Hermog. II 395: *καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννοίαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις, καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου . . . οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ῥυθμῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοῦ τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναπαιστικοῦ, σπονδειακοῦ τε καὶ ὕλως σεμνοί.*

81.] The ancients with scarcely a dissenting voice, and the moderns in the early part of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Heyne especially, held that the rise of Ionic prose was due to a gradual abandonment of the metrical form, though at the same time the word structure that belonged to poetry was retained. Dealing with local myths at the outset, but continually widening its horizon, it nevertheless retained some of that poetical colouring which had proved so splendid an ornament to the tale of the Trojan war. Strabo is the chief authority in ancient times for this view¹.

In confirmation of this side of the controversy it was urged that the connection between the epic and the earliest literary prose was most intimate², an inference suggested by the tradition that Akusilaos transferred Hesiod to prose, and because of a similar legend attaching itself to the name of Eumelos. The language of Anaximander is replete with poetic reminiscences³; and the diction of Herakleitos⁴ and Demokritos⁵ has not lost traces of its affiliation with the poetic past⁶. Doubtless some part of the poetic flavour of Platonic prose is not entirely due to the vivid imagination of the artist, but is the result of a more or less conscious reproduction of the philosophic diction of the Ionians (*e.g.* *ἐγκρίνω Rep.* VI 486 D).

The bond of sympathy between archaic literary prose and verse⁷, the refusal to abandon the medium of metre after a philosophical prose had won a place in the literary circles of Ionia, the analogy of the diction of Pythagorean prose, proved powerful factors in gaining the suffrage of scholars to the view that Strabo was substantially correct.

82.] If modern criticism does not actually overthrow the Strabonian explanation of the genesis of prose writing, it at

¹ I 18: ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὁ περὶ δὲ λόγος, ὃ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μίμημα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἐστὶ. πρῶτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν, εἶτα ἐκείνην μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμου καὶ Φερεκύδῃ (i.e. of Syros), καὶ Ἐκαταίων· εἶτα οἱ ὕστερον ἀφαιρούντες ἀεὶ τι τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατήγαγον ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός. The passage from Strabo reappears in Eust. II. p. 9. With this statement may be associated the remark of Aristotle (*Poet.* i. 8) that the language of Empedokles was in no wise different from prose, save in the fact that it was metrical.

² See throughout Zarncke's *Entstehung der gr. Literatursprachen*, which contains the best defence of the older view, though the part dealing with the rise of prose is the weakest part of the article.

³ Theophrastos, *apud* Simplicius, *phys.* 6 r 42.

⁴ Strabo, p. 3, βελτίων δ' Ἡρακλ. καὶ ἰωνικώτερος.

⁵ Cicero, *Orat.* 67.

⁶ Anaximenes, according to one witness at least, seems to have been less constant in his adherence to the poetic element in philosophical style. Diog. Laert. II 2, cited above, § 79.

⁷ The *Karneonikai* of Hellanikos was written in prose and verse.

least demands its modification in several important particulars. It is maintained that the foundation of Ionic prose is to be sought in the local dialects (notably the Milesian), and that the diction of historical, philosophical and scientific writing can have come into being only after the labours of successive generations had succeeded in rendering the rude idiom of the registers and decrees capable of being a vehicle of literary expression. Those of this second school emphasize the fact that even in antiquity there was no consensus of opinion, and bring forward at least two utterances making in favour of their view: (1) Cicero (*De Orat.* II 12, § 53), in speaking of the earliest Roman annalists who made no use of poetical ornament, compares them with Pherekydes, Hellanikos and Akusilaos. (2) After describing what manner of men the older local historians were, Dionysios of Halikarnassos¹ says that their style was clear and intelligible to all, pure and precise. Of the moderns, no less an authority than Bergk says: *'it is remarkable how slight has been the influence of poetry upon the prose of the earlier period, though poetry attained at an early date to a periodic connection of sentences. Prose, originally a totally different species of composition, intentionally renounces the artistic means adopted by poetry'*².

83.] In all this speculation, both of the moderns and of the ancients (who possessed a greater wealth of material, but not the horizon enabling them to estimate its dialectal value), a vital fact has been ignored. Style is one thing, phonetics and inflections something quite different. Poetical ornament or poetical reminiscence, the recourse to archaic or obsolescent words, be they never so frequent, are not incompatible with a contemporaneous system of inflection and phonetics. The substitution of prose for the λέξις εἰρομένη by the logographers of the sixth (or fifth) centuries is not identical with the adoption of an Homeric scheme of declension. The various dialects of Hellas, in which are preserved early dedicatory or laudatory hexameters of epic tone, have no scruple in adopting inflections proper either to an archaic or to a contemporaneous form of the language, while at the same time the words are borrowed to a greater

¹ D. II, *de Thuc. judic.* 819 R. : σαφῆ καὶ κοινήν, καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον. Before he says: κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαίρουντες, καὶ χωρὶς ἐκφέροντες, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μῆμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινήν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον· μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι, μήτ' ἀφαιρούντες, ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοι τινες ἐνήσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαὶ τινες περιπέτειαί, πολλὸν τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι. Demetrius, *de Eloc.* 12, vol. IX, p. 9 W says of the style of the older prosaists: διηρημένη, εἰς κῶλα λελυμένη οὐ μάλα ἀλλήλοισι συνηρημένα, ὡς ἢ Ἐκαταίου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἡροδότου.

² Bergk, *Gr. Literaturgeschichte*, II 394, note.

or less extent from Homer. So in the domain of prose. The archaic words employed in Herodotos' vocabulary, when it is identical with that of Homer and divergent from that of Attic prose, may coexist with contemporaneous inflections. Even in the vocabulary of Ionic prose, much of what has been regarded as poetical is in fact nothing more than old-time Ionic, a survival of the time when the Ionians did not dwell over-sea, and cherished with all the fervour which unites the speech of the colony to that of the metropolis. In the America of to-day there survive words drawn from the treasure-house of Chaucerian, Spenserian and Shakesperian English, words which were still vigorous with life in England in the seventeenth century, but which have since been permitted to starve. The Tennessean says *suddint* for *quick-tempered*, as Chaucer said *sodeyn Diomedé*.

On the one hand then, the utterances of antiquity and the hypotheses of the moderns in reference to the difference between the Herodoteian and non-Herodoteian dialect lead to no result, since they proceed on the lines of discriminating one style from another. On the other hand, we find in the extant fragments no answer to the much-vexed question whether there was any radical difference in the dialect of the various writers of early Ionic prose.

84.] Upon turning to the existing monuments of Ionic prose, we confront the fact that, so far as the fragments of the logographers permit a comparison of their dialect with that of Herodotos, there is no appreciable difference between the two. These fragments are but few, and even these bear the touch of Attic or pseudo-Ionic hands. Of Kadmos and Dionysios, Deiochos and Bion of Prokonnesos, Eugeon of Samos, nothing has been preserved. Akusilaos of Argos, the first writer not of Ionic stock who pursued the genealogical enquiries of the Ionians, must have written in Ionic, though the fragments extant in antiquity were branded as spurious by Suidas. The *Σικελιωτικὴ συγγραφή* of Antiochos of Syrakuse, utilized by Thukydidēs, offers no picture of the form assumed by the literary Ionic of the Western colonies. Charon of Lampsakos has *ἀπρίζεται*, and a few cases of *-ιη*, which was the feature of the dialect which resisted dislodgment most obstinately. In frag. 2 Plutarch has *βασιληίων* together with *τείχους* and *ἐπαραχωροῦσι*. Of Xanthos nothing worthy of note is preserved.

Even the fragments of Hekataios yield no result commensurate with their greater number. In the field of vocabulary we notice here and there a peculiar word, but even upon the basis of the study of vocabulary and style, we have not material

sufficient to test the criticism of Hermogenes. It is only occasionally that Ionic forms appear in Steph. of Byzant. and in Athenaios¹, whose texts present now the Attic, now a partial Ionic form. The pseudo-Longinos always Atticizes. *δοκέω* rests upon the authority of Hdn. π. μ. λ. I p. 13. There is no example of an open *εε* or *εει*.

Direct quotations from Pherekydes are extremely rare. Some Ionic forms are preserved by the schol. on Apoll. Rhod. III 1178 (= Pherek. 44): 'Αθηναίη, ὄφις, λίθοισιν, δοκούντες, κρατέουσιν; by the schol. on Pind. P. IV 75=133 (= 60): μαντήϊον, Αἰήτω, Ἴηρη, ῥόον; by the schol. on Eurip. Alk. I (= 76): Βρόντω, Στερό-πεω, Ἀργεω; and by Dion. Halik. Arch. I 13 (= 85): καλέονται, οἰκείοντες, Δημιερίης. All of these citations contain in addition Attic forms.

In Ion of Chios as quoted by Athenaios I find the Attic verbal forms except in *δοκέον*, *ἀφαιρετέοντα*. The adjectives of colour and material appear in the open form (*πορφυρέω*, *-έας*, *χρυσέας*).

85.] The vigour displayed by Ionic as the language of the scientists of the day, not merely Ionians of Ephesos, Samos, Klazomenai or of the Thracian Abdera², but thinkers from Krete, or cosmopolitans, puts to confusion the aesthetic-physiological vapidness of many older, and some modern, books on Greek. The mollient harmonies of the Ionic vowel system were applied, even at the period of the destruction of effeminate Ionia upon the fall of Miletos, to give expression to the hardest thinking that the Hellenic world had witnessed. So far from the Ionic dialect in early prose always appearing in the easy-flowing, anecdotal style of an Herodotos: it is the idiom which has to express the resplendent subtleties of Herakleitos. 'Milesian tales' are exchanged for the crabbedness of an Obscurantist, or for the defence of the all-pervading power of causality by the Atomic philosopher; and finally for the picturesque yet terse and nervous style of the Father of Medicine.

And yet, however different the styles in vogue among the thinkers of the sixth and fifth centuries, styles ranging from the poetic prose of the speculative thinker Pherekydes of Syros to the powerful compression or unadorned simplicity (as in the *Ἐπισημῖαι*) of Hippokrates, we are unable to bring together

¹ In Steph. Byz. *-εου-* appears fr. 67, 78, 114, 135, 189, 190, 193, 195; contracted *-ου-* 105, 186. Athen. has open *-εου-* 290, *-εο-* 172, *-ου-* 173, 341; *εε* and *εει* are always contracted.

² In connection with this, reference may be made to the view upheld by Gomperz that the pseudo-Hippocratic tract *περὶ τέχνης* is the work of an Abderite, and also to the view of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf that the pseudo-Hippocratic *Νόμος* is the production of Demokritos.

enough material to warrant the conclusion that there was any thoroughgoing differentiation between the dialect of historical and that of scientific writing. Apart from the question of the relation of Herodotos to Hippokrates, which will be considered in § 100, there is scarcely a trace which points to a difference in dialect between Anaxagoras, Herakleitos, Demokritos, Diogenes, Melissos, Apollonios, or Protagoras¹. While tradition has not been impartial in its dealings with the original colouring of their dialect, it nevertheless appears tolerably certain that they all made use of the inflections belonging to the accepted idiom of the day, which was common alike to the logographer and to the scientist. Radical differences in phraseology, sentence arrangement or syntax² may have existed, it is true, though in the scanty material at command, they elude our powers of observation.

Scientific writing gradually passed over into the hands of the Athenians. Archelaos of Miletos, the pupil of Anaxagoras, was in the view of Diogenes Laertios the first who transferred from Ionia to Attika the study of the philosophy of nature. Anaxagoras himself was banished from Athens, and a like fate befell the cosmopolitan Protagoras. Though none of these thinkers deserted the literary form established by their predecessors, we find that Bion, the pupil of Demokritos, wrote partly in Ionic, partly in Attic. This procedure may have given a start to that paraphrasing of the old Ionic texts which in course of time won for itself a place even among the critics who were not unsusceptible to the charm of dialect.

On the Transmission of the Text of the Ionic Philosophers.

For pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms see § 113.

86.] 1. No fragments in dialect have been preserved of Anaximander or of Anaximenes (on whose dialect see note 2, page 80). Anaxagoras is known to us solely from the citations made by

¹ Some have held that Melissos imitated Hdt., Demokritos Hippokrates (ξύν). Mullach (*Vulgarsprache* p. 10) notes that Demokritos often agrees with neither Hdt. nor Hipp., but with the epic poets or inscriptions. He is unique for his 'pregnant brevity, poetic colour, and independent boldness in word formation.'

² μετά with the genitive (in the singular) of things, especially of an abstract character, occurs, probably for the first time in Ionic prose, in Demokritos, who has μετ' ἀποδείξεως (?). Mommsen (*Gr. Praep.* p. 112, note 50) says that the use of μετά with plural nouns is almost entirely avoided before Euripides; but cf. Hippokrates, περὶ ἀρχ. ἡτρ. I 612 (§ 17). See Gomperz, *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, note 2 on p. 92.

Simplicius, who has turned into Attic many of the essential features of the original language of the philosophers. Thus *εο* is contracted into *οι*, the *κ* pronominal forms have given place to those in *π*, the Ionic forms of the reflexive pronouns have completely disappeared.

2. Melissos has been treated more kindly by Simplicius. *εοι* is retained in the optative, and *εο* has not entirely disappeared. The retention of *κερεός* and *κερεώτερος* is noteworthy. In one instance a pronominal form in *κ* has escaped the levelling process.

3. Herakleitos has fared better at the hands of his excerptors than most of his contemporaries. The compression of his style may have prevented too great a deflection from the original. The earliest direct citation (by Theophrastos) is, however, paraphrased. The *κ* pronominal forms are preserved by Clemens, Stobaios, Plutarch, Hippolytos, Origen; the *-οι-* forms are found in Strabo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, Julian, &c.; uncontracted *-εο-*, *-εοι-* in Clemens of Alexandria (whose MSS., however, are inconsistent in this regard and also in the retention of the characteristic Ionic *κ*); uncontracted *-εω-* in Diogenes Laertios, Strabo.

ε in place of *α* in *-αω* verbs is found in Clemens and Hippolytos.

ξυνόν for *κοινόν* in Origen, Plotinos, Porphyrios, Sext. Emp. The *ε* forms in the comparative degree are rarely preserved intact by late writers. *μέζζονες* is found in Clemens, *κρέσσον* in Stob. The Ionic *η* is retained except by those who Atticize outright. Plutarch rarely swerves from the original.

The fragments of Herakleitos found in the Strassburg MS. of Justinian, now destroyed, and dating 474-491 A.D., are completely Atticized with the exception of *όκοίον, τουτέοισι*.

4. The longest single fragment of Diogenes of Apollonia has been paraphrased by Aristotle. In the other fragments as preserved in Simplicius we notice the retention of the Ionic declension of *iota* stems, except in *-εων*. *εο* is kept open in *πλήθεις*, a genitive form which is as unique in Simplicius as is his retention of *όκη* in Melissos 14. The reflexive pronouns conform to the Attic standard.

5. The *Moralia* of Demokritos, handed down chiefly by Stobaios, present the features of Ionic distorted by Atticisms, which at times completely overshadow the original lineaments of the dialect. Within one and the same fragment (*e.g.* 7c) we find the same word now in Attic, now in Ionic, guise. The characteristic features of the dialect of the Abderite philosopher emerge often

enough to permit the reconstruction of the whole, though not always in the form adopted by Mullach. The *-ων-* forms of the reflexive pronoun are tolerably common (*e.g.* 92, 100, 188); *κρέσσον* we find in 94; *οικήσιος* (94); *-ιος* and *-ιας* in *-ι-* stems (20); the *κ* pronominal forms have often given place to the Attic *π*, but the guttural appears (13, 20, 41); retention of *ψίλωσις* (92) is as rare as the open *-εο-* and *-εω-* are common. These forms appear with greater consistency than any other deflection from the Attic usage. There is a constant fluctuation between *ξύν* and *σύν*, and between the longer and shorter forms of the dative plural of the *Ā* and *O* declensions. Mullach has edited *ξύν* and *τοῖσι* and *τῆσι* indefensibly. *τοῖς* and *ταῖς* occur even when, as is rarely the case, the nouns end in *-σι*. The articular *τοῖσι*, however, occurs in 41, the relational in 47; *τῆσιν ἐπιθυμίησι* in 46. *τολμέωσι* is found in 215.

The *Physika*, as cited by Sextus Empiricus, are almost completely Atticized. Ionic *η* is occasionally preserved; *ὄρην* occurs in § 139 (frag. 1).

On the Style of Early Ionic Prose Writing.

87.] Among the early logographers who raised the edifice of their recitals upon the simple annals of the Ionic cities, genealogies, priestly records, &c., some would seem to have adopted a plain and homely style, ungarished by that admixture of epic colouring which distinguished the work of others. Both styles, however, had their roots in the local idioms in which subsisted variations to some slight degree. No Ionic prose in fact held itself aloof from the idiom of the soil. But to the epos, rather than to the unaided efforts of the early worthies, is due the creation of what might fairly be called a literary instrument. The influence of the epos cannot be conceived save upon the supposition that the ruder prose had of itself been already elaborated to a degree enabling it to make a distinct advance under the inspiration of a poetic model. There seem to be certain indications making for the conclusion that the language of the earliest logographers was in closer touch with the idiom of the soil than that of Herodotos. In this view 'unmixed' Ionic would show less of that conscious recourse to the epos and other literature (*cf.* § 89) which characterizes the dialect of Herodotos, and which in fact constituted his *ποικιλία*¹.

¹ It is wide of the mark to extend the application of the words of Hermogenes: *Ἐκαταῖος παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ἀφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος* (*cf.* above § 79) so as to find in them a confirmation of the belief, whether well founded or not,

Pherekydes and Hekataios dwelt within a narrower circle, while Herodotos extended the boundaries not only of subject-matter but also of style.

It is often a matter of dubitation what is the contemporaneous Ionic form which deserves a place in Herodotos, so scanty are our epigraphic materials and so perverse the confusion in the grammarians between the different strata of Ionic forms. Yet it is nevertheless certain that, save in passages which bear the unmistakable stamp of deliberate recurrence to Ægic formulae, the system of phonology and inflection is that of the soil. If it

that Herodotos purloined from his predecessor much of his subject-matter. The tone of the passage in Hermogenes indicates the belief of the rhetorician that Herodotos owed a debt in matters of style to Hekataios, notwithstanding that the latter used the *ἄκρατος, οὐ μειγμένη ἰάσ*. A hard and fast line between the Milesian and the Halikarnassian cannot well be drawn. I am indebted to Diels, *Hermes* XXII 426, for reference to a passage in Eusebios, *Pr. Ev.* X 3, p. 466 B. to the effect that Porphyrios in his *Φιλολογος ἀκρόασις*, following Polio *περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλοπῆς*, showed that Hdt. transferred from Hek. several passages without material change (*βραχέα παραποιήσας*). Diels does not hesitate to regard the *ποικιλία* of Hdt. as due to the wider horizon of the historian, which embraces not only description of all manner of things but also stylistic affinities with the epos, tragedy, &c.

In connection with this, reference may be made to a treatise which has generally escaped the notice of scholars: Peyron's *Origine dei tre illustri dialetti Greci paragonata con quella dell' eloquio illustre Italiano*, first published in 1838, and now accessible as the 12th appendix to his *Tucidide*, Turin, 1861. In §§ 49-56 he treats of Ionic, chiefly in regard to the relation of Herodotos to his predecessors and to the statements of Hermogenes (above § 79) and Dionysios of Halikarnassos (above § 82). His views are, briefly, as follows: the language of Hekataios and that of the early logographers was that of the native city of each, here and there ennobled by a slight admixture of the poetic element. An *ἄκρατος* dialect is a dialect spoken by the common-folk in a single city or district and not yet elaborated by literary artists; the words *οὐ μειγμένη* refer to a diction uncontaminated by the adoption of Homeric or other species of Ionic; and *ποικιλία* is used of a speech which seeks to avoid the monotony incidental to the use of a single dialectal idiom, by having recourse to forms and inflections other than those native to a single locality. Pseudo-Plutarch used *ποικίλος* in this sense when speaking of Homer (*λέξει δὲ ποικίλη κεχρημένος τοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαρακτήρας ἐγκατέμειξεν*). In confirmation of the view that the diction of Hekataios was essentially plebeian, the following words are cited: *δέας* for *κρέας*, *αἶμον* for *αἶμος*, *γέγειος*, *ἐπίσαι*, *κίβωτος*, *σκορπίζεσθαι* = *σκεδάωνυσθαι*, *ἀδελφίσειν*. In general the predecessors of Herodotos wrote as they spoke, but gradually *il fraseggiare del volgo si innalzava verso la dignità ed il ritmo della grave prosa*. Hekataios and his compeers were not absolutely intolerant of the dialect of other localities than their own, nor were they invariably studious of the avoidance of Homeric phraseology. They only essayed a unification of elements, whose fusion was reserved for the genius of Herodotos. Herodotos took as the foundation for his dialect the language of Homer, as the successors of Dante regarded his diction as their sovereign norm. The *ποικιλία* of Hdt. is the result of the superimposing upon Homeric Greek of the Ionic of Herodotos' own day and of other non-Ionic elements.

Latterly the ancient qualifications of the style of Hdt. have been regarded as covering loan-forms from non-Ionic dialects, which, it is assumed, were foreign to the writers of the 'pure' Ionic. Cf. *K. Z.* XXX 572.

is erroneous to regard Ionic prose as naught save the epic done into prose, to ruthlessly expel all Homeric forms from the text of Herodotos or of any of the early Ionic prosaists is to blind oneself to the true character of the genesis of prose in Ionia.

The presence of distinctly Homeric forms in Herodotos is due to the literary complexion of his history and is explained in part by his relationship to Panyassis. It is implied also in great measure by the after history of the text itself. It was the existence of an admixture of a poetic element which gave room and verge enough for the later redactors to erect the structure of an hyper-Ionism, whose creed licensed an indiscriminate substitution of epic forms in place of those of the living speech of Herodotos' day.

What may have been the distinctive virtue of the diction of the many representatives of Ionic prose classed by the ancients as writers of pure Ionic, it is now beyond our power to discover. Certainly if the *ποικιλία* peculiar to Herodotos has been correctly explained above, the bipartite division of antiquity does not rest upon differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word, and dialectal 'purity' is to be kept apart from stylistic 'purity.'

The Dialect of Herodotos.

ABICHT: *Quaestionum de dialecto Herodotea specimen prim.* 1859; *Philol.* XI 275

(*οι -αται, -ατο* for *-νται, -ντο*).

BREDOW: *De dialecto Herodotea*, 1846.

DINDORF: *Dissertatio de dialecto Herod.* in the Didot edition, 1844.

FRI TSCH: Critique of Merzdorf's *De dialecto Herodotea*, in *Jahrbücher für kl. Phil.* 1876, p. 105 ff.

LHARDY: *Quaestionum de dial. Herod.* cap. I and II, 1844-46.

MERZDORF: *Quaest. gramm. de vocalium in dialecto Herodotea concursu in Curtius' Studien VIII* 127-222, 1875. *Vocalverkürzung und Metathesis im Ionischen*, *ibid.* IX 201-244, 1876.

MEYER, W. L.: *Ueber die Contraction der Verba auf -έω*, *Programm des Paedagog. zu Hfeld*, 1868.

NORÉN: *De contractis verbis in -έω apud Herodotum*.

SPREER: *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*, 1874.

STEIN: in the *Praefatio* to the first volume of his critical edition (1869), p. xlv ff.

STRACHAN: in the Introduction to his edition of Book VI, 1891.

STRUVE: *Quaestionum de dial. Herodoti specimina III*, 1828-30 (in the second volume of his *Opuscula*).

The following *i. a.* deal with the relation of Hdt. to Homer:

BOETTIGER: *De Herod. Historia ad epici carminis indolem propius accedente*, 1792.

HOFER: *Ueber die Verwandtschaft d. herod. Stiles mit dem homerischen*, 1878.

HOELSCHER: *Die Entwicklung u. d. Zusammenhang d. ionischen Prosa mit den homerischen Epen*, 1875.

PICHLER: *Ueber syntaktische Beziehungen Herodots zu Homer*, 1882 (*Jahresbericht d. philol. Vereins zu Berlin*, X (1884), p. 366).

STAPELMANN: *Dissertat. de Herodoto ejusque dialecto*, 1830-32.

STEPHANUS: *Herodotus* 1570, p. 18 ff. (contains a collection of expressions in which Hdt. and Homer agree).

See also ZARNEKE'S *Entstehung der griech. Literatursprachen*, 1890, pp. 38-45.

88.] Within less than a century after Herodotos had concluded his history, the epitome of its contents by Theopompos became a possibility. The construction and continuance of an Athenian empire, whose reason for existence was the presence of the barbarian in the home of the Ionic Greeks; the rise of an artistic Attic prose as a more facile and more highly elaborated organ for the expression of trained political thought; the unexampled rapidity of development displayed by this new creation of Greek literature; the extinction of the easily flowing and loosely joined style of the Ionic narrative prose; the absorption of the fourth century in the process of perfecting the rhythmic and periodic style; and finally the continual widening of the chasm that separated the Eastern Greeks from those of Hellas proper;—all these factors contributed to the speedy decay of interest in the Herodoteian work. Now to this unpopularity of the Father of History, lasting from the extinction of Ionic literature to the time of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, is due in large measure the absence of a definite tradition of his original text. The disturbance of the current of Ionic tradition by the appearance of Attic worked to the prejudice of Herodotos. The impoverishment of the dialect and the deflection of literary curiosity to other quarters prevented a constant modernization of the original text, and ensured a speedy obscuration of the original complexion of so unique a literary product. When the interest in Ionic literature revived during the Augustan age, the seeds of corruption had borne their fruit; and it was impossible to reconstitute the genuine tradition of Herodotos as of other Ionic prose writers, who from this time onward continue to excite an attention in the rhetorical schools which they had failed to obtain in a more creative period of Greek literature.

The MSS. of no other prose writers exhibit such a wilderness of various readings and so complete an inability to transmit the original form as do those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Fortunately in the case of Herodotos, with whom we are here more immediately concerned, this aberration affects not the sense, but the external form. No single dialectal canon seems to have

guided the copyists, who adopt now one standard as regards one set of forms, now another as regards a set completely analogous. The absence of any scholia makes for the view that Alexandrian learning did not (as it did in the case of Homer, the lyric and tragic poets), by means of critical studies devoted to the dialect, erect a bulwark against the gradual transformation of that part of the authentic text in which Later Ionic was exposed to contamination with Homeric Ionic.

The incoherency of the Herodoteian scheme as it appears in the MSS. is evident from many considerations. If *œ* and even *oη* are contracted, is it conceivable that *oo* should remain open?

Despite the general acquiescence in the traditional belief that the open forms of the *-εω* verbs are genuine Herodoteian and Hippokratic, there are not wanting signs of a more rational view even in circles that do not despise the evidence of the MSS. in all matters pertaining to the contraction or non-contraction of vowels. Gomperz in his *Apologie der Heilkunst* does not scruple to adopt the closed forms, though the Paris MS. *A* has only 18 instances against 21 instances of the open forms in the pseudo-Hippokratic *περὶ τέχνης*.

Neither of the two classes¹ of MSS. of Herodotos (the older represented by *ABC*, the younger by *RPVS*) succeeds in carrying us to a period antedating the existence of an ignorant speculation as to the original form of the dialect adopted. The Florentine MS. (*A*) of the tenth century contains a greater farrago of perverse Ionisms than is found in the Romanus (*R*) of the fourteenth century. Cobet and Gomperz rate higher, for other reasons, the younger family of MSS. to which *R* belongs. On the one hand the confusion in the mind of the dialectologists between Homeric (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 20, 22) and Later Ionic foisted upon the early MSS. forms that are purely Homeric, and sometimes even such as owe their origin to a depraved Homeric tradition; and on the other the text, like all dialect texts, was exposed to the inroads of paraphrasing Atticists. In the uncertainty as to what was genuine, the dialectological sciolists played havoc with the later Ionic, and their blundering stupidity gave birth to such misshapen creatures as *ἐγενέστω*, *θεσπύστεα*, *Κροῖστω*, *Βάπτω*, *τουτέων*,

¹ Holder arranges the MSS. as follows: the archetypal MS. split into (1) *α=AB*, (2) *R+V¹=V+S*. *C* and *P* are placed by Holder among the *codices contaminati vel mixti*. See Kallenberg, *Philologus*, 1885, p. 717, who showed that in books I and IX, *P* belongs to the family *ABC*, but was corrected from a MS. of the *R* family; in books II-VIII *P* belongs to the family *R* but underwent correction from a MS. of the family *ABC*. Together with *ABC*, *R* is to be cautiously used. Stein held that only when *P* and *R* agree is use to be made of their readings. Cobet called *R* at once the best and the worst MS.

αὐτέων (masc. neutr.), τουτέοισι, σταθμεύμευος, ἔδικαένυ, which run riot in the MSS.

89.] The ancient grammarians, to a large extent under the influence of the rhetoricians, neglecting the influence exerted upon Herodotos by tragedy, lyric poetry, and perhaps even by the contemporary Sophistic, regarded his ποικιλία as emanating from his sympathy with the form and complexion of the epos. For Epic diction is characterized by a ποικιλία of its own¹. It was alien to the purpose of the ancient rhetoric to attempt to trace out in Herodotos the possibility of a combination of local idioms, each of which might have been compelled to yield its contribution towards the creation of a prose style, more highly elaborated than that wrought out by the predecessors of the Halikarnassian historian. Such a conception of the Herodoteian style, though not warranted by actual facts, could become possible only in modern times. Various have been the attempts within the past fifty years to explain the ποικιλία of Herodotos. Some, misconceiving the spirit of a Greek historian and the atmosphere of Ionic prose, have regarded it as the result of the fusion of Ionic with Karian, despite the fact that Halikarnassos was Ionized at least by the middle of the fifth century. Others, misconceiving the words of Suidas (ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τῇ Ἰάδῃ ἠσκήθη διάλεκτος), have regarded his dialect as Samian, which solely on this account was held to be a mixture of all the Ionic sub-dialects; though in fact, so far as we are acquainted with its structure, Samian Ionic opposes the infusion of alien, non-Ionic words and inflections². Most of the modern editors of Herodotos maintain the view that his 'variegated' Ionic is due to the presence of poetical (epic, lyric, elegiac), Doric, and Attic forms and expressions, which arose for the most part from the birth, training and surroundings of the historian. The present treatise, while professing allegiance to a view which holds, properly enough, that the personal coefficient has been largely instrumental in giving to Herodoteian style its peculiar virtue, is nevertheless antagonistic to the theory that his ποικιλία permitted Herodotos to adopt, as Homer adopted, now one, now another inflection for one and the same word; and in fact to the conception that the variegated complexion of the MSS. is any indication of a ποικιλία in the form reproduced by Stein and many modern editors. I hold that only in the treatment of proper names and in passages of unmistakably epic colouring is a certain latitude

¹ Ὅμηρος λέξει ποικίλῃ κεχρημένος says the author of the tractate περὶ Ὀμηρικῆς διαλέκτου.

² Cf. above, § 21.

on the lines of a departure from the contemporary Ionic to be regarded as justifiable.

90.] The language of Herodotos, as reconstructed upon the basis of the best MSS., consists of a mixture of early and late Ionic and a number of Attic forms. Doric forms occur in proper names. Much of what is genuine in Herodotos is likewise Attic, but some of the forms which appear to be found on Ionic soil alone readily admit of explanation by the laws of Greek morphology. Of the Ionic forms the greater part represents the dialect of the historian's time¹, but of the considerable remainder one part was obsolescent, another obsolete in the fifth century.

91.] The critical canon adopted by many of the editors² and by some scholars³ who have made a special study of certain portions of the diction of Herodotos is as follows: the form to be assumed by a given word in a given passage depends upon a count of its occurrences in the MSS., *i. e.* if one form has a majority of MS. witnesses in its behalf it is accepted, while the other must be rejected.

This principle, though seemingly the only safe guide, is illusory. Thus on the authority of a majority of the MSS. ποιέει and ποιέειν are to be adopted, while in the case of νοέω, νοέεις, -νόει and -νοεῖν would demand to be accepted. In the case of the subjunctives of -εω verbs the MSS. have the open forms in fourteen instances when a vowel precedes the ending, and the closed form ten times when a consonant is the preceding letter. What system of literary aesthetics can pronounce in favour of θάρσει but demand στρατηλάτεις; or differentiate the delicate shades of feeling in παρῴει and βοῴθει? Shall we here conclude that there existed a thoroughgoing differentiation between vocalic and consonantal endings, when such a differentiation does not exist in other cases where -εω or -ω appears? In one instance δοκέη has been deemed worthy of a place in the text, though by count in the present subjunctive it has a

¹ That a Dorian of Halikarnassos should have written in Ionic is due not merely to the existence of an Ionic prose at the opening of the fifth century, but also because Halikarnassos had been Ionized before the birth of the historian. Cf. the Lygdamis' inser. No. 238 in Bechtel's collection. The exceedingly old papyrus, published in *Philologus* XLI 748, dating probably from the fourth century B. C. and referred to Halikarnassos, contains several Dorisms.

² Holder, because more amenable to inscriptional authority, is much more radical than Stein in his refusal to accept MS. testimony.

³ Notably Bredow. In justice to the memory of a careful scholar, it should be stated that Merzdorf abandoned in Curtius *Studien* IX 201, the position assumed by him in the *Studien* VIII 127. The futility of the principle of majority rule was shown by Fritsch in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1876, p. 108, and in his *Vokalismus d. herod. Dialekts*, pp. 1 ff. Cf. *Kratylos* 437 D.

majority of but one over ποιῆ. In VIII 76 all MSS. have ποιέουσι, though they have ποιέωσι IV 111, εἰδῶ II 114, but εἰδέω III 140, ἀποσείχθω I 124, but ἀπαίρεθεω III 65, ἀδικοῖεν V 84, but δοκέει I 24, ποιῶι or -οίη VI 35, but ποιέοιεν IX 104. In the case of thirteen *verba contracta* the closed forms prevail, in the case of two others, though the MSS. prefer the contraction, Stein capriciously edits the open forms; in thirty-eight verbs only the contracted forms appear, and in the case of ὄρώ, εἰρωτάω and φοιτάω the wildest license reigns.

The adoption of the modern canon of criticism thus leads, as regards contraction or non-contraction (where the greatest lack of uniformity prevails), to a dissolution of a uniform system of inflection, and in fact to a conglomerate of inconsistencies such as is not found in any other prose author, with the possible exception of Hippokrates, whose text has met in great measure the same fate as that which has befallen the Herodoteian. From a survey of MS. evidence the conclusion is irresistible that this confusion is at least as old as the archetypal MS., which is held by some to be found in the conjunction of the readings of *ABR*. Whether the lack of uniformity displayed by the archetypal MS. is the echo of a similar lack dating from Herodotos (as some would maintain), or whether it is the result of a disturbance of the original tradition, are, it is scarcely necessary to remark, two totally different questions. The view reached in this work is that no agreement of MS. testimony in respect of contract verbs, unless it is an absolute consensus, is authoritative in the determination of the original text of the early Ionic prosaists. To establish an absolute consensus is often an impossibility. There are indications that different views as to the proper form of reconstructing certain parts of the Ionic verbal system obtained foothold at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the text. Thus as regards the 'pure' verbs, *ABR* often agree as to the necessity of contraction, *CP*¹ more frequently than the others (though not consistently) treat the -αω verbs as if they had passed into -εω verbs, the *Florentinus C* having -εω, the *Parisinus P* having εο, εον and εω for αο, αον and αω.

The attitude of the MSS. towards the question of the character of the dialect of Herodotos, can be accounted for only upon the supposition that at an early period, certainly not very long after the decline of literature under Alexander's successors, the knowledge of the text had become obliterated. When the period of reconstruction arrived the dialectological theories which en-

¹ Some of the forms of *CP* are regarded by Stein and others as due to the grammarians.

deavoured to break through the obscurity succeeded only in perpetuating divergent views as to the nature of prose Ionic. Nor did these theories, which found the chief field for their activity in the text of Herodotos, spare the texts of the lesser lights of the Ionic constellation.

92.] The investigation pursued in the present work proceeds upon principles which may thus be outlined :—

1. Herodotos made use of a uniform system of phonetics and inflection¹, *i. e.* when a word can be shown to be genuine Ionic and Herodoteian, no variation in its form is permissible except in certain special cases, as, for example, those comparatively few epic reminiscences which are so direct as to carry the Homeric form into Herodotos. Nor are we to regard as recalcitrant such variations as *βοηθέω*, *βώσαυτι*. Proper names of non-Ionic peoples and personages are given, now in the Ionic, now in the native, form.

2. The appellate court for deciding upon impeachable portions of the Herodoteian system of phonetics and inflection is composed of the inscriptions and the poets of Ionic birth. Herein we attribute greater weight to the writers of iambs and trochaics than to the elegists. The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B. C. and contains no trace whatsoever of that which is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we possess in their agreement the surest test possible under the circumstances by which to examine the credentials of any disputable form; and against the united voice of iambists and stone records the fluctuating orthography of Herodoteian or Hippocratic MSS. can make no stand. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist upon the fact, too often forgotten by some of the radical German scholars, that because a form is found in iambic poetry, or in the inscriptions, it does not follow that this form must be Herodoteian.

In the course of the detailed examination of Ionic my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great or how small is the difference between the actual speech of

¹ Stein, whose principle it is to follow the best MSS. in each passage, and who admits the doctrine of manifold forms, quotes with approval *Orator* 156: *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel pro deum dico vel pro deorum, alias ut necesse est, cum trium virum non virorum, cum sestertium nummum, non nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.* But, as has long ago been remarked, this by no means implies that a writer has the liberty of mixing archaic and modern forms at will. There are not wanting in Herodotos, or even in inscriptions, analogues of the retention of the old gen. in *-um*, while cases similar to the younger *-orum* had elsewhere gained a place in the language of the day.

Herodotos' time and that which is ordinarily proclaimed as fifth century Ionic, the rules for which, as formulated by Dindorf¹ in the Didot edition, upon the authority of Herodoteian MSS., have proved for nearly two generations a treacherous guide to editors² of the Ionic writers of the Hadrianic Renaissance and of the authors quoting early Ionic literature. I have endeavoured not to advance any theory, either of the development of Ionic prose literature or of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect, which might throw into a false light the explanation of the life of the individual form; but to present the material in such bulk and in such shape that the theory advanced in this part of the volume, when supported by the facts as given in another, cannot be dislodged by the arguments of those of different belief.

The view of the dialect of Herodotos which, on the whole, seems most probable is as follows:—

The Ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις was originally composed, not in the pure Milesian dialect as spoken in ordinary life by the Milesians of the fifth century, but in an ennobled form of the Milesian dialect which, gradually perfected by the predecessors of Herodotos, had received under the hands of the historian an impress due to the peculiar virtue of his genius. This literary Milesian idiom had its roots in the soil. Its inflections and phonetics were those of the common speech. If this common speech did not invariably and at once reject all older forms that were brought face to face with those of more recent origin, *à fortiori* the literary dialect did not keep pace with the innovations of the speech of daily life³. It confessed the supremacy of the Ionic epos⁴ by a frequent reproduction of Homeric sentiment and phraseology, chiefly for the purpose of ornament. An additional lustre was shed

¹ Dindorf, it is true, uttered a warning against a superstitious reverence for the authority of the MSS.: *quorum auctoritate sola qui regi iudicium suum patiuntur perinde faciunt ac si quis tesserarum jactu decernendum esse contendat quibus quoque in loco vocabulorum formis usus esse putandus sit Herodotus*. But Dindorf lived in a state of primeval innocence in respect of epigraphy. The iambographers have in his view no voice at all, the pseudo-Ionists an all important voice in shaping the form of Herodoteian Ionic.

² The dialectologist is hampered at every turn by this dependence upon a long established code which results in grafting upon such authors as Stobaios all sorts of hyper-Ionic forms. Especially is this to be deplored in the case of the many editions which do not give a full conspectus of various readings. Such a book as Diez's *Simplicius* is a notable exception.

³ For example, if in Halikarnassos or in Miletos the form of the article was τοῖς about the year 450 B. C., it does not follow that in Herodotos the longer form should be displaced, provided, as is the case, τοῖσι existed in Miletos in the sixth century. For τοῖσι in Hdt. to be correct, it is necessary that it should have existed at a time when the Milesian literary dialect was forming.

⁴ Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 51: πλὴν οἱ μὲν γυμνῇ πάνυ χρώνται τῇ μιμήσει τῶν ποιητῶν. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ μιμήσει, ἀλλὰ μεταθήσει καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος. Θεουκυδίδης μέντοι κἂν λάβῃ παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τι, ἰδίως αὐτῷ χρώμενος ἴδιον τὸ ληφθὲν ποιεῖ.

upon the heroes of the Ionic Revolt and of Marathon by the recital of their deeds in a language whose tone recalled that in which the poet had recounted the story of Achilles and of Odysseus. But in its external form, save in those passages which were imbued with epic colour, it was the dialect of the sixth and fifth centuries, such as is in part presented in the language of the epigraphic monuments and in part to be reconstructed by the aid of the living speech of a slightly older date, found in its purest form in the fragments of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, and in the elegists after a considerable subtraction of epic forms has been made. And furthermore, this Milesian dialect must not be thought of as a highly artificial idiom, hostile to natural and spontaneous variation.

The practical effect of this theory, if applied to a reconstruction of the Herodoteian text, would leave undisturbed by far the greater part of the dialect. The system of declension unfolded in the best MSS. would be preserved, the traces of $\psi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ vouched for, while its absence in compounds would not be branded as spurious. But in one particular which for years has been proclaimed a distinguishing feature of Later Ionic—the entire absence of contraction of the $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs—the testimony of the stone records and of the iambists is fatal to the assumption that Herodoteian Ionic is fifth century Ionic. The evidence as to the scheme of inflection of the contracted verbs is so complete that those who maintain the genuineness of the readings of the ordinary editions must take refuge in the conclusion that the historian deliberately resuscitated an entire system of inflection which had passed out of actual speech nearly a century before his time. The artificiality of style which adopts obsolete, or gives renewed life to obsolescent words is essentially different from a prose diction which reproduces a whole scheme of dead inflections. Even on the view that Herodotos' prose, like that of Hekataios, was derived immediately from poetry, its inflection of the *verba pura* is not the inflection found in iambic or elegiac poetry. I can find no cause for Herodotos' adoption of Homeric inflections in the fact that the elegy of the fifth century shows a marked increase, as contrasted with the elegy of Kallinos and Mimnermos or that of Tyrtaios and Solon, in respect of the appearance of Homeric forms. It might well be asked whether there was any tie connecting the elegy with the other Ionic prosaists whose MSS. display the same forms as those of Herodotos. And it should be noted that in these elegists there is scarcely a trace of pseudo-Ionisms, of which the MSS. of Hdt. are full.

Though as regards the contraction of $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs the evidence points in but one direction, there are several other cases where

we are unable to bring into court harmonious testimony to affect the evidence of Herodoteian MSS. Here the degree of certainty attainable is of necessity reduced, and each case must stand upon its own merits.

Thus where there is a direct conflict between the Herodoteian form and that of the inscriptions, as in the case of the specifically Ionic κ forms (κῶς, κότερος), Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos show that such forms existed in their day. Conversely the inscriptions often vouch for the validity of a form in Herodotos which is absent from the Ionic poets.

Where Herodotos has a form which is unattested both by inscriptions and lyric poets, its spuriousness is not thereby proven, unless it is diametrically opposed to known laws of Greek morphology, and is beyond the recognized influence of analogy. Thus ἐὼστῶν may readily be defended.

93.]

Though this treatise does not propose to lay down the principles governing the construction of a genuine Herodoteian text beyond those already stated, it is appropriate in this connection to quote the words of the eminent editor Stein in reference to the use of inscriptional testimony:—*‘In the first place the extent of these inscriptional texts, including those of late date, and their evidence as to language is so fragmentary and scanty, that they can make no reply when questioned as to many of the points in doubt. The provenance and the age of these inscriptions are quite different, the language in which they are couched, far from uniform (herein agreeing with the well-attested division into sub-dialects) and full of all sorts of unevennesses. This lack of uniformity is visible in the monuments of one and the same locality and period, and often in one and the same inscription.’* Whether Stein would apply these words, written in 1885, to the present corpus of Ionic inscriptions, I am unable to say. But since they express a wide-spread view as to the applicability of the Ionic inscriptions in questions of Herodoteian criticism, it is appropriate to state here that it has been found impossible to draw distinct lines between sub-dialects of Asiatic Ionic; that variations from an Ionic norm are traceable either in the direction of adventitious Aiolisms or Atticisms; that the differences in form within the confines of Ionic are differences of time, one locality having preserved an ancient form longer than another; and that this ‘lack of uniformity in one and the same inscription’ is nothing more than a casual variation in orthography (ταῶτα, ταῦτα). It is difficult to discover an actual contradiction upon the same inscription, or upon inscriptions of the same locality and of the same period¹.

The Dialect of Hippocrates.

94.] There is no satisfactory treatise on the dialect of the Hippocratic and pseudo-Hippocratic treatises. Observations more or less fragmentary will be found in:—

¹ Cf. Fritsch *V. D. II.* p. 4.

GOMPERZ : *Die Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890.

ILBERG : *Studia Pseudhippocratea* 1883, p. 32 ff. ; and *Zur Ueberlieferung des hippokratischen Corpus*, R. M. XLII 436, 1889.

KUEHLEWEIN : *Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur*, 1870. *Die Textesuberlieferung der angeblich hippokratischen Schrift ueber die alte Heilkunde in Hermes XXII 179-193*, 1887.

LINDEMANN : *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

LITTRÉ : in his edition, vol. I 479 ff., 1839.

C. F. LOBECK : *Beitraege zur Kenntniss des Dialekts des H.* in *Philologus*, vol. VIII 19 ff., 1853 (on the genitive plural of \bar{a} stems).

RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, in *Curtius' Studien I 1*, 133 ff., I 2, 1 ff. 1868.

95.] Though a native of the island of Kos and hence of Doric stock¹, Hippokrates adopted the dialect which had been handed down as the recognized instrument of scientific thought. It was in Ionic that the speculations of Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Demokritos (the inferior of Aristotle alone in his encyclopaedic grasp of science), Melissos, and Diogenes of Apollonia found expression. But apart from the despotism exercised by literary tradition, it should not be forgotten that the Dorians had not wrought out a literature of their own in the middle of the fifth century. A Dorian prose scarcely existed. Furthermore upon Kos itself the influence of the neighbouring Ionic speech may have made itself felt as early as the time of Hippokrates. In the third century at least we find adventitious Ionisms in the dialect of the island².

The dialect of Hippokrates did not receive any very widespread attention in ancient times. Gregory of Corinth rarely cites him³. Some of the lesser commentators commented upon

¹ Ailian, *V. H.* IV 20 : λέγουσι δὲ Δαυρία ὄντα τὸν Ἴππ. ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου χάριν τῇ Ἰάδι φωνῇ συγγράψαι τὰ συγγράμματα. This was making a virtue of necessity. A letter of the pseudo-Hippokr. says : τῷ γένει μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ Δαυριεύς, πόλεως δὲ Κῶ.

² [ἀπο]δεξάντω in No. 260 of Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* : κνεῦσα *J. H. S.* IX 334, l. 56, 61 (κνεῦσα p. 327, l. 2). See Bechtel *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, p. 31 ff. On the similarity of the Koan dialect of Hippokrates to Asiatic Greek in the use of certain words, cf. Galen XVII A 929, XVIII A 438, 469 (σῆτες), also XV 554, XVIII B 590. Naturally the forger of the response of the Koans to Artaxerxes did not scruple to put Ionic in the mouth of a Doric speaking people. In a late epigram from Kos (first or second century A. D. according to Kaibel *Epigr.* No. 202) we find ἰατρῶν of the vulgar dialect in the first part of the inscription. In the last part (εἰς εαυτόν) the physician Melanthios, of Kos, is called ἰητῆρα. Ἄϊδας, in l. 3, is due to a Doric stone cutter. In Kaibel 254 from Paphos, third or fourth century B. C., we find Doric forms. Doric forms are not infrequent upon late epigrams in relation to medical matters. As a rule, however, Ionic was the dialect appropriate to the commemoration of physician or poet. On the other hand the form ἀρετά shows that there existed a tendency to emphasize this conception as Doric.

³ ὄρέων, τῆσι χρονίησι λειεντερίησιν . . . σημεῖον, φθίσιοις, τάμνειν are quoted by Gregory.

the Hippocratic use of words, in researches devoted more particularly to the investigation of his vocabulary¹. Galen is, so far as we know, the only ancient who devoted himself to the study of the dialect of Hippokrates, having written a special treatise² containing in part his views upon the subject. Though Galen was doubtless no critical dialectologist, the loss of this tractate is greatly to be deplored, for Galen knew of readings in the possession of the ancient commentators³; he sometimes calls attention to the fact that Sabinius and Rufus⁴, who on his view was a conservative critic, mention the oldest readings; and is himself acquainted with MS. tradition antedating his own period by three or four hundred years⁵. As a compensation for the loss of this dialectological study we have side-lights thrown out in the course of the commentary, most of which are illustrative of the indifference displayed by his predecessors⁶ and contemporaries to the general form of the dialect of the great Asklepiad.

Galen says that some write ὄσσησι, others ὀκόσσησι, others ὀπόσσησι with π instead of κ, which is the procedure of Capito in all similar cases. Then, as if to belie that philological zeal which incited him to an investigation of the dialect of Hippokrates, he adds that it makes no difference to science which spelling one may adopt, that he had devoted himself to showing up only those lapses in form which were destructive of the sense; and as for those changes which were merely verbal, he bids every one write as he pleases⁷. Galen was himself not above giving credence to hyper-Ionic formations, as is shown in § 116.

It has been widely held, and last of all by Christ, in his *History of Greek Literature*, that some at least of the Atticisms of Hippokrates are due to the influence exercised by the editions of Dioskorides and Artemidorus Capito under Hadrian. The latter

¹ Baechios in his *Δέξεις* noticed that *ποταίνια* in Ionic denoted everything given for food or drink. The first glossator of Hippokrates, Xenokritos, a compatriot of the physician, called attention to the fact that the locution ἀλλοφασσα *Πρωσ.* 44 referred, not to language, but to intelligence delirium.

² εἰς τὴν μὲν γραφὴν τῶν ἰητρῶν, εἰς τὴν δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ε' χρῆν τῶν ἰητρῶν. ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο σύνθητος τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, ὧν τῇ διαλεκτῶ χρῆται κατὰ τι καὶ ὁ Ἰππ., ὡς ἀποφῆνασθαί τινας αὐτὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα. ἐμοὶ δὲ κατ' ἕτερον ἰδίᾳ γράμμα μικρὸν ἔφρονώ περὶ τῆς Ἰππ. διαλεκτοῦ δεδῆλωται, XVIII B 322. There is no period of Old Attic which presents a dialect like that of Hippokrates.

³ Cf. XVII A 1005.

⁴ Of Rufus he says: ἀνὴρ φυλάσσειν . . . ἀεὶ πειρώμενος τὰς παλαιὰς γραφάς: cf. XVI 474, 636.

⁵ XV 21-22 (Peripatetics), XVIII B 630.

⁶ Rufus and Sabinius, XVI 474, XV 22, XVIII B 631.

⁷ XVII A 798; cf. also XVI 474.

edition is censured by Galen as deliberately setting aside the ancient readings. The recent researches of Ilberg have, however, shown that these Atticizing editions have left no trace of their influence upon the vulgate. Whatever the source of the Atticisms which have supplanted the Ionic element in the Hippokratian corpus, their presence testifies to a deterioration of the dialectological conscience of early transcribers and editors.

As if there were not already sufficient provocation for Atticizing texts, whose subject-matter, not whose external form, had ensured their renown, an additional reason for the displacement of the original Ionic may have been found by the ancients in the belief to which Galen gives expression when he states that Hippokrates made use of the Attic dialect up to a certain point. Some even regarded his dialect as the ἀρχαία Ἀτθίς. The existence of such an opinion in scientific circles only added force to the movement which obscured the original form of the dialect.

96.] A thoroughgoing examination of the dialect of Hippokrates is not attempted in this work, for the reason that the avenues of approach are barred by the uncritical character of our editions. Though Littré has the honour of recognizing for the first time the value of the Paris codex 2253 (*A*) of the eleventh or, as Ilberg thinks, of the tenth century, he did not make it the sole basis for his text. He merely utilized its readings for the correction of the vulgate of the more recent MSS. and of the edition by Cornarius. The edition of Ermerins, though adhering more closely to *A* than that of Littré, labours under the disadvantage of having had recourse only spasmodically to the Marcianus (*M* of the eleventh century). The projected edition of Ilberg and Kuehlewein will be based upon a more careful examination of *A* and *θ* (the Vienna MS. of the tenth century), upon a collation of *M*, the Vaticanus 276, and several Paris codices (*E, D, H, F, J*), and upon researches in the indifferently edited or still unpublished treatises of Galen¹.

Until this edition appears I deem it unadvisable to venture upon so elaborate a study of Hippokrates' dialect as has been thought proper in the case of Herodotos, where full and exact MS. testimony is in our hands. The Ionic forms as found in *A* have nevertheless been given with some detail, especially in respect of the contract verbs in *-εω* and other crucial points. So far as I have followed the recent researches into the history of the transmission of the Hippokratian text, I conclude that it will be

¹ Ilberg has already shown, upon the basis of a collation of some Venetian MSS., that the text of Hippokrates in the hands of Galen was less dissimilar to the best traditional text than scholars are wont to imagine.

unlikely that a complete collation of *M* will necessitate other readings of the Ionisms than those found in *A* and *θ*. It must be borne in mind throughout that even *A* is not free from the constantly recurring inconsistencies presented by the *recentiores*, of whose variants Gomperz says that they are worth not a whit more than a series of modern conjectures. Like *M*, *A* contains not only a very considerable number of Atticisms which have obscured the original Ionisms, but also many pseudo-Ionisms, such as the open *εε* in forms of the *-εω* verbs, where *A* and *M* are often no better than the *recentiores*. The Vienna MS. *θ* often adopts the contracted, where the *recentiores* have the open forms; *A* has even such hyper-Ionic forms as *αὐτέφω*, *τουτέφω*, though much less frequently than the inferior MSS.¹

97.]

Ilberg has shown (*R. M.* XLII 443) that *θ* and *A* agree in opposition to most of the other MSS. in the following cases: *νόσημα* but *νοῦσος*; often *ἄταν*, *ἄποταν*, *ἄποτε*, *ἄθεν* &c., together with the *κ* forms; *ἄτις* and *ἄθις*; *πυριᾶν*, *διατᾶσθαι* where the Vulgate has *πυριῆν*, *διατῆσθαι* (*διατεῖσθαι*); *χρῆσθαι* has contracted forms generally; often *κέϊται* not *κέεται*; *ἰδεῖν* not *ἰδέειν*; *ἄρκει*, *ἄρκειν*, *κρατῆ*, *καλοῦσι*; *ἄσθενῆ*, *ξυνεχῶς*; *-οις* and *-αις* in dat. plural.

98.] The mint-marks of the Hippocratic dialect are not confined to the genuine writings, but are spread over the entire Hippocratic corpus. The criterion of dialect does not enable us to detect traces of spuriousness, nor does it display any considerable diminution in the amount of Ionisms in those treatises which diplomatic criticism has referred to the period following that of the founder of Greek medicine. Since several of these treatises are contemporaneous with, or slightly older than, Ktesias or Aristotle, it is idle to expect any thorough-going difference in the use of Ionic forms between these later treatises and those proceeding directly from Hippokrates himself.

99.] The chief mint-marks of Hippokrates' Ionism are as follows:—

1. Vowels.

η for *ā* after *ε*, *ι*, *ρ*, as in *νεηνίσκος*, *καρδίη*, *ἡτρός*, *πηρῆς*, *ἄκρητος*.

ε for *ει* in *ἐς*, *ἔσω*.

ου for *ο* in *μοῦνος*, *νοῦσος* (but *νοσέω*); *οὔνομα* is not to be adopted, though frequently occurring in the MSS.

ω and not *av* in *τρῶμα*.

ῶν has generally been displaced in favour of Attic *οῦν*.

ων for *av* in *ἔωυτοῦ*.

¹ See below, § 116.

ι is expelled in ἀεί. The ει forms in πλείων, &c., outweigh, as in Herodotos, those without the ι.

ηι for ει in suffixes is extremely rare. σμημίον is claimed as a certain case of ηϊ.

ο + η is uncontracted (as in Herodotos) in βοηθέω. In *De Arte*, νοῆσαι occurs despite the νω- form in Herodotos, Theognis, and, according to Philodemos in Demokritos.

In the forms of the -εω verbs, the *recentiores* have almost invariably the open forms which appear to a very considerable extent in *A* and *M*. θ often has the contracted forms where the *recentiores* adopt εε, εει. Littré holds to the non-contraction, while admitting the presence of ευ in present and participle. Second aorists such as ἰδέειν have gained a position in the MSS. Adjectives in -υς have open εε (ὀξέες, πρηέες), adverbs in -εως are uncontracted; ἦρ is more frequently attested than ἔαρ.

2. Consonants.

Littré decides in favour of the κ forms in ὀκοῖος, &c.; while Gomperz (*Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 87) holds that the interrelation of *A* and the *recentiores*, notably in the case of *De Flatibus* and *De Natura Hom.*, makes for the conclusion that the κ forms were smuggled in through a belief that the π forms were not Ionic. Cf. Galen XVIII B 669.

In respect of the adoption of ξύν or σύν, Littré argues in favour of the former, Gomperz in favour of the latter form. The *recentiores* prefer the Attic form, *A* has both with a preference for σύν, which is the only genuine Ionic form.

Traces of Ionic ψίλωσις are rare, having been obliterated by conjecture at an early period. Gomperz restores ἀπ' ὅτεων in II 74, cf. *De Natura Hominis* 2 (VI 34), *De Flatibus* (VI 98). αἰτις is found *De Flatibus* (VI 92), μετεωῦτοῦ in *M* (VI 114), ἀπικρέεται *De Sacro Morbo* 16 (VI 390), ἐπόδοισι in *De Diaeta A* 32 (VI 508), ἀπίκηται in *H* in *De Morbis I* (VII 8), ὠντός *De Carnibus* (VIII 588).

3. Declension.

The genitive plural of the \hat{A} declension ends in -εων, the dative plural in -ησι or sometimes in -αισι; in the O declension -οισι, but τοῖς according to Littré. Most of the cases of -οις occur before a vowel. The *iota* stems preserve the *iota* throughout. Neuters in -ος and -ης have uncontracted εο, εα, εω. In respect of the variation between $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ in the MSS., the former is to be adopted.

4. Conjugation.

On -εω verbs, see under 1. The participle of εἰμί is always εῶν. -εσται appears in the perfect (εἰρέσται for εἶρηνται) and -οιατο in the optative (γενοῖατο for γένουιντο).

For other features, see § 97.

100.] The attitude of scholars towards the question of the original dialect of Hippokrates has been far from uniform. Heringa, holding that Herodoteian usage was that of Hippokrates, demanded that the texts of both Herodotos and Hippokrates should be so emended as to present the picture of one and the same dialect. Koraës recognised the desirability of assimilating Hippokratic to Herodoteian usage, though at the same time he adopted Homeric¹ and other forms. Struve first called attention to the existence of differences between the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Eight of these differences, as formulated by Littré (together with the testimony of the pseudo-Ionists which I have added), are as follows:—

1. δέκομαι in Hdt. Luk. (Arr. doubtful) = δέχομαι Hipp. Aret.
2. Hdt. and imitators frequently show traces of the Ionic ψιλῶσις (ἀπικρέομαι, οἶκ οἶος); neither Hipp. nor his imitators follow Herodoteian usage herein.
3. ἱερός and ἰρός in Hdt. Luk. Arr. = ἱερός Hipp. Aret.
4. θῶμα² Hdt. Arr. = θαῦμα Hipp.
5. ἀπόδεξις Hdt. = ἀπόδειξις Hipp. The words are in reality from different roots.
6. σύν Hdt. and imitators = ξύν Hipp. and imitators.
7. -ηϊ- in Hdt. and imitators occurs far more frequently than in Hipp. The imitators of Hipp. follow their model herein.
8. The demonstrative pronoun (article) is used by Hdt. in place of the pure relative. Hipp. and imitators adopt the Attic usage. Lukian has many exceptions to the Herodoteian use.

In addition to these marks of divergence we may add the following:—

9. μέγαθος Hdt. and imit. = μέγεθος Hipp. and Aretaios.
10. πολλός Hdt. and imit. = πολύς or πολύς Hipp. and Aretaios. Hdt. has but few cases of πολύς.
11. Hdt. and his imitators have ἐνεικ-, Hipp. and Aretaios ἐνεγκ-.
12. Hdt. has ἔρσην, Hipp. (Lukian and Arrian) have ἄρσην.
13. Hdt. has ἄρρωδέω, Aretaios (and Lukian) have ὄρρωδέω.
14. Hdt. ὦν (Luk. Arrian), Hipp. οῦν, Aret. both.

The Hippokratic Ionic³ is, if these differences are valid, a much milder form of the dialect than that used either by the iambographers or historians, that is, a dialect which is essentially

¹ That Hippokrates is often in touch with Homer affords no support for this view: cf. for example, ἐπήν τὸ ἔλκος ἀλθαίνηται with Θ 405 (Leaf).

² According to Littré θαῦμα was the preferable reading. But cf. §§ 205, 258. Lukian inclines to θαῦμα.

³ Under the head of word formation it may be noted that Hdt. has far fewer cases of -ηεις, -οεις than Hippokrates.

Ionic but admits numerous Attic forms. A parallel picture is presented by those inscriptions from Ionic territory which have adopted some Attic forms.

101.] Basing his position upon the fact that the dialect of the treatises current under the name of Hippokrates, but not emanating from the master himself, is practically the same as that of those free from all suspicion of spuriousness, Gomperz¹ argues that, of the eight marks of differentiation between the Hippokratic and the Herodoteian dialect, six can be shown not to exist, that in the case of $-ηϊ-$ and $-ει-$ the difference is gradual, as it is in that of $ξύν$ and $σύν$; and that in one point only—Hippokratic $δέχομαι$, Herodoteian $δέκομαι$ —is Littré substantially correct. Of the six additional marks of difference brought forward Gomperz is ignorant, as was Littré.

In his attack upon Littré's position, which has been conceded by later scholars (though doubtless without personal examination of the question), Gomperz admits that the presence of an isolated Herodoteian Ionism, even though it has been obscured in the course of transmission to the time of our best MSS. (the tenth and eleventh centuries), may justify us in holding that originally the area of its extension was much wider. Thus in § 11 of the tract *De Arte* he reads $ἐπεὶ τί θῶμα$ ² for the $ἐπιτίθεται$ of *A*, in § 10 he upholds $δέδεκται$ of *M*; $ἰρός$ he finds in *De Sacro Morbo*, *De Diaeta*, and in *De Flatibus*; in *De Diaeta* 5 (VI 476) $τά$ used as a relative, *De Prisca Medicina* 8 (I 586) $τῶν$. So in regard to the Ionic *psilosis*, and the use of $ξύν$ and $σύν$, of which mention has been made above § 99, 2.

102.] So intricate is the problem of the complexion of the Hippokratic dialect and of its place in the history of Ionic, that we may well apply to it the words of Hippokrates himself— $ἡ κρίσις χαλεπή$. Two of the conclusions reached by Littré must not pass unchallenged, though no positive advance toward the solution of the main question is gained by their overthrow.

1. The dialect of the undoubtedly spurious writings of Hippokrates is nearly, if not quite, the same as that of the genuine treatises and of those whose spuriousness is still unproven. This fact, in Littré's view, can be understood solely upon the supposition that the dialect was a living idiom. The minor variations which come to light reflect, he argues, the spoken language; for if the dialect existed solely for literary or scientific purposes, the Ionisms of the genuine Hippokrates would have been copied with

¹ *Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890, p. 82.

² This form is generally adopted by editors of Hdt.

rigorous precision by his successors, none of whom is later than the age of Aristotle¹. These minor variations, it should be noted, are almost invariably in the direction of the adoption of the Attic forms.

2. This actual dialect made use of by Hippokrates and his successors was one of the four sub-dialects of Ionic recognised by Herodotus, a sub-dialect in fact closely allied to Old Attic². One of these sub-dialects was according to Littré the 'pure' Ionic of Hekataios, another, the 'variegated,' that of Herodotus, the third, that of Hippokratēs.

It is evident that the overthrow of the second does not carry with it the abandonment of the first proposition.

In answer to these hypotheses of Littré, I hold that it nowise follows in the first instance that, because the successors of Hippokrates, his sons, his sons-in-law³ or other upholders of his school, made use of the same dialect, this dialect was a living idiom intact till the age of Aristotle⁴. If literary tradition enforced in the fifth century the writing in Ionic by those who were not of Ionic stock, for example, Diogenes of Apollonia; if literary imitation at a much later date among the pseudo-Ionizers enforced a reproduction of Hippocratic Ionic: if the 'minor variations' make more and more in the direction of Attic, which by the year 400 had largely checked the production of Ionic literature and in the middle of the fourth century rendered impossible all creativeness in Ionic: it is, in view of these considerations, well-nigh incredible that a sub-dialect should have lived on, a *Sprachinsel* untouched by the waves which in the fourth century washed away so many of the landmarks of Ionic speech.

Littré's comparison of Ktesias⁵ with Hippokrates, on the ground that both admit only a partial Ionism, is vicious. The language of Ktesias is not that of a living sub-dialect.

Still more destructive to the conclusions of Littré is the impossibility of localizing this sub-dialect of the Asklepiads. In the island of Kos, despite occasional Ionic ingressions, Doric

¹ This *terminus ante quem* may readily be disputed.

² Herein Littré follows in the wake of certain unknown ancient students of the Hippocratic dietion; cf. § 95.

³ Aristotle quotes the *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* under the name of Polybos, Hippokratēs' son-in-law.

⁴ *Hoc veri simillimum videbitur originem collectionis consideranti, non conscriptam eam fuisse dialecto prorsus eadem, sed eos sequiorum temporum medicos, qui II. sibi proposuissent imitandum, non semper exemplar assecutos formas adhibuisse interdum, quas aut apud alios Iulii scriptores legissent aut Ionicas esse falso sibi persuassissent, qua re concessum esset fortasse, temporum nisi nocuisset invidia, ut non solum scripta vere Hippocratica, sed etiam Iulii interpretamenta à scriptis, eorum eorum pseudopygrapharum auctores diversos dignoscere; Ilberg, Pseudippoer. p. 33.*

⁵ Ktesias used fewer Ionisms in his *Pseudo* than in his *Iulika*; see § 79.

held its ground at least to the second century B.C. Hippokrates' dialect shows no trace of the Doric of his native speech.

It is of course no wonder that Littré failed to find the fourth sub-dialect of Herodotos' quadrilateral division. The Herodoteian sub-dialects are neither artificial variations of a 'normal' Ionic constructed for the purpose of giving diversity to literary expression, nor are they living sub-dialects embodied and transfigured by Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates. The application by the ancients of the term 'unmixed' Ionic to the dialect of both Hekataios and Hippokrates cannot be tortured into a proof of the existence of two sub-dialects. The phoneties and inflections of Hekataios are practically identical with those of Hippokrates (except the Atticisms referred to § 100), as they are with those of Herodotos. If 'pure' Ionic, on the ancients' view, referred to matters of sound and inflection, and these Atticisms are a genuine survival of Hippokratic usage, it is difficult to discover how the dialects of Hekataios and Hippokrates are both 'pure,' in opposition to Herodotos' 'mixed' Ionic. And if these Atticisms should ultimately prove to be adventitious (as the epithet 'pure' Ionic does not prove them to be), we can then discover in the MSS. no difference between the dialects of the three prosaists so far as morphology is concerned. The close interrelation between the dialects of Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates makes for the conclusion reached above § 79, that the terms 'mixed' and 'pure' Ionic refer to stylistic differences, and that, emanating from the later rhetorical study of Ionic prose, they are useless as guides in the search for actual dialectal differentiation.

103.] On the basis of an actual count of occurrences of the forms in question, there is in the Hippokratic MSS. a not inconsiderable number of phenomena of Attic rather than Ionic mould. That the list given in § 100 is to be reduced on the lines of attack followed by Gomperz is not probable, despite the temptation to assimilate the Hippokratic to the Herodoteian dialect, and thus establish one literary dialect of Ionic, varying widely as to style but essentially the same in matters of phoneties and inflections. I do not think the existence of Attic element can be said to be imperilled until the following questions are decided:—

1. Is the presence of an isolated Ionism in the best MSS., or even in the *recentiores*, to be accounted for as a chance survival of an original wider extension, or as a form that has been smuggled in under the cover of a mistaken attempt to restore the original?

2. Does the entire absence of an Ionic form in *A* or *M* in

the case of a pseudo-Hippocratic treatise indicate that it was not Hippocratic, when this Ionic form occurs to any extent whatsoever in the same MSS. of a genuine treatise?

3. Is the critical principle to be applied in the case of the genuine, different from that to be applied in the case of the spurious, treatises?

Pseudo-Ionism.

ALLISON, *Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century, A.D.*, A. J. P. VII 203, 1886.

LENDEMANN, *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

104.] The conflict between the Asiatic and the Attic rhetoric in the first century before Christ not only led to a purification of contemporary ideals of style, but drew attention to the charm and grace of the history of Herodotos, whose fame, already imperilled in the fourth century, had suffered eclipse on the advent of that tasteless artificiality which dominated the period intervening between the death of Aristotle and the appearance of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. In calling Herodotos the 'best canon' of Ionic Dionysios at once represented the clarified stylistic sense of his age, and lent an impetus to that appreciative study of the historian which bore its own peculiar and engrafted fruit in the Hadrianic period.

The first tokens of the revival of interest in Ionic are, in general, synchronous with the regeneration of Aiolic. The literature of the declining days of the Roman Republic led the way to a deeper study of the style and linguistic apparatus of the two dialects in which were preserved some of the most splendid achievements of Greek genius, dialects whose actual life was now tarnished and outworn. The Sophistic Renaissance under Hadrian presupposes the existence of the pseudo-Ionic movement, which, having won for itself a recognised place in the literature of the early Empire, advanced with such rapid strides that writing in Ionic became a reproach by the time of Lukian¹; who was, however, not above displaying his talents at the occupation he vilipended.

105.] The date of the first traces of the Ionic Revival and the aspect presented by the rehabilitated dialect are matters of no

¹ An interesting statement in reference to the Ionic of the doctors is found in πῶς δέ ἐστι. συγγρ. 16: 'τοῦτο ἠγασάμην αὐτοῦ', ὅτι ἀρξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ἰάδι γράφειν οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ τι δόξαν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετέβληεν. ἰητρείην μὲν λέγων καὶ πείρην καὶ ὀκόσα καὶ νοῦσοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοδίαιτα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλείστα οἶα ἐκ τριόδου. Late epigrams upon inscriptions confirm the judgment of Lukian in selecting νοῦσος and ἰητρείην as sample words.

little uncertainty. Nikander's imitations of the logographers are lost, otherwise we might gain an insight into the complexion of Ionic prose in the period of Attalos III. Whether the Xanthian Menekrates, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, was a predecessor or contemporary of the rhetorician, I have been unable to determine. Of the pseudo-Herakleiteian letters, which contain a slight admixture of Ionism, some at least (the eighth and ninth) may be referred to the closing years of the first century before Christ, though the remainder belong to the following century¹. Whether the *Periplus* of Menippos (under Augustus) was written in Ionic is uncertain. In this period of Ionic writing hyper-Ionisms do not occur. The open forms $\epsilon\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ in $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs do not come to light in Dionysios, who has $-\epsilon\sigma-$ side by side with $-\epsilon\tau-$. Significant for the date of medical Ionism is the fact that of all the epigrams containing laudations of successful treatment of disease, &c., scarcely one that is tinged with such Ionisms as $\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ is antecedent to the time of Christ.

106.] The character of certain portions of the inflectional system of the old Ionic prose writers as found in the MSS. is due, in part, to the gradual divorcement of the traditional from the original form incidental to the transmission through centuries of dialect texts, and partly to a *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* which has left distinct traces of its existence in the peculiar complexion assumed by Ionic under the hands of Lukian, Arrian, Aretaios, and their contemporaries and successors.

The term *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, as applied to certain mutations of form undergone by words upon passing from the orthography of the Attic to that of the Ionic alphabet, does not concern us here. The Ionic poets² (perhaps some of the elegists and lyrists not of Ionic birth), Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates³ made use of the Ionic alphabet, doubtless in its Milesian form⁴. All Ionic literature was in fact free from the possibility of the depravation which threatened to impair the purity of that of Attika in its passage from the old to the new alphabet⁵.

¹ See Bernays' *Die pseudo-heraklitischen Briefe*, Pfeiderer, R. M. XLII 153. Bywater p. vii.

² Mimnermos may have made use of the signs Η and Ω to represent ε and ο.

³ The distinction between the Ionic alphabet of the islands and Euboia, and that of the Asiatic mainland is of no importance as regards the transmission of early Ionic literature.

⁴ In his commentary on the *κατ' ἰητροῖον*, when speaking of the old alphabet (II 23), Galen does not cite any example of MS. corruption due to this species of *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*.

⁵ On this point, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's chapter on the *μεταγραφόμενοι* in his *Homerische Untersuchungen*.

There is, however, another species of μεταχαρακτηρισμός which is less a transformation of the isolated word than of the entire dialectal spirit. It proceeds on two lines: (1) either in the direction of the Atticizing of the dialect texts, a fact patent to every student of Greek dialectal literature, and of itself probable enough, since to a later age the matter, not the form, was of supreme interest. This is vouched for as regards Hippokrates by Galen himself. The Athenians were accustomed at a very early period to have a copy in Attic, sometimes on the same stone, of a document in another dialect. For example, the stèle of Sigeion. The Atticizing of dialect authors in the form of paraphrases which we meet in Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos and others, was precedent enough for the later generations of a people whose standard in matters of quotation was not so exacting as that of modern times. This Atticization is not confined to those authors who quote a passage merely for the sake of the matter it contains. It attacks professed scientific treatises or grammatical commentaries¹. Α ὁδέ πως did not disturb the ancient conscience.

(2) This μεταχαρακτηρισμός proceeded in the direction of the substitution of forms of the same dialect in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. Thus in Bechtel's collection, No. 108 B, we find an attempt at renewing the dialect of an Ionic inscription (108 A) at least five hundred years older. The texts of Homer, Alkman², Korinna, Pindar, Epicharmos and others bear testimony to the activity of the modernizing μεταχαρακτηρισμοί. This second kind of μεταχαρακτηρισμός leads either to the substitution of forms of a much later, for those of an earlier, date (as witness σιός in Alkman, οὐμές, κή in Korinna) or to the reverse process, which imparts an archaic colouring to texts which were originally composed in the dialect of the writer's own time.

The investigation of the vagaries of the MSS. of early Ionic prosaists affords ample evidence that this second type of μεταχαρακτηρισμός has left its impress upon the transmission of the texts of the logographers, of Herodotos and Hippokrates, as well as upon those of some of the monuments of Ionic poetry. The Ionic of these texts has either been Atticized outright, or it has been transformed in a greater or less degree under the influence of grammarians' speculation and copyists' ignorance.

¹ The schol. Ven. A is sometimes guilty of Atticizing, e.g. on IX 7, where ἔθνος is quoted as Herodoteian. The Ionic contributors to the *Geoponika*, prepared by Cassianus Bassus at the command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, all appeared in Attic dress.

² A text of Alkman in a Late Lakonian form must have been the only avenue of approach to the study of the poet.

The study of this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* points in the direction of the view that it had its commencement probably in the first century before Christ and that its influence grew apace, until after the third century it resulted in producing a chasm between what was genuine Ionic and that which was thought to be Ionic by successive generations till the sixth century A. D. Finally, when the depravation from the hand of antiquity had done its work, the last blow to the text of Herodotos was dealt by the Aldine edition, which gave the widest scope to hyper-Ionisms. The result was that, as some one has said, the History of Herodotos is as perverse a mixture as a compound of Middle High German and Low German, created by a New High German writer.

107.] The writers of the Empire, and chiefly those of the age of Hadrian, received the full shock of that wave of speculation concerning the original form of the Herodoteian and Hippokratic dialect which was set in motion by the revival of interest in Ionic and its monuments. The pseudo-Ionists, whether they wrote entirely in Ionic or merely applied enough of Ionic colour to indicate their sympathy with the literary canons of the day, intended that their reproductions of the language of Herodotos or of Hippokrates should conform to the dialect of their exemplars. But from the point of view of higher criticism many of the pseudo-Ionisms of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the identical forms adopted in Stein's or Holder's text. In the one case they are the result of a generous impulse to reproduce what was deemed Herodoteian or Hippokratic; in the other, they never existed in the original text of Herodotos or Hippokrates, but are the result of *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, the coinage of a period far later than that of the historian and physician, and yet about two centuries antecedent to Lukian. This fact alone is sufficient to neutralize what little value the texts of the pseudo-Ionists might possess in the attempt to reorganize the disordered monuments of early Ionic prose. Struve saw long ago that recourse to Lukian and Arrian was unproductive of result for the student of Herodotos' dialect. We might almost say that the Ionisms of the pseudo-Ionic literature, so far from enhancing, tend rather to obscure our knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century B. C.

108.] The endeavour, which we observe in the pseudo-Ionists, to present a correct picture of Herodoteian Ionism failed because of the uncertainty attendant upon the reconstruction of a dialect which had been corrupted by the turbid current of tradition. The Homeric Ionisms in Lukian and Arrian attest the fact of a confusion, persistent in the MSS. of Herodotos, between two species of Ionic widely separated in point of time; and the presence

of hyper-Ionic malformation is evidence that the Ionism of the Hadrianic age rests upon an insecure speculation as to the original form of the literary Ionic of the fifth century. This speculation vented itself in such forms as masculine and neuter *τουτέων, αὔτέων, τουτέου, έωυτέου, αὔτέω, τουτέουσιν* (Lukian and Aretaios), *ώυτέου, ώυτέουσιν, ώυτή, ώυτά, ή ώυτή, ή ώυτή, ή έωυτή, ταυτέης, αὔτή* (Aretaios), *ήεσπότεα, μαυτέων* (Lukian), *ήμαυρέη* (Abydenos), *μοίρη, θηλήην* (Lukian), *βαθέη* (Arrian).

In these forms the essential feature is either the misapplication of the specifically Ionic diphthong *ων*, or the insertion of an *ε* before a vowel or diphthong with which it is not contracted, a characteristic of hyper-Ionism which at times outdoes that of the most lax MSS. of Herodotos. A feminine *τουτέων* was correct enough, but, its origin being misunderstood, the μεταγραφάμενοι conceived the erroneous notion that this *ε*, which in this case distinguished the Ionic from the Attic form, was a special peculiarity of the dialect which had gradually been abandoned. Hence they not only inserted an *ε* in *αὔτέω*, in *μυτέων*, &c., which are purely hyper-Ionic forms, but they demanded the visible presence of an *ε* in *-εεης, -εει, -εεσθαι*, &c., which are anachronistic, though not historically impossible. Uncontracted forms were the shibboleth of the pseudo-Ionic sciolists who gave to Herodotos the form which served Arrian and Lukian for purposes of imitation. Their cardinal error was the foisting of such forms upon the MSS. of Herodotos, Hippókrates and other early Ionians. Confused by an inability to distinguish between Homeric and the Later Ionic; ignorant of the fact that some vocalic combinations normally remained uncontracted, while others had suffered contraction by the fifth century; unable to recognize the phonetic value of the conjunction of certain vowels which, though written apart, had nevertheless been fused as early as the seventh century, the μεταγραφάμενοι reached the conclusion that vowels of the same vocal line had the same claim to be kept separated as those of a different vocal line. Hence they wrote *εε¹, εη, εει, &c.*, without punctuation. Even *ερείχεε* Hdt. I 118 (in all MSS.) was ventured. It is not impossible that the earliest MSS. of Herodotos preserved an orthographical system of non-contraction of similar vowels which may have descended from the conservative literary circles of the fifth century, though in actual speech the contraction actually ensued. Be this as it may, the pseudo-Ionists accepted as genuine a scheme of inflections that can scarcely be claimed to be Herodoteian, and certainly cannot be claimed to be Ionic of

¹ In this connection it may be noticed that a Demetrios, not Ixion or γουπέσος, did not scruple to write *γυρέεσθαι* in Ξ 221.

the fifth century. The principle once established, and the rage after dialect colouring growing apace, *έωντέων*, *ρίνέων*, *αύτέων*, and all their kinsmen of monstrous birth, come into existence. Some of these hyper-Ionisms that out-Herod Herod are too frequent and too well established to be ascribed solely to the copyists of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance, though we have actual proof that they are responsible for many a case of uncontracted *ε* and for *ηι* in sigmatic stems.

One of the hyper-Ionisms that occurs chiefly in the MSS. of Hippokrates is *η* for *α* in such forms as *ιηται*, *εποθυμήσθω*, *δρην*, where the blunder was caused by the stupid comparison of *ιητρος* &c.

List of Pseudo-Ionic Writers.

109.] The fact of having been born in a locality once Ionic seems to have had no weight in determining whether a writer should adopt Ionic or the *κοινή*. The Ephesians Rufus and Soranos made use of the latter, while the Kappadokian Aretaios and the Bithynian Arrian preferred the former. That the contiguity to Ionia of the birthplaces of Aretaios and Arrian had, as was formerly believed, any influence in determining their choice of a vehicle of expression may confidently be denied.

The subjoined list falls into two divisions, (1) those pseudo-Ionists whose date is certain or at least may be determined with tolerable accuracy, (2) those whose period is quite unknown.

110.] Pseudo-Ionists, whose date may be approximately fixed:—

1. Apollonios of Tyana (under Nero and Domitian), of whom Philostratos says: *Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ξυγκειμένη οὐπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας.*

2. Aretaios of Kappadokia is placed by some as early as Nero¹, while others regard him as belonging to the following century. His works *περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων ὀξέων παθῶν*, *περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθῶν*, *Χρονίων παθῶν σημειωτικόν* and *ὀξέων νούσων θεραπευτικόν* are composed in imitation of Hippokrates. They are quoted from the pages of Kühn.

It is to be noticed that medical writers who lived in the first half of the second century A. D., *c. g.* Rufus and Soranos, both of Ephesos, wrote in the *κοινή*.

¹ That the Ionic fashion had set in by the time of Nero may be learned from the fact that Pamphila epitomized Ktesias' *Περσικά*.

3. Arrian of Nikomedia (under Hadrian): the Ἰνδική alone imitates the dialect of Herodotos; it is quoted from the edition of Hercher-Eberhard¹.

4. Under Lukian's name we have preserved the *περὶ ἀστρολογίας*, *περὶ Συρίας θεοῦ*, and the genuine *βίων πρᾶσις*, in which Pythagoras, Demokritos and Herakleitos converse in Ionic. For the study of pseudo-Ionism it is almost a matter of indifference whether these first two treatises are supposititious works of Lukian or not. For a comparison of the Ionism of the first two treatises see Dr. Allinson's paper in *A. J. P.* VII 203 ff. (1886), where the conclusion is reached that the *Astrology* is the work of some third-class writer, while the *Syrian Goddess* may be genuine. Christ pronounces against the genuineness of both.

5. Kephalaion (under Hadrian), author of *παρτοδαπαὶ ἱστορίαι*: Müller *F. H. G.* III 625-631.

To Foerster's essay on Polemon I have not had access. There seems no evidence that the rhetor used Ionic.

6. Abydenos, author of a history of Assyria and Media, is placed by Müller *F. H. G.* IV 279 in the second or third century, though Kastor made him a contemporary of Apis. The Ionic of the fragment of Megasthenes (Müller No. 9) quoted by Eusebios *P. L.* IX p. 456 D is due to Abydenos.

7. Uranios' Treatise on Arabia, Müller *F. H. G.* IV 523, belongs to the third century. Frag. 12 has *χώρη, ποίην, κοχλίεω*, but *πορφυρήν* and *γεωργούσι*.

8. Asinius Quadratus (third century), author of a Roman history (*Χιλιετηρίς*, *Χιλιαρχία* or *Χιλιάς*) from the foundation of the city to 248 A. D. See Müller *F. H. G.* III 659. Traces of Ionic are found in frag. 23 (*Ἰβήροισι, πολεμέοντες*).

9. Eusebios (fourth century) affected Ionic style in his history, beginning with Octavianus and continuing to 283 A. D. The two fragments extant—on the siege of Thessalonika—are found in Müller *F. H. G.* V 21-23.

10. Of Praxagoras (fourth century) Photios relates that he wrote in Ionic a treatise in two books *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι βασιλευσάντων*, and one in six books *εἰς τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον*. See Dindorf *Hist. Graeci Min.* I pp. 438-440. No fragments of these works are preserved.

11. Eusebios of Myndos in Karia (fourth century), the neo-Platonist. His fragments, preserved in Stobaios, are collected in Mullach *F. P. G.* III 5.

¹ See Bochner *de Arriani dicendi genere* (in vol. IV of the *Acta* of the Erlangen Seminary) for the relation of Arrian to Herodotos.

III.] Pseudo-Ionists of Uncertain Date. In the case of several of the authors here mentioned only a minute study of the literature of the Hellenistic age can discover whether they may be classed as the direct successors of Herodotos, and preservers of the continuity of literary tradition, or simply as forerunners of the Ionic Revival.

1. On an inscription¹ from Epidauros we find a Doric epigram in honour of Philip of Pergamum, the son of Aristeides, an historian otherwise unknown to fame. Underneath this epigram is placed the following passage in Ionic from his work:—

Ἐγὼ παντοίων παθέων καὶ ξυνεχέος ἀλληλοφονίης ἀνά τε τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰ Λιβύων ἔθνεα καὶ Νησιωτέων πόλιας καθ' ἡμέας γεγενημένων ὅσῃ χειρὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρήξεων ἱστορίην ἐξήνευκα ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅκως καὶ δι' ἡμέων μανθάνοντες ὀκόσα δημοκοπή καὶ κερδέων ἀμ[ετρῆ] καὶ στάσις ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πιστίων καταλύσεις γενῶσιν κακά, παρατηρήσει παθέων ἀλλοτρίων, ἀπενθή(τους) ποιέονται τὰς τοῦ βίου διορθώσας.

The fragment is interesting in showing a recurrence to Ionic as the dialect first employed in historical writing. The proclamation of Philip as *θείας κοίρανον ἱστορίας* betokens a late origin. From the character of the alphabet the inscription cannot well be older than the first century B. C., if indeed it may be placed before the birth of Christ.

2. The author of the *Vita Homeri* ascribed to Herodotos was, strangely enough, placed by Bergk as early as the end of the classical period, though § 20 betrays acquaintance with Strabo p. 596. Christ holds that none of the *Lives of Homer* antedate the reign of Augustus. The late date finds an additional support in the sparse occurrence of Ionisms. Hyper-Ionic formations are very rare.

3. To Philteas, author of the *Ναξιακά*, are attributed by Herakleides of Miletos in Eustath. p. 188, the hyper-Ionic *πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται* and *ἔγεντο*. It is at least as probable that Herakleides was deceived by pseudo-Ionic texts, as that Philteas (who is called Philetas in Eustathios) was guilty of such grammatical obliquity. The argumentation by which Herakleides introduces these perverse formations is not calculated to prejudice us in his favour. Cf. Frye *De Heraclidæ Milesii studiis Homericis* p. 127.

4. Menekrates the Xanthian, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos I p. 76 (Jacoby) has *ἀνίη, στρατιῆς, βίη, Αἰνείης, Αἰνείω, ἐδόκειον, ἐπολέμεον, ἐγεγόνει, ἐών*.

5. Agathokles the Babylonian, the same as Agathokles of Kyzikos, wrote *περὶ Κυζίκου*. Cf. Müller *F. II. G.* IV 288.

¹ B. C. II. II 273.

6. Demokrates' γνῶμαι χρυσαῖ are found in *Opuscula Graec. veterum sententiosa et moralia* (I 80-89) of Orelli, who is inclined to refer the author to an earlier date than is at all probable; 65 out of the 86 fragments collected by Orelli are adopted as Demokriteian by Mullach.

7. The spurious letters of Anaximenes, Bias, Demokritos¹, Pherekydes of Syros, Pythagoras, Thrasybulos, Hippokrates¹, Thessalos, son of Hippokrates.

8. Certainly before Lukian (cf. his πῶς δεῖ ἴστ. συγγρ.) are to be placed Kallimorphos, author of *ἱστορίαι Παρθιακοί* (Müller *F. H. G.* III 649, 3), and an anonymous pseudo-Ionist (*ibid.* p. 650, 5) whose tractate on Parthia began: ἐρχομαι ἐρέων περὶ Παρθίων καὶ Περσίων, and contained the following sentences: ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσῃσι γεινέσθαι κακῶς; ἦν Ὀρσοῆς, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληρες Ὀξυρόην ὀνυμέουσι (cf. Hdt. I 7).

9. Alexander of Ephesos wrote under the early emperors a *Βιβλίον Μουσικῶν*, perhaps in Ionic. See Steph. Byz. s. c. Χαορία.

10. Chariton of Aphrodisias, the novelist of uncertain date, but probably of the fifth century (see Rohde *Griech. Roman* p. 488), interspersed his tale of the adventures of Chaireas and Kallirhoë with Ionisms borrowed from Herodotos. See Cobet *Mnem.* VIII 236.

The Pseudo-Ionism of Lukian, Arrian, and Aretaios.

112.] Cases of absolute divergence between the dialect of Aretaios and Hippokrates on the one hand, and that of Lukian, Arrian² and Herodotos on the other, are tabulated in § 100. Points of contact are noticed in the course of the detailed examination of the sounds and inflections of the dialect.

The three Lukianic pieces present in the main a uniform dialect, which, save for the occasional lapses in the direction of Attic and of Homeric Ionic, agrees with that of Herodotos as found in his MSS. Well marked and salient differences between Herodotos and Lukian are difficult to discover. Such minor, but persistent cases of divergence as ἔρσην, ἄρρωδέω (Hdt.), ἄρσην, ἄρρωδέω (Luk.), where the satirist shows a predilection in favour of the Attic form, are very infrequent. As a rule the MSS. of Lukian do not consistently reproduce the Ionic forms, the movement in the direction of Ionism being continually checked by Attic forms³, most of which are doubtless errors

¹ Mullach thought that the supposititious letters of Demokritos and of Hippokrates were composed in the third century of our era.

² Cf. Grundmann: *Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodoto debeat*, in *Berl. Stud. f. class. Philol.* 1885.

³ For example, *Dea Syr.* Ἀχιλλέως 40, Νιόεως 40, κινήσεως *Astr.* 5, Ἐρμοκλέους *Syr.* 26, νεώ 39.

of transmission, though there is no reason for believing that Lukian intended his imitation to be pervasive. Thus, for example, we find *κατενεχθῆναι*, -γεως *d. S.* 8, οὔσι *Astr.* 5.

The Ionism of Arrian is more consistent than that of Lukian and approximates more closely to that of his exemplar. His MSS. refuse to admit some of the most uncouth hyper-Ionic creations which appear in those of Lukian. Arrian's divergences from Herodotos do not proceed on the same lines as those of Lukian, though, like the latter, they are in the direction of Attic. He has the π , not the κ , form; he uses only the relative, not the demonstrative and the relative, as does Herodotos; his use of the temporal augment is that of the *κοινή*. Other differences are less positive: Arrian *γίνομαι*, *σμικρός*, *αὔθις*, where Lukian has *γίγνομαι*, *μικρός*, *αὔτις*.

In certain cases the rage for Ionisms has extended beyond those adopted by prose literature; as in certain MSS. of Herodotos there is an ever present tendency to adopt Homeric forms. That both Lukian and Arrian draw to a limited extent upon the Homeric dialect shows how ineradicably fixed in the minds even of the cultured was the confusion between Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic.

In Lukian we find *εἶρος d. S.* 49, *ἠέλιος d. S.* 29, *Astr.* 3, 5 (*Ἡελίου τὰς βόας Astr.* 22, like *ἀπρήκτοιο d. S.* 22, is an epic reminiscence or quotation). *βόας* occurs also *d. S.* 54. *γούτωρ* is admitted by Dindorf, *d. S.* 22, though he strangely enough expels the genitive in -οιο. In the *d. S.* 25 we find *ἔσσειται* (Hdt. *ἔσεται*), *d. S.* 31 *εἶται* (Hdt. *ἔται*): Arrian has *πόλῃες d.* -*ηας* 11. Perhaps the reason that *ἔμμεναι* was not excluded (*Astr.* 26), was its occurrence in the oracle Hdt. I 85. Arrian refrains from adopting a form the non-Ionic character of which did not trouble Aretaios (pp. 10, 270, 332).

*The Transmission of Early Ionic Texts in its Relation
to Pseudo-Ionism.*

113.] An examination of the form presented by the quotations made from the Ionic logographers and philosophers by later writers yields some conclusions as regards pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms which, though tentative, may not be wholly without foundation. First it appears that in the first century before Christ no hyper-Ionic form, except *ὑμέες* in Parthenios, was admitted into the Ionic texts; secondly, the grotesque and misshapen forms occurring in the MSS. of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios do not come to light in citations made from the early Ionic prosaists by any writer who is anterior to Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios. The MSS. of these writers, the flower

of the Ionic Revival, display the rage for hyper-Ionism in its most pronounced form.

The examination of the channels through which fragments of the Old Ionic philosophy and logography have reached us is not merely hampered by the lack of editions of many of the later writers so constructed as to enable the scholar to obtain a survey of the exact state of MS. tradition; it is confronted with the treachery of MS. tradition in general towards the transmission of such volatile phenomena as dialect forms; and embarrassed by the difficulty of determining whether the MS. form is an Attic equivalent or whether it is the genuine Ionic form of the fifth century, which, by some fortuity, has held to its moorings against the flood of dialectological speculation which swept away the very foundation-stones of parts of the Herodoteian inflectional system. It is only in comparatively recent times that scholars are awaking to the fact that much that has heretofore been cast aside as Attic is in reality pure Ionic.

Thus, for example, in § 9 (12) of the tractate *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* (generally ascribed to Demetrius of Phaleron, but the work either of Demetrius of Alexandria under Hadrian, or, and more probably, that of Demetrius Syros, an older contemporary of Cicero) we find quoted the beginning of Hekataios' *Genealogies*: 'Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τὰ δὲ γράφω, ὡς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι κτλ. Despite the MSS. which have here *δοκεῖ* as well as *μυθεῖται*, Müller changes the former to *δοκέει*, though it is inconceivable that *εε* should have contracted in *μυθεῖται*, while *εει* remained open in *δοκέει*. Are these forms, as they stand in the MSS., nothing more than *μυθέεται* and *δοκέει* Atticized? Are they survivals of the genuine Ionic of the fifth century, one of which has been displaced by the editor of the *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* under the stress of current views as to the nature of the Ionic dialect?

In the following section attention has been directed to the light thrown by our sources on the question of the transmission of the *-εω* verbs, and to the date of the appearance of hyper-Ionic forms, notably those with parasitic *ε*. Sometimes an author, drawing upon early Ionic history or philosophy, may Atticize, sometimes he may endeavour to reproduce in dialect the very words of his source; at other times the veil of the dialect is only partially cast aside.

114.] The Logographers:—

1. Hekataios: *μυθεῖται* and *δοκεῖ* (332) in Demetrius *περὶ ἑρμην.* §§ 5 (2), 9 (12); and elsewhere, wherever the authorities

quoting the logographer have preserved a form of an $-\epsilon\omega$ verb, $\epsilon\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ are invariably contracted. $\kappaινέεται$ in frag. 284, quoted by Müller from Steph. Byz., should be $\κινείται$. Hyper-Ionisms do not occur.

2. In Pherekydes of Leros we find $\ποιεῖται$ in the same fragment with $\δοκέοντες$ (44): so too in 85, $\καλέοντες$ (twice), $οἰκέοντες$ together with $\καλεῖται$, $\γαμειῖ$. Wherever $\καλεῖται$ occurs it appears in the contracted form (here, in 16 and in 89 and 114 A).

115.] The Philosophers:—

1. Herakleitos has come down to us with a text remarkably free from hyper-Ionic forms. By the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origenes a $\tauουτέοισι$ (126) had engrafted itself upon tradition¹; and in Hippolytos, who is slightly later than Clemens, we discover $\tauουντέων$ (2) where Sextus Empiricus has $\tauουτώων$. In 7 of the 21 instances in Bywater's edition of the concurrence of $\epsilon + \epsilon$ or $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$ in the contract verbs, Bywater edits the contracted form. In the 14 remaining instances where Bywater adopts the open forms, these have MS. support but 3 times: Clemens $\ διαχέεται$, $μετρέεται$ in 23; for $ὠνέεται$ in 105, Iamblichos is the authority; Plutarch has $ὠνείται$. In all other cases Bywater adopts conjectures which desert the vulgate. Obviously there is no probability that Herakleitos used both $φιλέει$ and $φιλεῖ$; which appear in the text (117 and 10). Though Plutarch does not appear to have possessed MSS. of Herakleitos, his source was not affected by the vagaries of the pseudo-Ionic movement. All cases of $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$ are contracted in his citations of Herakleitos.

2. For the study of Demokritos' *Morals* we have to rely to a large extent upon their citation by Stobaios, whose text, as it appears in Gaisford's² edition, presents a distorted picture of the original.

The greatest irregularity exists in reference to the treatment of those forms of $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs in which, after disappearance of $\gamma\omicron\delta$, $\epsilon\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ came into conjunction. The majority of instances is on the side of the contracted forms. In Stobaios there are 5 cases of $-\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$, 16 of $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ in the present indicative; 7 of $-\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\omega$, 16 of $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ in the present infinitive active; in the inf. mid. 3 cases of $\epsilon\epsilon$, 9 of $\epsilon\iota$, while there are 2 cases each of $\epsilon\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\iota$ in the present indic. middle. In Orelli's edition of Demokrates, of whose 86 fragments 65 have been claimed as Demokriteian by Mullach, only the open forms are read in the text, and these are not contradicted by any citation of MS. evidence on the part of

¹ Found also in the Justinian MS. formerly in Strassburg.

² Wachsmuth's second volume has not yet appeared.

Orelli. These are: present indic. -εει 3 cases, including δέει, which Stobaios invariably presents in the contracted form; present inf. active 4 cases; present inf. mid. 2 cases; and one case of the imper. act. (fr. 177).

Stobaios is furthermore authority for ἐπιθυμέης fr. 24, though in 188 (twice) and in 213 his text has -η in the subjunctive.

Parasitic ε appears in αὐτέων 20₂₃, in ἐρπετέων 208, and in the second aorist 20₁₁, 135, 164 (Demokrates). There is no authority for Mullach's -έειν in 70, 188, 213. Parasitic ε in the reflexive pronouns I have not observed.

3. Anaxagoras appears in Simplicius with only the contracted forms of the -εω verbs, for which Mullach has everywhere substituted the open forms. In frag. 6 (Simpl. 156₂₇) Diels reads περιχωρέει. The presentation of the fragments by Simplicius is not free from the suspicion of having been partially Atticized. οἰδεμῶ in 4 is shown to be incorrect.

4. Melissos has been handed down by Simplicius in nearly the same state as Anaxagoras; -εε and -εει are invariably contracted. -εοι is, however, retained as well as εο. Mullach's text of Melissos and Anaxagoras has admitted ὀρέομεν, ὀρέομενος without MS. support.

5. Diogenes of Apollonia in Simplicius has no case of -εει, εε, though Mullach's text has δοκέει, ἐννοέεσθαι. The hyper-Ionic τουτέων in Mullach (frag. 2) is due to conjecture.

116.] Galen's Relation to Hippokrates. Though Galen excoriates Capito and Dioskorides for their depravation of genuine Hippokratic form, he cannot himself be freed from a similar charge. Both in the genuine and the spurious works of Hippokrates we find that Galen was not offended at πηχέει IV 202, ψηχέει III 334, IV 540, ριχέει I 614, VIII 84, IX 278, 286, χιχέει III 420, 462, ἰπέριβαλλέει IV 92, ἀερίεει VIII 236, and such monstrosities as αἰτέει, αἰτέοι, τοιουτέων, ἰουτέων. In the *De Placitis Hippocr. et Plat.* of Müller we read, furthermore, as masc. or neuter τουτέων 698₁₂, 691₄, 700₃, 702₃, αἰτέων 690₈, 692₉, 781₁. It may well be doubted whether Galen himself had access to an uncontaminated source.

Littré's text has adopted (on the authority of the vulgate) a very large number of pseudo-Ionisms, which are but rarely found in the oldest MSS. *θ* and *Δ*. This is specially the case in respect of the parasitic ε in the pronominal forms. In the pseudo-Hippokratic περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου the other MSS. agree with *θ* and *Δ* in rejecting the hyper-Ionic ε (*θ* has, however, τουτέους VI 354, τουτέω 384, the other MSS. τουτέων 394).

117.] Ionic Poetry. A pseudo-Ionizing of Archilochos is scarcely noticeable. φιλέειν in 81 is due to Hephaestion; for κερ-

τομέειν in 64, wherein Bergk follows Clemens Alex. and the schol. χ 412, Stobaios has the closed form. The unnecessary longer form is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria from Aristobulos. Hephæstion is also answerable for Anakreon's φιλέει (70), and Herakleides Pontikos for δοκέεις (752). Hyper-Ionic forms have not found admission to the texts of the early Ionic poets. In Herodas we observe χεῖρέων 6₁₁ (changed from χεῖρῶν) and 7₃; χασκεύση 4₄₂, τεμεῦσα 4₈₉, δραμεῦσα 5₅₄. Uncontracted εε, εει, or ειη (from -εῖω verbs) do not occur.

The Ionisms of Theokritos.

118.] The ancient prolegomena to the poems of Theokritos contain brief statements to the effect that the poet made use of two dialects: (1) that species of Doric called by one commentator ἀνειμένη καὶ χθαμαλή, by another νέα, and (2) Ionic. The discussion of the question as to whether this view refers to the presence of Ionisms in the so-called Doric idylls, may be left to the volume dealing with Doric, in which the perplexing problem of the dialect of Theokritos, so far as it can be treated in a work of this kind, will receive ampler attention.

In the scholia on I–XVIII each poem, with the exception of XII, is classed as Doric without mention of the co-existence of an Ionic element. Of XIX–XXVII the glosses state that all are Doric, save XXIV and XXVII, concerning the dialect of which we have no tradition, and XXII which is Ionic. In the case of XII, the argument attributed to Eratosthenes as well as the glosses report that this idyll was composed in Ionic. Q, B, M, D, Junt. state with an unusual attempt at exactness that its dialect is the κοινὴ Ἰάς, a unique expression which recurs in the glosses on XXII, but nowhere else in grammatical literature, so far as I am aware. This 'common' Ionic is that usual, almost stereotyped form of the dialect which was borrowed from Homer and became a recognized implement of the poet's art. In no case does it contain features that recall the form of the dialect later than the epic, though occasionally isolated words come to light that were not employed by the epic. The κοινὴ Ἰάς included Homeric forms of Aiolic structure (XII 2, XXII 11, 64, 71, 84, 152, 166, 170; σημαίνοισα XXII 22 must be corrected).

The testimony of the scholia and the MSS. point so strongly to the Ionic character of XII and XXII (which I regard as genuine), that we may easily throw overboard the notice in *r* and *N* (in XII) and that contained in Calliergi (as regards XXII), which make for the Doric character of the two poems. In the case of XII, *r* and *N* have Ἰάσι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Δωριότι, an uncertainty which has found practical expression in the editions of Ziegler

and Paley. Neither of these scholars has ventured to root out the best attested Dorisms, such as ἀοῖ 1, μᾶλον 3, ἄδιον 4, ἀελίου 9, Κρονίδα 17, ἐθέλοντι 23, ἀραιῦς 24, ὄρασας 26, ἐριδμαίνοντι 31, ἰόν 33, ἀπερθεῖ 33, which are the only Dorisms found in *k. p. m.* In other cases the Doric form is not supported by a consensus of these three MSS. The restoration of the Ionic forms in the above passages can be accomplished, usually by the adoption of the readings of 6, 16, Υ; but in a few places by recourse to conjecture (εὐφραρας 8, ὄκ' 16). Noteworthy Ionisms are ἐπιβῶται 35, αἰτεῶ 20.

In XXII the Doric forms are accepted by all MSS. in a very few cases:—*Λήθας* 1, *ἱρμιόμες* 4 (cf. 1 where *K* has *ἱρμιόμεν*, the vulgate *-μεν*), *κοίλαρ* 12, *γαλόγα* 19. In many passages *D* (Scaliger's MS.) or *K* are our only authorities for the Ionic forms; in *e, g* is often superscribed over *a* which is the common reading. There are also several words whose Ionic dress is vouched for by no other authority than the marginal readings of the Juntina. In *Ποσειδάωνος* 97, *τάων* 111 the *ā* is Homeric.

ACCENT.

119.] Retention of original accent motion:—

In the proethnic period the suffix part of the genitive and dative of feminine nouns, whose nominative terminates in Skt. in *-ī*, in Greek in *-ῖα*, received the accent, which in the nominative fell upon the radical syllable¹. It is the peculiar distinction of Ionic to have preserved traces of this accent motion, which is, in fact, the only ancient principle characterized as Ionic by the ancients.

In the genitive and dative of barytone words in *-ῖα*, the Ionic dialect, according to Herodian² (who seems to have accepted herein the guidance of Aristarchos³), transferred the accent to the suffix syllable. The forms quoted in attestation of this Ionic shifting of the accent are *ἴα λᾶς ἰᾶ*⁴, *μία μῖας μῖα*, *ἄγνια ἀγνῖας ἀγνῖα*, *ὄργνια ὄργνῖας*, *ἄρπνια ἀρπνῖας* and the two proper names *Πλάταια Πλαταιᾶς*, *Θέσπια Θεσπιᾶς*.

The only forms that bear the distinctive mark of the dialect are the Homeric *ἱῆς* Π 173, *ἰῆ* I 319, Σ 251, X 477, *μῆς* O 416 (Sim. Amorg. 2), *ἀγνῖη* o 441. *ὄργνια* occurs in Homer only in nominative and accusative, but in

¹ Cf. J. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 36.

² Hdn. I 411₅ = Joh. Alex. 10₂₁, II 57₂₂ on Z 422, II 61₃₂₃ = An. Ox. I 134₁₇, Theod. 377 (Hilg.), Choir. *Diect.* 40₅₁₉, Ark. 128₃, Et. M. 14₂₁, 30₅₂₅, 472₄₆; cf. Schol. Ven. A on Π 173, Ark. 98₃, La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* 177. In I 530₂₉, II 613₁₉, 901₂₁ Hdn. calls the accent of *ἀγνῖα*, *ὄργνῖα* Ionic. But cf. I 281₂₁.

³ Eust. 95₂₂₃, Schol. Ven. A on Z 422, Schol. Ven. B on E 502.

⁴ Cf. *ἴος ἴου*, but *ἰᾶ* Et. M. 472₄₆.

Hdt. II 149 we find ὄργυιῆς¹. No form of ἄρπυια with Ionic η is met with, Homer having ἄρπυια and ἄρπυιαι (ἄρπυιαι ἀνδρείψαντο α 241, υ 77, read by Fick Ἄρέπυιαι ἀναρέψαντο on the strength of Ἄρεπυια upon a vase *Arch. Zeit.* XL. p. 203, pl. 9, and ἀνερεψάμενοι Bekk. *Anecd.* I 401). Homer and Hdt. have Πλάταιαν, the latter also Πλαταιαί²; Homer and Hdt. have Θέσπια (Θέσπειαν). Thuk., who has Πλάταια and Πλαταιαί, has the paroxytone accent in the dative singular Π 4, Paus. IX 4, 4 in the genitive. I do not find any example of Θέσπια in the genitive or dative singular. In regard to these names it is to be noted that the accent of their ordinary forms Πλαταιαί, Θεσπιαί follows the lines of such deme names as Κηφισιά, Λουσιά, and Τραγειαί, Κεγχρεαί, Πειρεσιαί, Ὀλμιαί, etc. Names of cities ending in -ειά, if found in the plural only, are oxytone (Βρυσειαί, Ὀρνειαί), though in Hdt. I 149 we find Αἰγαία.

Some grammarians³ ventured to claim that this shifting of the accent was not Ionic, but Attic, or more especially Old Attic. Perhaps this divergence in view reflects the broken rays of a tradition that Ionic and Old Attic were one dialect in the preservation of this motion of the accent: as they were identified by the ancients for other reasons.

In the above mentioned words Ionic has allowed scope to the operation of the 'secondary' accent (on which see under ΔΙΟΛΙΟΙ), though in general less amenable to its influence than Attic. Thus in δειρή⁴ for Attic δέρη and ἡώς for Attic ἕως the original proethnic accent has been preserved by Ionic. Cf. Skt. *grīvá* and *ushás*. Examples of the tendency of the later Ionic to admit the recessive accent will be given below, § 123.

120.] In the following sections are collected the statements of the grammarians in reference to the accent of certain forms of Ionic colouring; and under the same heads are mentioned some forms whose accent, as it appears in the books, deserves note, especially in comparison with that in vogue in Attic. It is obviously impossible to attach authority to all the accents handed down in the MSS. unless supported by a definite tradition of Greek grammar. Oftentimes the utterances of the schools are hopelessly confused. The ancients are uniformly silent as regards the accent of Ionic words identical in form with Attic. Hence

¹ Here R has ὄργυιης. In Aratos 196 ὄργυιήν, Nikander *Theor.* 169 ὄργυιῆ (ὄργυιῆ: Π).

² So ἄρπυιαί, ὄργυιαί *Arkad.* 98₃.

³ Schol. Ven. A on Z 422 = Hdn. II 57²⁷. The Et. M. 14²¹ by comparing Ὀρεθνια seems to take a similar position; but cf. 305³⁶. Eust. 1631²⁹ (cf. 1653³) calls ἄγνια and ὄργνια Old Attic only. In Attic we find ἄγνια, ὄργνια (Et. M. 14²⁵) though, according to Zonaras 24, some wrote ἄγνια. These oxytones seem to be due rather to the influence of the plural ἄγνιαί, Πλαταιαί etc. than of the perispomenon genitive.

⁴ δέρη is called Ionic, Et. M. 257⁴. The form δειρά, referred to Et. M. 256⁵⁷ (cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 107⁶) can be only North West Greek or late Doric. Earlier Doric, so far as the radical syllable is concerned, is Δήρη, Ptol. I 15, 11.

the accenting of Ionic texts in the case of words whose accent varied in Attic is totally uncertain.

Krumbacher has shown *K. Z.* XXVII 521 ff. that, in its passage to the modern form, ancient Greek was forced to struggle against the depravation of the old-time accent. The removal of the classical accent which comes to light in the mediaeval documents is, however, not comparable with that which is such a striking feature of the modern Greek dialects.

Only the differences between Ionic and Attic are considered below. Some of the following words are discussed by Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 113 ff.

Accent of Nouns and Adjectives.

First Declension.

121.] **Masculine.** On the accent of Ἄτρεΐδew, Ὀρέστew, Αἰρέειw, Ἀσίew see *Choir. Dict.* 399₂₂, 413₁₁, *Et. Mag.* 153₅₁. In quoting these forms the grammarian in *An. Ox.* I accents -έw. Instead of Θαλέw from Θαλής, the ancients accentuated Θάλεw. If, when the genitive in -ew followed a vowel, syncope ensued, the result was the paroxytone, as in Ἑρμείw, Βορέw, Ἀσίw, ἐνυμελίw (*Choir.*, *Et. Mag.* *l. l.*).

122.] **Feminine.** On ἄγνια, ὄργνια, ἄρπνια, Πλάταια, Θέσπια, δειρή, see above, § 119.

ποιή is thus accented in *Eust.* 18₅₁₋₃₀, *Hesychios* and *Suidas*, ποιή in *Et. M.* 677₅₅. Attic ποιά *Et. M.* 705₂, 612₄₂, 677₅₆, but ποία *Et. M.* 770₉, *Ark.* 100₁₆, πόα when the *iota* disappears, Doric ποιά and πóa *Greg. Kor.* 220. The grammarians appear to have set up a difference in meaning between ποία and πóa (*schol. Equites* 603).

ροή in editions of *Homer* and *Hdt.* = Attic ροιά *Eust.* 94₄, *Et. M.* 705₂, *Ark.* 100₁₄ and so written in *Aristotle*. ρóa was accented ρóa by *Arkadios l. l.*, which accentuation is adopted by *G. Meyer Gramm.* § 48. Doric ροιά and ρóa *Greg. Kor.* 220. The loss of the *iota* cannot change the accent¹. Is ρóa due to the desire to differentiate the word from ροή stream (a counter suggestion to that made by *L. & S.*), or is ρóa to be classed with χροά as illustrations of the principle that when the accent precedes *yo* is to be expected, but when the accent follows *iota* appears?

χροή *Hom. Theogn.* = Attic χροιά (*Ark.* 100₁₈, *Eust.* 94₂, *Et. M.* 705₂), but χροία *Et. M.* 679₂₉, doubtless to account for

¹ Hence Δαρεος on a Milesian coin in *Mionnet Suppl.* VII 276, should be accented Δαρέος, not Δάρεος with *Pape*.

the usual Attic form $\chi\rho\acute{o}\alpha$. Lobeck *Phylogichus* p. 496 shows that later writers used $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\chi\rho\acute{o}\alpha$ on one and the same page. Doric $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\chi\rho\acute{o}\alpha$ Greg. Kor. 220.

$\phi\theta\acute{o}\eta$ is thus usually accented, according to the ordinary rules, despite Skt. *kshayá*.

According to the schol. Ven. A on N 212, who follows Herodian: $\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\eta}\nu$ ἰωνικῶς μετέβαλε τὸν τόνον, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον $\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}$ (Lentz ἰγνῶ) ἔστιν. Theogn. (An. Ox. II 106₂₁) says that Herodian (I 303₁₀) is authority for the statement that Aristarchos (?) by shortening the α and lengthening the υ of $\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\alpha}$ accented ἰγνῶ, thus making an enallage of accent and quantity. Cf. Lentz' note, Hdn. I 303, Chandler § 188. $\iota\gamma\nu\omega$ does not occur, nor do I find the proparoxytone accent in any Greek word in $-va$ ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\upsilon\alpha$ is doubtful). Did Aristarchos wish to bring his $\iota\gamma\nu\omega$ into line with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\iota\alpha$, $\acute{o}\rho\gamma\nu\iota\alpha$ &c.?

The Ionians according to Trypho (4) distinguished, as did Athenians and Dorians, between $\mu\iota\sigma\eta\tau\acute{\eta}$ = ἡ ἀξία μίσους and $\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\tau\eta$ = ἡ καταφερῆς πρὸς συνουσίαν. Cf. Eust. 165₀₆₁. In the scholiast on Arist. *Avs* 1619 we find a verse containing the former form which has been changed to $\mu\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\tau\eta$ by Bergk, who thinks that the line is Archilocheian (184).

When Ionic has η for Attic $\acute{\alpha}$ as in $\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta$ the nom. pl. is proparoxytone ($\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\iota$). Ptol. Askalonites proposed to adopt the paroxytone accent (Schol. Ven. A on Ξ 351, Apio and Herodorus in Eust. 991₂₄).

There is no trace of Ionic having adopted the proparoxytone in the nom. plur. of words in $-i\acute{\alpha}$, as was the case in late Attic ($\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\alpha\iota$, $\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha\iota$, $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\alpha\iota$, &c., also $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ Choirob. 449₁₂, schol. Ven. A on B 339, E 54, Lentz Hdn. I 423 note, Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 115).

Some distinguished $\epsilon\rho\nu\theta\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}$ in Ionia from $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\alpha\iota$ in Boiotia (Eust. 267₆, Choirob. *Ep. on Psalms* 27₁₀).

The gen. pl. of $\gamma\acute{\eta}$ is $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ in ABR, Hdt. IV 198, where P has $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, C $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$. The first reading is that adopted by the most recent editors, the last by *L. & S.* with the older editions.

Second Declension.

123.] 1. The tendency of the later Ionic to adopt the recessive accent of the later Attic in contrast to the accent of Homer and Old Attic¹, though nowhere expressly sanctioned by tradition, has been tacitly recognized by more recent editors of Herodotos. This is notably the case as regards the following forms, chiefly adjectival:—

$\acute{o}\mu\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in Hdt. according to Stein and Holder, as in later

¹ Ailius Dionys. *apud* Eust. 205₁₁.

Attic (Eust. 341¹⁷, 531³⁵, 799⁴⁰, 1817¹⁵, Theogn. An. Ox. II 54³), ὁμοίος Homeric and Old Attic (Eust. 206¹), adopted by Schweighäuser as Herodoteian. ὁμοίος is stated to be Doric, Greg. Kor. p. 318.

ἐρημος in Hdt. and in New Attic, ἐρήμος Old Attic and Homeric (Et. M. 373¹⁴, Ark. 61⁶, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 33¹, Eust. 217⁴⁵, 341¹², 531³², 4¹, 822⁵).

ἔτοιμος Hdt. and in New Attic, ἐτοῖμος Old Attic and Homeric (Eust. 206¹, 217⁴⁵, 341¹², 531⁴¹, 822⁵, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 33¹⁰. In Anakr. 43⁶ the MSS. have ἔτοιμον, Bergk ἐτοῖμον.

The accent of ἑταῖρος (Hom., Archil., Sim. Amorg., Theog., Hdt.), the by-form of Hom. ἔταρος, is due to the influence of ἑταῖρα from ἑταρία < gen. ἑταριάς. Cf. ἕα ἕās above. Homeric ἐτάρη is the parallel fem. of ἔταρος. See Wheeler *Nom. Accent* p. 59. Hippon. 1³ has ἑταῖρε, now read ἐταῖρε.

γελοῖος Archil. 79. Of γελοῖος Apoll. *De Pron.* 63 B says: οὐκ ἐξωμάλισται τὰ τῶν διαλέκτων, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν. The later Attic seems to have accented γέλοιος, the κοινή, γελοῖος Moiris 109, schol. *Ran.* 6; and so Old Attic, Eust. 206¹. See Chandler § 385.

ἀχρεῖος in Homer, Attic ἄχρειος according to Eust. 217³⁵ An. Ox. II 284¹¹, Hdn. I 135²⁵ = Schol. Ven. A on B 269. Arkadios 87⁶ says that ἀχρεῖος is Attic, ἄχρειος is τὸ κοινόν. From Choïrob. *Ép.* 123²⁵ we learn nothing. The Herodoteian form is ἀχρήιος. On Ionic -ήιος = Attic -ειος, see § 231.

πηρός Homer, Sim. Amorg., Hippokr., πῆρος Attic according to Schol. Ven. A on B 599.

μωρός Sim. 57. μῶρος is called Attic by Arkad. 69¹³. Eust. 245³⁷, 1749³⁷ ascribes μῶρος to the Attics, μωρός to the ὕστεροι.

στρουθός, Hdt., Attic στροῦθος Hdn. I 144¹⁷, cf. Schol. Ven. A on B 311.

2. If the Ionic texts are accentuated correctly, and the following is the correct tradition in reference to Attic, the latter dialect preferred an accent nearer the end in μέδιμος Hdt., μεδίμνος Attic according to Thom. Mag. p. 602.

κοιφοτής Hippokr., κοιφοτής Attic (Choïrob. 352¹¹).

Ἴνυκος Hdt. VI 24 is oxytone in Plato's *Hippias Maj.* 282 E.

ἀττέλεβος Hdt. IV 172, ἀττελαβός Attic, 'παρалоγως' Ark. 46⁸ = Hdn. I 139². Cf. γέρως = Attic γυρῖνος, Eust. 186⁴⁶.

Ionic ὄλιζον = Attic ὄλιγον, Herakleides *apud* Eust. 164³¹.

Attic φαρμαῖκος degenerated, according to Photios 640⁸ (cf. Eust. 193⁵¹), into Ion. φάρμακος, the proximity of the barbarians having caused the Ionians to corrupt the ancestral element of their dialect (§ 23). In the fragments of Hipponax (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 37, 43) the MSS. have uniformly φαρμακός, cf. Hesych. *s. v.* Didymos' proposal to write φαρμάκος failed to receive recognition in ancient

times. In fact Hase and Dindorf suggest that he did not write *φαρμάκος* at all, but that the *προπερισπῶν* of Harpokrat. p. 180 should be read *προπαροξύειν*. Herodian seems not to have known of any difference between the Ionic and Attic accent, if we may judge from Arkadios' statement (51₉): *φαρμάκος, ὁ ἐπὶ καθαρμῷ τῆς πόλεως τελευτῶν, φαρμακεὺς δὲ ὁ γόης*. For the word *φαρμακεὺς*, however, most scholars substitute *φάρμακος*. *Φάρμακος* is a suspicious personality although referred to by Istros in Et. M. 78₇₅₅. The above quoted statements are all that can be adduced in support of *φάρμακος*¹, other ancient testimony (*e.g.* Et. M. 80₂₅, Schol. Ven. A on Ω 566) making for *φαρμάκος*. With the interrelation between *φαρμακός* and this supposed *Φάρμακος* cf. that between *φυλακός* Ω 566 and *Φύλακος* Z 35, ο 231. *φυλακός* was thus accented by Aristarchos and Herodian (Eust. 136₅₄₅, Et. M. 80₂₃, Ark. 51₈), *φύλακος* Hdt. II 121 (γ), schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132, Philem. Lex. § 269, schol. Theokr. 8₃ and so Chandler § 261.

3. It is not impossible that an Ionic *ῶστρον* (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 793, Doric *ῶστριον*) could acquire the perispomenon accent upon contraction into *ῶστρεῖν*, as did the Attic *ῶστοῖν*. But instances parallel to the Attic *ἀργυροῦς, χαλκοῦς* are wanting in Ionic, since that dialect kept *εο* open in adjectives of material till the latest period of its existence. It is probable that the uncontracted form of Ionic nominative was *ῶστέον*.

θεός apparently an Ionic form for *θεός* (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 6, 8) is perispomenon in Eust. 77₅₄₈, Ark. 130₂₀.

In cases of variation between *-εος* and *-ος* in adjectival formations, the accent of the longer form is identical with that of the shorter. Thus *δαφνοειός* = *δαφνοῖός* (Schol. Ven. A on Σ 538, Eust. 116₀₅₂), *κενείος* = *κενός*, *ἡλεός* = *ἡλός*.

ἑγγημοί Hippokr. and Aristotle, deserves notice. See Chandler § 546.

4. According to the accentuation of the MSS. Ionic Greek distinguished *ἐξαιρετός* Hdt. II 121 (α) from *ἐξάιρετος*: adopted such ordinary uses as that of the fem. in *νήσος διαβατός* Hdt. IV 195: and differentiated words of the same form by means of the accent as did Attic. No definite statement to the contrary exists in the grammarians.

5. Accent of some proper names:—

Καρησός, name of the Mysian river M 20, was thus accented by the inhabitants of Kyzikos, and by Tyrannio (Schol. Ven. A on M 20). Aristarchos wrote *Κάρησος*, others *Κάρησος*.

¹ Bergk's *φάρμακος* in Hipponax is the less defensible, because the custom alluded to by the poet was Attic. See ten Brink in *Philologus* VI 60. A trace of *φαρμακός* with *ā* is thought to exist in Demosth. XXV 80, though *φαρμακφος* can have yielded only *φαρμάκος* in that dialect.

Ἄστακός Hdt. V 67, Ἄστακος Thuk. II 30, Steph. Byz.

Τίτακός Hdt. IX 73, whereas trisyllables in -ἄκος are generally proparoxytone. Steph. Byz. has Τίτακος. For other oxytones in -ακος, see Chandler § 270.

Ἰλλυριοί Hdt. I 196 and elsewhere is not in accordance with the usual accentuation of proper names in -ιος.

Ἄρτισκός Hdt. IV 92, whereas proper names in -ισκος are usually paroxytone.

Why Φαρσαλικός, Δροπικοί in Hdt. should be oxytone, but Ὀρικός proparoxytone, is not clear. See Chandler § 266 for similar inconsistencies.

6. 'Attic' declension:—

On Τυνδάρεω (Hdt. II 112) see Eust. 1686₂₃, schol. on λ 299; on λαγός Trypho 13.

Third Declension.

124.] Choroiboskos *Dictata* 353₂₃ makes the remark that, while the Aiolians form the accusative in -ν (κνήμην—read κνάμην—σφράγην, ἄψην), the Ionians in the genitive of oxytones in -ις do not cast aside the ῆ (κρημῆδος, ἀσπίδος) as they do in the declensions of Πάρις and Θέτις. For φαυολίς Hymn Dem. 51 we should expect the accent of μαινόλις.

Adjectives in -υς, which in the feminine lose their *iota*, do not change their accent as Chandler § 689 opines: ἡμίσεα Hdt. V 111, not ἡμισέα. In the plural perisporismenon is correct even when *i* has disappeared: ταχε(ι)ῶν, θηλε(ι)ῶν often in the MSS. of Hdt. (cf. II 18, 46, 66) which has been changed to θηλέων. On ταρφύς, ταρφειαί see Nauck, *Odys.*, p. x.

The gen. plur. of χιλιάς in Hdt. VII 28 is χιλιάδων, not χιλιαδέων; and thus does not support the peculiar later Attic χιλιαδῶν. See Choroib. *Dict.* 458₂₆, Ark. 136₃ and § 74. The form in the Common dialect was similar to that in Hdt.

ὀπέων, Ionic for ὀπάων, is noteworthy, since nouns in -εων are oxytone; cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 28₂₂.

Homeric πρόνοιες (Schol. Ven. Θ 557), despite πρών; cf. Hesiod's πρηών. Nouns in -ηων are usually paroxytone (Theogn. An. Ox. II 29₆, Ark. 11₂₁).

Ethnica in -ων are usually oxytone, but Hdt. VII 110 has Βίστορες, Κίκορες, V 15 Παίονες (Παιόνες An. Ox. I 276₉), Σιριοπαίονες, cf. Καύκονες, Κύδωνες in Homer. Chandler § 615.

Names in -ᾶς (Βοιβᾶς, Βιττᾶς, Κυρᾶς) are Ionic according to Choroib. *Dict.* 42₂₉, Joh. Alex. 8₁₉). Why the gen. should be -ᾶδος is not clear, unless we regard -ᾶς as due to 'nominative-lengthening.'

On the accent of *νηὺς* 'resolved' see Chandler § 566.

125.] **Adverbs.** The ancients accentuated *παρέξ* or *πὰρ ἔξ* in Homer, *πάρεξ* in Hdt. (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 25, 20, Schol. Ven. A on IX 7). See La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* p. 333. The *κωρή* adopted the Herodoteian accent.

πρωῖ in Homer, *πρωί* in Hdt. and Attic (Et. M. 607²¹, 692¹², Theogn. An. Ox. II 159²⁶). Joh. Alex. 327 writes *πρώι*, and this form is generally used in our texts.

κηγχος Apollonios *De Adv.* 596²⁰ thought should be *κηγχός*.

126.] **Verbs.** *φή* Ionic for *φησί* is an enclitic, Anacr. 40. *πιθέσθε*, *λαβέσθε* were written thus by Tyrannio, but belong according to the Schol. Ven. B on *Il.* XVIII 266 only to the later Ionic.

The recessive accent in the contract forms is preserved in *πέθεν* Hdt. III 68¹, whereas Attic generally has the perispomenon (Aischines *πυθοῦ*). Cf. *έλευ* Hsd. *Theog.* 549, *ἀμβάλευ* Theokr. X 22. Does this indicate that the Attic contraction of *εο* to *ου* is of different phonetic quality from that of the Ionic *ευ*?

In the case of syncopated forms, *-εο* for *-εεο*, *-εαι* for *-εεαι* were generally regarded as paroxytone (Eust. 1441³⁰) though there is evidence that some of the ancients (cf. Schol. Ven. A on *Ω* 202, Eust. 1518⁵⁴) admitted the proparoxytone. Thus Herodian in *έκλε' Ω* 202. The MSS. of Hdt. have *φοβέο*, &c., in Theog. 1331 we find *αἰδέο*.

The so-called Doric future in Ionic: *έσσειται* B 393, Hdt. VII 168 *πεσέεται*.

έξελληλαμένα Hdt. VII 84 seems to be correct, though *έλληλάμενος* is enjoined by Apoll. *De Conj.* 500¹⁹, *De Adv.* 545⁵, cf. 549⁷, Et. M. 46⁴.

VOWEL SYSTEM.

The Short Vowels.

A.

127.] Anaptyctic *a* occurs in conjunction with *ρ* in *βάραγχος* Hipponax 106 = *βράγχος* Attic and in Hippokr. I 616. Cf. Hesychios: *βάραγchia' τὰ βραγchia' τῶν ἰχθύων*. The Et. M. 188⁴ says that the Attics used *βαραγchia'*, whereas Moiris states merely that *βραγchia'*, not *βραγchia'*, was Attic.

¹ Hdt. has *βαλεῦ* VII 51 in *A P*, *βάλευ* *C* corr. *B²d*.

128.] Ionic A in conjunction with P.

The forms with $\epsilon\rho$ or $\rho\epsilon$ are here morphologically older than those in $\alpha\rho$ or $\rho\alpha$. It is more probable that $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ are due to the analogy of $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ than to a levelling process (within the noun itself) which operated as follows:

$\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 |
 $\kappa\rho\tau\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ whence $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.
 |
 $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$

The latter view is current, rather than well-considered. In Skt. and Greek there is no shifting of the accent in the inflection of these stems in s .

The Ionic dialect here presents no features sharp enough to separate it from allied dialects except Aiolie.

$\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = Aiolie $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Hdt. VIII 2, with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in *A B d*; cf. $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$ VIII 12, with $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$ in most MSS.¹ Archil. 26 has $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, a form that comes to light in Aretaios 9 and upon inscriptions: Halik. $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 238₂₃, and so in Attic and Kretan (Gortyna); $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ appears in $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ Thasos (Louvre) 12 B, but was not used by Hdt.; Epic $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$. $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ² and $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The Ionic dialect alone possesses the strong form of the adjective ($\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega\upsilon$). In the inscriptions names in $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau$ - and $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau$ - occur: $F\iota[\phi]\iota\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$, or $E\delta\theta\upsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ Naxos, *B. C. II.* XII p. 463 ff.; $M\eta\nu\eta\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau(\eta)\varsigma$, Styra 19₂₆₂; $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ 19₃₁₇; $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ 19₃₆₉; $\Lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota-$ 19₂₄₇; $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ Styra 19₂₁; $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Keos 44 A 8.

$\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ Hdt. VII 9 γ ($\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ in *R*); Homeric and Attic $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$. $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$ Chios, Pasp. 42, $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma-$ e.g. in $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\omega\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota[\epsilon\omega]$ Thasos, *J. II. S.* VIII 402₂₂. Traces of the strong form $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. Aiolie) appear in $\dots\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\eta\varsigma$ upon an Erythraian inscription (no. 200), and in $\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ Iasos (*J. II. S.* IX 341, no. 2, late). Names in $-\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta\varsigma$ occur elsewhere in dialects that show no predilection in favour of the $\epsilon\rho$ forms. See Pape's Lexicon. Doubtless the Homeric names in $-\theta\epsilon\rho\sigma-$ did much to popularize this form in such dialects.

The prefix $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota-$ seems to be Ionic as contrasted with Aiolie $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota-$ (Himrich, *II. E. V. A.* p. 64). $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$ upon a coin of Erythrai, Mionnet *Suppl.* VI 217, cf. *I. P.* I 166. Hence $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ Sim. Am. 7₈₃ from $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota-$. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ occurs upon a Keian inscription, no. 44, B 11, but $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$ in Anakr. 11.

¹ Ionic $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$ Greg. Kor. § 58.

² Joh. Gr. 241 B.

βάραθρον Hdt. VII 133, as in Attic; Homeric βέρεθρον Θ 14 (called Ionic by Et. M. 188₆); Arkad. ζέρεθρον.

χάραδρα in Hdt., cf. Delphic χάροδρος (Wescher, *Monum. bilingue de Delphes*, I. 23, 25). Homer has χέραδος, a form that is found as a proper name C. D. I. 1352.

ταρσινή (MS. -ά), Sim. Amorg. 39, from Et. Mag. 764₂₅; cf. Hesychios ταρσινήν τὴν τρασιάν. Et. Gud. 256 quotes from an elegiac poet τρασιῆς; cf. *τερσῆναι* in Homer. *τερσιά* is a very late formation (Julian). *τρασ-* is morphologically older than *ταρσ-*. A variation between *αρ* and *ρα*, apparently in order to lighten consonantal weight, is seen in a Karian name, Halik. 240₅₇, Ἰμβράσσιδος (*Ἰμβρασος Head, *II. N.* 518); 240₅₈ Ἰμβάρσιδος.

The Ionic dialect does not evince the preference of Doric¹ for the weak *a* before or after *ρ* in verbal forms (from original *ρε*). Thus, Herodotos adopts *τρέχω*, *τρέψω*, *στρέψω*, agreeing herein with Homer, while he accepts *τρέπω* in the present for Attic-epic *τρέπω*, if we are to believe Bredow, Stein and Holder, who do not scruple to reject the testimony of all the MSS. I 63, 105, III 21 and in very many other places. In the middle there are few cases of the *a* form. The imperfect or second aorist forms can scarcely be allowed to influence the decision. I regard *τρέπω* as the correct form². In the future and first aorist the *ε*-forms hold their ground in Ionic, whereas in Kretan we have *ἐπιτραψῶ*. On the variation between *τρέπω* and *τρέπω*, cf. Bredow, p. 145. In employing *τρέπω*, not *τρέπω*, Lukian follows in the wake of Hdt. (*d. d. S.* 7, 39, *Astr.* 3). Aretaios has but one sure example of *τρέπω*, and Hippokrates inclines in favour of the Ionic-Attic form.

When other dialects, notably Aiolic or those allied to Aiolic, have *ρο* or *ορ*, Ionic almost invariably adopts *ρα* or *αρ*. See below on *βρόταχος*, *πορδακός* § 147. Hdt. III 86 has *ἀστραπή*, with which may be compared Homeric *στεροπή* and *ἀστεροπή*. Kyprian has *στροπά* (Hesychios *στορπά*). In verbal inflection whenever *ορ* occurs it is the *ablaut* of *ερ*, not—the Aiolic form of *αρ*.

καρδίη Hdt. III 35, Demokr. *Mor.* 18, Arch. ep. 103, a form not unknown to Homer (B 452, A 12), though the poet generally adopts *κραδίη*³. Ionic, Attic, and Aiolic are here on a plane. The Kyprian form is *κάρζα* (*κορζία* according to Meister).

Homer has *Κράπαθος* (B 676), Archil. 152 has *Καρπάθιος*.

¹ *τρέπω*, *τρέπω*, *στράψω*, *τρέχω* (Pindar), cf. Et. M. 114₂₀ *φάρω*, *τρέπω*.

² Greg. Kor. quotes *τρέπουσι* from Hdt. III 21 (p. 480).

³ Joh. Gr. 240, 241 B, Greg. Kor. p. 434, Gram. Vat. 696, Birnb. 677₃₉, cite this as the Ionic form.

Κάρπαθος occurs in the Hymn to Apoll. 43. Homer has both ἀταρπιτός and ἀτραπιτός, τέτρατος¹ and τέταρτος.

Hipp. 1₃ has σκαπαρδεύσαι = συμμαχήσαι, with which compare the game σκαπέρδα and the Hesychian gloss σκαπερδεύσαι· λαιδορήσαι.

The variation between αρ and ρα, for which no definite reason can invariably be assigned, is not a mint-mark of dialect differentiation.

129.] Other forms with A parallel to E :

τάμνω occurs in Hdt. (Greg. Kor. 67), though not without variation in favour of τέμνω, and is a present formed from the aorist of τέμω (*Iliad*, N 707) (ταμών < τμμ-οντ-). Whether τάμνω, which occurs as early as Homer (Γ 105) and Hesiod, and is found in Pindar, Kretan, and the Herakleian tablets, is more ancient than τέμνω (which seems to be derived from a τέμω by the infixing of ν), is not certain. τέμνω is in fact no stranger to Homer (γ 175), and is the regular form in Attic. The inscriptions indicate the preference of Ionic and Attic most clearly. In the former we have ἔταμον (Halik. 238₄₁; Kyzikos. 108, B 8), in the latter ἔτεμον without exception. τεμεῖν in Delos B. C. H. VI 54 (250) is due to Attic influence; so Arrian, 2₂₀. The ε of ἔτεμον is due to that of τέμνω².

Hippokrates (Greg. Kor. 67) and the pseudo-Ionist Aretaios use τάμνω; Lukian has τέμνω S 15, τάμνω S 51, 60; Arrian τέμνω 2₂, 11₁₀, 13₁₂; Demokr., *Mor.* 194, has τάμνω.

μέγαθος, ὑπερμεγάθης in Hdt., e.g. IV 52, 191, μέγαθος in Anaxag. 1, and Meliss. 8 (Simpl. μέγεθος). Cf. Greg. Kor. § 59. In Attic μέγεθος the variation between α and ε is due perhaps to the influence of ε in the initial syllable. The statement that the Doric dialect possessed the form μέγαθος is not beyond suspicion, since Philoxenos, who has the form with α in II 19, either contradicts himself, V 21, where he uses ὑπερμέγεθες, or at least shows that both forms were known to Doric. Lukian has μέγαθος *l.* S 27, 30, according to Jacobitz, though Α has the ε form everywhere. In Arrian, μέγεθος is the only reading in seven out of eleven cases, and this is the form used by Abydenos 5. Both Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic form.

On the forms ἔπειτα, εἵνεκα, see under *Adverbs*, &c. On -αιᾶ, -οιᾶ, see below under H, §§ 174-179.

ψακάς Hdt. III 10, according to Stein, though ψεκάς is

¹ τέτρατος was held to be Ionic, Joh. G. 241 B.

² G. Meyer in his review of the *Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* (*A. P. A.* XX 5-138) in *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.*, 1890 p. 1335 disposes of the relation of τάμνω and τέμνω as follows: τάμνω is from ἔταμον, the aor. of τέμω; its ν is due to the influence of δάκνω (ἔδακον: ἔταμον). τέμνω, again, is a contamination of τέμω and τάμνω. τάμνω is called Doric by Et. M. 114₂₁, 745₂₃.

supported by MS. authority and by Eustathios. Moiris, p. 419, held that ψεκάς was Attic, but not so acceptable a form. Cf. ψῶχος < ψᾰκ.

Ἀγβάτανα is the form used by Hdt., Ktesias (and Aischylos) for Ἐκβάτανα. The MSS. of Hdt. show constant fluctuation between these two forms, though Steph. Byz. distinctly states that Ἀγβάτανα is Herodoteian.

ἀππαλλάζειν (*sic*) Hesych. = ἐκκλησιάζειν. Ἴωνες recalls the Lakonian ἀπέλλαι, ἀπελλάζειν, but is of doubtful explanation.

The ancients adduce other forms in support of a τροπή of ε to α. These examples are either based upon incorrect etymologies or deal with pan-Hellenic by-forms.

130.] Ionic ᾶ = Attic II.

μεσαμβρή Hdt. and Arrian, 3, 25, 39 (elsewhere the Attic form). Cf. Eustathios on the Odyssey 1714₅₅, Greg. Kor. p. 444, 654, Schmidt, *Voc.* I 119.

ἀμφισβατέω Zeleia 113₁₈ (after 334 B. C.) and in Hdt. IV 14¹, IX 74². This form is not confined to Ionic unless the α of Rhodian ἀμφισβασίας C. I. G. 2905 B 6, ἀμφεσβάτει C. I. G. 2905 A 3, Aiolic ἀμφισβατημένων C. D. I. 214₂₅, can be shown to be long. Herakleitos 9 has ἀγχιβασίην, cf. Suidas ἀμφισβατεῖν, ἔνιοι τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν. Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ ἀγχιβατεῖν καὶ ἀγχιβασίην (see also *s.v.* ἀγχιβατεῖν). Hesychios' gloss is on ἀμφισβητεῖν, not on ἀμφισβατεῖν. In Diog. Apoll. 1 the MSS. have the Attic ἀναμφισβήτητοι, cf. -βητήσεος Latyshev, II 53. Hellanikos 177 has ἀμφισβάτα (see Hesychios *s.v.*).

If the non-Ionic forms have ᾶ, weight might, at first glance, be attached to Brugmann's suggestion that an Ionic ἀμφισβᾶτέω is due to the ignorance of scribes who connected the latter part with βαίνω, βάσις, βατός; *Morph. Unter.* I 22. But there is at least no proof that the α of the Aiolic and Rhodian forms is not short; and, even if it is long, the inscriptional form from Zeleia proves conclusively that an Herodoteian ἀμφισβᾶτέω is not due to blundering ignorance. Perhaps the forms in η stood in an ablaut relation to those in ᾶ³.

λάξεσθαι Hdt. VII 144, λάξιν IV 21 (cf. Greg. Kor. 139, Ἠρώ. λέξεις Stein II 467), have their ᾶ from the present stem as

¹ The MSS. here agree as to the penultimate α of ἀμφισβασίας (cf. VIII 81), but R and the rest have in the same chapter ἀμφισβητ-.

² P R have ἀμφισβητέων.

³ Osthoff, *Perfect* p. 331, thought to set matters straight by deriving ἀμφισβατέω from an unheard-of participle βᾶτός, the kinsman of the regular βατός. These two forms he opined would yield -βᾶτέω (-βητέω) and -βᾶτέω. Brugmann's derivation from √σβη ignores ἀγχιβατεῖν, which however may have been formed by analogy.

λάφεται Miletos, 100₄. The converse procedure appears in the New Test. λήψομαι, a form found on Lykian inscript. C. I. G. 4244₆, 4247₂₀, 4253₁₅, and in the *Paragr. du Louvre*, 14, 17¹. It is due to a confusion between λήψομαι and λάψομαι. Cf. Attic ἤνευκα by contamination of the regular Attic ἤνευκα and Ionic ἤνευκα.

Forms without a nasal come to light upon Attic vases (Λά(μ)πων, Λά(μ)πος in Kretschmer's collection, *K. Z.* XXIX, p. 436), though here the comparison of λάφεται is not so pertinent as Kretschmer supposes. It is better to class Λά(μ)πων, &c., with Νί(μ)φῆ (§ 336), than to regard λάφεται as derived from λά(μ)ψεται, despite the Herodoteian λάψομαι, ἐλάμφθην, λαμπτέος. We have κατελάφθη Zeleia, 113₇, and λελάβηκα, καταλελαβήκει in Hdt. (IV 79, III 42), λέλαμμοι in Hdt. and Hippokr., ἀναλελάφθαι in Hippokr. III 308, according to Littré, with ample MS. support². I cannot follow Bechtel in branding as spurious the Herodoteian λάψομαι I 191, λάμψεσθαι IX 108, λαμφέεισαι VI 92, merely on the ground that λάφεται is a well attested Milesian form, and that Herodotos may have made use of the Milesian dialect, as is claimed *e.g.* by Wilamowitz, *Zeitschr. für Gymn.-wes.* XXXI 645. The parallelism between the Herodoteian forms and the inscriptional λάφεται from Miletos proves nothing as to the original character of the historian's dialect. The Chian ἀποδεκνύντες 174 B 14 would lead, on this reasoning, to a different conclusion as to the nature of the Herodoteian diction. If λήψομαι and λήμφομαι could be formed, why not λάμφομαι? λάμψεσθαι in fact occurs upon the great inscription from Andania, Ditt. *Syll.* 388₁₇, though the genuine Doric was λαψοῦμαι Epicharmos 18, Theokr. I 4. Cf. also the late aorist ἐξέλαμψα Diog. Laert. I 85. λάμφομαι is now generally banished from Hdt.'s text, and παραλήψηται in Hippokratēs VI 326 rests upon conjecture.

Proper names in ἄγε- or ἄγε-, which run parallel to those in ἤγε-, are from ἄγω, the *asper* being borrowed from ἡγέομαι (> sāw). Cf. Lokrian ἄγειν. The Doric Ἀγησίλαος (Perinthos, 234 B 5) has the *lenis* from ἄγω.

Ionic \bar{a} from η in the grammarians (*e.g.* Et. Gud. 106₁₅, 121₇, 42, An. Par. III 295₁) is based upon a misconception of the interrelation of the first and second perfect. In μεμακυῖα, λελασμένος &c. the ancients discovered an Ionic change of η to α (Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 444, Meerm. 654, Aug. 668, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678₂₈, Et. Mag. 501₅, Eust. 1714₁₉, 52, 55, cf. 1700₁₈, An. Ox. I 282₂₆, An. Par. III 478₃).

¹ λήμψῆ is a probable conjecture of Sterrett's, *Papers of the Am. School*, II 56, VI; cf. 58, XIX.

² Veitch, however, supports ἀναλελάμφθαι. Cf. Schmidt, *Voc.* I 118.

In the view that all epic forms are Ionic we find in Eust. 393²⁵ (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 130) *νύμφα* called Ionic by a τροπή of η to α. *κᾶρός* also is said to be Ionic for *κηρός*, Schol. Ven. A on I 378.

131.] Interrelation of A and O.

In a few instances *a* and *o* seem to be interrelated sounds, though the law governing their interrelation has not been formulated in all cases (cf. § 147). So far as Ionic is concerned, we have the following form where Ionic *a* = *o* of other dialects: *ἄρρωδέω* Hdt. I 9, 111, 156, III 119, &c., *ἄρρωδίη* IV 140, &c., and attested by the Et. Mag. p. 632⁴³ (cf. Bek. An. I 446¹⁶). Lukian has the Attic *ἄρρωδέω* (Hesychius *ἄρρωδία*, *ἄρρωδέως*, &c.) and so too Hippokrates and Aretaios. Probably assimilation of *a* to *o* has here been caused by the influence of the *ω* of the following syllable (Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 112). Etymologists are generally silent as to the derivation of this word. *Horrere* is probably related to *φρίσσω*, and cannot be connected with *ἄρρωδέω* as *L. S.* think. The Ionic form deserves special note, since it is only very rarely that Ionic differs from Attic in its use of *a* and *o*.

The question as to the interrelation of *a* and *o* assumes a different form in the case of proper names. In the MSS. of Hdt. there is a constant fluctuation between the readings *Ἄρταξέρξης* and *Ἄρτοξέρξης*, the latter obtaining in Ktesias and Plutarch, though Plutarch, in the *de malign. Herod.*, ascribes the form in *a* to the historian. Cf. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρταῖα. *Ἄρταξέρξης* occurs upon the inscription from Mylasa, 248, ABC, and would seem to be a closer reproduction of Arta-khshathra than *Ἄρτοξέρξης*, which Stein adopts, VI 98¹, VII 106, 151, 152, though the form in *a* is not unsupported. In other names Stein does not hesitate to read *Ἄρτο-*, e.g. *Ἄρτοβαζάνης* VII 2, *Ἄρτοζώστην* VI 43, though in the case of the former name Thom. Mag. 299¹⁶, testifies to the form in *Ἄρτα-*. Nor is Stein consistent, since we find *Ἄρτάβανος* IV 83, VII 10, 11, 17, 47; *Ἄρτάβαζος* VII 66, &c.; *Ἄρταβάτης* VII 65; *Ἄρταφρένης* V 25, and other names in *Ἄρτα-*. He adopts *Ἄστροβάκου* VI 69, where *R* has *Ἄστρα-*.

In any event no Ionic change of *a* to *o* may be deduced from the uncertainty attendant upon the MS. fluctuations. The Persian names in *Ἄρτυ-* (*Ἄρτύβιος*, *Ἄρτύφιος*, *Ἄρτυστώνη*) are not to be held to be instances of the final effort of a phonetic movement which began with *Ἄρτα-* and reached *Ἄρτυ-* through *Ἄρτο-*, as has been held to be the case with *κατά*, *κατό*, and *κατύ* (§ 132). The forms in *Ἄρτο-* are due, not to an interchange of *a* and *o* (§ 147), but to the fondness for *o*-stems in composition.

¹ Cf. his note on this passage in his annotated edition, Fick, *Spracheinheit*, p. 406, and Schmidt, *Urheimath d. Indogermanen*, p. 5.

132.] A in relation to Υ.

ἐκαλιιδέετο Hdt. III 52, compared with κυλίιδεται Sim. Διοφρ. VII 4, κατακλιισθη Hdt. V 16, must not be regarded as an instance of the interchange of *a* and *v*¹, and much less as a proof of the greater age of καλιιδέω (Curtius, *Élym.*⁵, p. 715). With κυψέλη, κάψα, capsula, and κύλιξ, calix, are to be classed καλιιδέω, κυλιιδέω, Germ. *quellen*. Both καλ- and κυλ- are weak forms of √κελ = *qel*.

The non-Ionic (Arkadian) form κατύ does not invalidate the above explanation, since it is derived from *κατό (κατόπερ Halikarn. 238₄₃ is from ὄπερ), which in turn is an analogue of ὑπό; *κατό becomes κατύ, as ὑπό becomes ὑτύ (Kyme, 3 Δ). This is better than to assume, on the strength of Lettic-Lith. *sa* and Lith. *su*, Lith. *ga*, *gu*, that the forms in *a* and *v* are prothetic.

133.] A and AI.

ἔταρος, ἐτάρη, &c., the variant forms of ἔταιρ- < ἔταρχ-, occur in the epos only. Archil., Sim. Am., Theog., Hdt. have ἔταιρ-.

E.

On the *ε* of ἐκεῖ, ἐκεῖνος, ἐχθές see § 564, on that of ἐορτή § 287. 1, note, on ἐθέλω § 588; on hyper-Ionic *ε* in pronouns, §§ 562, 563.

134.] Ionic EP for AP of other dialects.

The Ionic dialect in a few cases has made use of the strong forms in *ερ*, though not to the same extent as Aiolic.

ἔρσην: ἔρσενος Hdt. I 109, ἔρσενες I 193, ἔρσένων I 192, ἔρσενας I 193. The MSS., notably B, have the Attic form, which must have been Ionic also, since it comes to light upon the very old Thasian inscription (Bechtel, no. 68, ἄρσειν). Herakl. 43 ἄρρενος (Attic). Homer has ἄρσην Θ 7, which is doubtless Ionic, since ἔρσην is Aiolic (C. D. I. 293₆). That both the strong and the weak form should co-exist in one and the same dialect need not surprise us. Thessalian and Boiotian (perhaps even Ionic, see on θάρσος, above § 128) have both θερσ- and θαρσ-, two forms living together. The only other dialects which have ἔρσην are, I believe, Kretan (Gortyna Tables, X 52 ἔρσενες, X 49 ἔρσένων) and Epidaurian (Baunack's *Studien* 80₁₁₂). In the other dialects ἄρσην: Attic ἄρρ[ε]νος C. I. A. II 678, B 55-378 B. C., Eleian *Φάρρενον* = ἄρρενος C. D. I. 1152, Lakon. ἄρρης C. I. G.

¹ The change of *v* to *a* in κυλιιδούμαι, καλιιδούμαι was held to be Aiolic by Et. Mag. 486_γ.

146₄, (first cent. B. C.). See Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 117; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 23. Hippokrates, Lukian (*Astr.* 11 ἄρρενα, ἄρρενες), and Arrian 8₆ (ἄρρενας) have the *a* form.

τέσσερες: τέσσερες, τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, τεσσερεκαιδεκάτη, τεσσεράκοντα, τεσσερακοντόργυιος, are found in Hdt. with occasional lapses in favour of the Attic forms, as Herodas, 7₁₀₂. Lukian, *V. A.* 4 has τέσσερα, Arrian § 9₆, 22₉ τεσσαράκοντα, 13₂, 21₁₃ τέσσαρες. Upon inscriptions we meet with τέσσερες 148₉₁, a comparatively late document from Ephesos, τεσσέρων 104, B 66, Thasos, middle of the fourth century, with τεσσάρων on the same inscription, lines 62 and 63; τεσσάρων occurs also in no. 114, F (Zeleia), which dates shortly after the battle of Granikos; τέσσερα Teos, 157₁₈ (the stone has TEZEPA); τέσ(σ)αρες 159₉, Teos, with but one Σ upon the stone. τεσσεράκοντα 104₅₂, Thasos, 111₁₁, Kyzikos;¹ τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων 174, C 16, Chios, and τεσ[σ]ερακαιεξδ[ο]μη[ρον]ταύτης 58, Paros. Only Arkadian and Ionic have ερ: Arkad. τεσσεράκοντα Foucart, 352 n. (late). Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 44.

Ἄρταφρένης is adopted as the genuine reading by Stein in every instance, though the MSS. of Hdt. constantly vary between the form in -φρένης and that in -φέρνης (V 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 73, &c.). Aischylos, *Persai*, 21, 776, has Ἄρταφρένης. In like manner Stein reads Ἰνταφρένης III 70, 78, 118, 119. Upon an Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 64, B 14 (410-405 B. C.), we find Τισ]σαφρένην, which ensures the correctness of the form in -φρένης (cf. Old Persian *frānā*), and stamps that in -φέρνης, so popular in later Greek, as a folk-etymology in the direction of φέρω; *c. g.* Ὀροφέρνης Priene, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 3, no. 424, 6₄. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 175, note 1. The above quoted Attic inscription is important evidence that the form used in the treaty, Thukydides, VIII 27, is incorrect. See Kirchhoff in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1884, p. 399.

On θερσ-, see above § 128, under θάρσος. On κρέσσων, cf. below § 142.

χλιερός is said to be Ionic for χλιαρός in *Liddell and Scott*, but in Hdt. and Hippokr. we find only the latter form. χλιερός in fact occurs in Kratinos 143 K, in *Athen. A.* The ε form does not occur in Nikander, *Al.* 360, as *L. S.* state.

The grammarians held to an Ionic change of α to ε in διερός (Et. Gud. 144₃₁, Orion 48₁). So the κοινή form μιερός (Phryn. 363 R) was once regarded as Ionic. So too ψιέθος.

ιαρός does not occur in Ionic. On ιερός and ιρός see § 300.

έτερος = άτερος in Doric, Boiotian, Attic (in θάτερον, άτερος),

¹ τέσσερα held its ground till late. Upon an Egyptian papyrus (189 A. D.) we find it still preserved. Cf. *Trans. Berlin Acad.* 1883, pp. 916, 919.

though Attic has generally ἕτερος¹. In Aiolie we have conflicting testimony; ἕτερος Sappho, 106, and C. D. I. 279₉, but Herodian, I 507₆, opines that ἀτέρρι is Aiolie. ἕτερος is, morphologically considered, the later form, its initial ε being due to the influence of the ε of the following syllable. ἔρσην and τέσσαρες might be explained after the same fashion. See Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 92 note. Cf. ὀβολός ὀβελός, and ἤμισυ ἤμισυν (but ἤμισεος) upon Attic inscriptions after 378, and in the modern language of Amorgos (and Kalymna) ὄτοιμος, and δξω in modern Kretan. Cf. also ἀπτέλεβος Hdt. IV 172, for ἀπτέλαβος. Herodas, 7₅₁ has ἕτερον χάτερον.

Roberts, I no. 167, contains τῆτέρρη (TETEPEI). Cf. Roberts, I pp. 196, 200, 374. Cauer, 557. The inscription cannot be Eleian, as Wilamowitz thinks, since that dialect loves \bar{a} in preference to η . Does not the absence of the *asper* indicate an Asiatic-Ionic origin? We find τῆτέρρη in Phoinix in Athen. 495 E. Cf. $\eta + \epsilon$, § 264.

135.] Interrelation of EA and AA.

Forms in -ελος in the κοινή were once held to be Ionic, perhaps because of Hom. πύελος μυελός, later πύαλος μυαλός. Thus ὕελος was thought by Bredow to have been adopted from Ionic by Theophrastus, whereas in Hdt. III 24, Stein's ὑέλου is not above doubt. The pseudo-Phrynichos (R. p. 363) enjoins ὕαλος as Attic. There is no reason why φιέλη, for Attic φιάλη, should belong to Ionic. In Hippokr. σίελος often occurs as a variant for σίαλος (VI 160, 196, 214, 370 in θ). In many of these forms Attic too had ε: πύελος, μυελός, σίελος (Phryn. 364).

136.] Other examples of Ionic E = A of other dialects.

ὄτε, πότε, ἄλλοτε, Ionic-Attic = Dor. ὄκα, πόκα, ἄλλοκα, = Aiolie ὄτα, πότα, ἄλλοτα. Both the Ionic and Doric forms are equally original, an I.E. palatal sound becoming *tau* before ε, *ka* before a. The Aiolie forms are contaminations.

On εἵνεκεν, εἵτεν, ἐπειτεν, see under Adverbs. -θεν, -θε, not -θα, are the Ionic forms. γέ Ionic-Attic = Doric γά, Epeirót. γέν².

γέμμα was the Ionic form used especially by Demokritos³ according to the unsupported testimony of Eustathios, 370₁₅.

¹ Aristotle's Ἰθ. πολ. has even οὔτερά = οἱ ἔτ-. Attic inscriptions have always ἕτερος. Attic θάτερον sic, and not θάτερον, except when the article precedes as in Menander 846 Koch. θάτερα θατέρων Hippokr. IX 30. It is impossible that τῶ ἕτερον should become θάτερον, as is commonly stated.

² γέ may be the Old Slav. *že*, Old Lith. *je*; γά (Skt. *ha*) must be dissociated from Skt. *hi* which is almost always orthotone. *hi* is = Gr. -χι in οὐχί, Skt. *nahi*. V. Henry, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VI 378 ff. The Epeirót. γέν can scarcely be regarded as a survival of an original γέν. Baunack, *K. Z.* XXV 243 thinks that the *ν* is the movable letter. Is it perhaps γε + ν(ε)? Cf. Thessal. *νε*.

³ Demokritos' position in respect of the names of the letters was peculiar. In Bekk. Anecd. II 781, the $\mu\eta$ - $\delta\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\eta\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ are cited from him, and in Eust. 370₁₅ he is said to have called $\mu\tilde{\nu}$, $\mu\tilde{\omega}$.

For other variations between ϵ and a , a and ϵ , occurring in various dialects, and of which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been reached, compare G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 24.

In the inflection of neuters with stems in $-ασ-$ we encounter in Ionic, in Attic tragedy and comedy (rarely), an ϵ in place of the thematic a . Thus in Homer οὐδέϊ, κῶεσι; in Hdt. γέρεα (κρέεσσω oracl. I 47), κέρεος, κέρεϊ, κέρεα, κερέων, perhaps τέρεος, τέρεα, cf. Τειρεσίας; γήρους Hippokr. VII 182 (Hdt. γήραος); in inscriptions γέρεα Miletos 100, cf. § 544. Whether the peculiar nature of this change requires that it be regarded as a survival of a pre-Hellenic stage, or whether it ensued upon Greek soil, is not yet clear. Schmidt, *Neutra* p. 335, holding that ao became eo in primitive Greek save where analogy revived the old form, suggests that the original inflection in Greek was $-ας, -εος, -αϊ, -αα, -εων, -ασσι$, and that in course of time by a levelling process there arose $-ας, -εος, -εϊ, \&c.$, and $-ας, -αος, -αϊ, \&c.$ The literary monuments of Aiolic and Doric¹ are unacquainted with this interrelation of a and ϵ in substantives.

ϵ apparently takes the place of a in certain verbs in $-\epsilonω$ (ὄρέω, πολμέω, οἰδέω, ἐχρόντο², &c.) and before o, ω, υ in inflection. An explanation of the interrelation of the forms is attempted in § 688. On τράπω in Hdt. see § 128.

Before the termination $-(σ)αι$, a becomes ϵ in Ionic by dissimilation; e.g. ἐπίστειται, δύνεαι. In Attic Ποτειδεᾶται we have a somewhat similar case of dissimilation.

New Ionic ῥέφανος, ῥεφανίς for ῥαφ-, Ammon. 122 (Valek., cf. also 203 on the difference in signification). Hippokr. VIII 250 ῥεφάνου in C and θ ; 308 ῥεφανίδος C &c., but θ &c. have ῥαφ-; VI 558 all MSS. ῥαφ-. Thomas Mag. (323 R) says that ῥέφανος was Ionic for ῥαφανίς. Aretaios 301 has ῥαφ-.

πιέζω Ionic, Attic and Aiolic = Doric πιιάζω (Hdt. II 949¹, An. Ox. I 291⁵, I 367⁸).

137.] Ionic E = O of other dialects.

A singular substitution of ϵ for o is found in Διενύσω(ι), Bechtel No. 31, from Amorgos, an inscription of the fifth century; whereas the other Ionic inscriptions have either Διονύσιος or Δεονύς. See below § 138. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 26, is inclined to regard this ϵ as parallel to that of Ἰππεδάμου (Rhodes) or of ἀνδρεφόρος, called Doric by Herodian,—forms of common speech with an ϵ comparable to the toneless e of Modern Greek. Bechtel's suggestion is preferable: Διένυσος: Διόνυσος = αἰέλουρος³: αἰόλος, or as Lak. ὤμέσθαι (*R. M.* XL 8):

¹ The o forms δέρος, κῶος (see Schmidt, p. 341) were regarded as either Ionic or Doric, Et. M. 257⁹, An. Par. IV 167¹⁰, Anecd. Bachm. I 191¹⁷.

² Greg. Kor. 15.

³ αἰέλουρος for αἰλουρος in Hdt. and comic poets. Cf. Et. M. 31⁴.

ὀμόσαι, or as Herakl. ἐρρηγείας, &c. : nom. in -ως. Cf. *G. G. A.* 1881, p. 1447, Baumaek's *Stud.* I 71, and *K. Z.* XXVI 354. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89, has no other means of disposing of Διενύσαι than assuming that it is an error of the stone-cutter.

Of the various names taking their rise from the two chief ablaut forms of Apollo (Ἀπόλλων, Ἀπέλλων), there are a few examples upon Ionic soil of the latter, so common among Doric peoples. Ἀπελλίωρος 153, Smyrna (names in Ἀπολλ-, lines 3, 15, 24, 37, 40, 41), Ἀπελλίης 177 Chios, and in Erythraian inscriptions: Ἀπελλίον 206 A 4 (cf. Ἀπόλλωρος 206 A 20), Ἀπελλίον 206 B 17 (in the same line, Ἀπολλών[ιος]), Ἀπελλικῶν *Bull. de Corr. Hel.* III 388. Also in Naukratis (Gardner's *Naukr.* I, pl. XXXII 104), Ἀπολλ- names are very frequent. In no case does the god bear the name Ἀπέλλων among Ionic peoples, though it is a form of as great antiquity as that in vogue in Attic-Ionic. It may be noticed that the form Ἀπελ- occurs in Ionic only when the following sound is not ο or ω. See my paper *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XVIII 97, and especially Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 327 ff. Baumaek in the *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 54, in his *Studien*, p. 155, Meister *G. D.* II 90, and Jordan, *Krit. Beitr. zur lat. Forment.* 7-23, may also be consulted.

ὀβελός the Homeric, and hence according to Orion 118₁₉ the Ionic, form. This form occurs on an Attic inscription, C. I. A. IV 3 C, 5, and διωβελία, ὀβελίσκος, &c., are common in Attic. ὀβελός is also Boiotian: ὀοελός Delphic, Tarantine and Megarian. See Meister II 205. Hippokrates VIII 220, 224, 228 ἡμιωβέλιον and ὀβολός in θ.

In ἔξαπέδον Hdt. (II 149) has preserved the older form of the termination; cf. Ψ 164 ἐκατόμπεδον (*Ven. A*), where the *vulgata* has -ποδον. In Attic (Thuk. and Xen.) the stem ποδ- has supplanted its rival πεδ-.

Τερόναον Terone 7 (before 420), cf. *Τορωνάιοι* on Attic tribute-lists in the first volume of C. I. A., and *Τορωνάιος* on an Attic mortuary stele. *Mith.* X 367 ff. *Τορων-* is due to assimilation, cf. § 134, end.

The MSS. of Hdt. have ε for ο in -κότερος, &c. Examples: πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκοντέροισι. In III 41, 124, VI 138, the MSS. vary; but in each case Stein has adopted the -κότερος form. The Ionic form contains the simple form of the root ἐρ- (ἐρέσσω, ἐρέτης), whereas the Attic πεντηκόντορος, τριακόντορος have the ablaut ὄρ-. Both forms, τριακόντορος and τριακόντερος, occur in Attic inser., and in the fourth century only; but the former is the more frequent. The ablaut form in *op* is the one to be expected from the composition of the word, but the ε form often makes its way into the second part of a compound. Cf. § 295 on δημιοεργός.

138.] E in Ionic = I of other dialects.

Names derived from, or connected with, *Διόνυσος* exhibit a greater elasticity of vowel relations in Ionic than elsewhere.

We have above, § 137, met with the *sui generis* *Διένυσος*; besides this form we have *Δεονῶς*, in No. 196, Maroneia, and *Δεονῶος* in 198, Erythrai. The ε vowel we have also in *Δεονύς* upon a coin of Imhoof-Blumer's collection (below § 246), in *Δεύνυσος* Anakreon, 211, 11, (but *Διόνυσος* 54, 55, 131), and in the abbreviated ΔΕΟ on coin legends of Abdera, Bechtel, 1631. Is the ε here due to a confusion with that of *θεο-*, with which *αίω-* is often interchangeable in proper names? See *THESSALIAN*, § 28.

In sharp opposition to this ε are the forms with ι, which are very common. Examples are: *Διόνυσος* Iasos, 10416, Eryth. 206 B 24, and often elsewhere; *Διονύσιος* Smyrna 1533, 33, Thasos (L) 15 C 4, Thasos (L) 19 B4, 20 B 11, Kyzik. 1115, Olbia 13111, 261 (of uncertain locality), Halik. 241; *Διονυσιαίος* Abdera, 163, 15, *Coins of Brit. Mus.*, Thraee 66, nos. 62, 68, 85, and in almost every other Ionic quarter. Ionic also is *Διώνυσος*. On the probable connection with *Ζεὺς* by folk-etymology, see Baunack (*Gortyn*, p. 67, note 1), and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89. Cf. also *Frogs* 215, *Apoll. Argon.* II 905, IV 1132.

139.] E for H.

*μέν*¹ for *μήν* in the formulae *ἦ μέν* Hdt. I 196; *μη̄ μέν* I 68, III 66, V 106; *γε μέν* VI 129, VII 152, 234; *ἀλλὰ-μέν* II 20, 32, IV 77, VII 103; *καὶ-μέν* IV 45, VI 98. Cf. *Gregg. Kor.* 62. Hdt. here adopts a usage common to Homer, and not unknown in Attic. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 365, is an advocate of the view, with which Kirchhoff agrees, that Homer has only *ἦ μέν*, *μη̄ μέν*, not *ἦ μήν*, *μη̄ μήν*. Bekker would recognize only *μάν*, and *μέν* when called for by the metre. Cf. *Monro, Hom. Gram.* § 342 ff. With *μέν* are connected the Thessalian, Homeric and Attic *μά*, as *κέν* is connected with *κά*. Homeric *μάν* and *μήν* are probably not directly related.

ἄπλετος is said by Bredow, p. 143, to be used by Hdt. for *ἄπλητος* = *ἄπλάτος* (*πελάω*). This *ἄπλητος* occurs first in Hesiod, then in the Hymn to Demeter, and also in *Sim. Am.* 734. *ἄπλετος* is, however, to be classed with *πλη*, *πλε* (*πίμπλημι*), and not with any derivative of *πελάω*. Both *ἄπλητος* and *ἄπλάτος* are restricted to poetry, while *ἄπλετος* occurs in poetry and prose. Cf. *Siegmund in Curtius Stud.* V 201. *ἄπλάτων*, *Trach.* 1093 (dialogue) cannot well be Attic.

έσσοῦμαι in Hdt., cf. Attic *ἠττάομαι*, out of which *ἠττα* was formed, *Wackernagel, K. Z.* XXX 299. Hdt. has *έσσοῦντο* I 67; *-μένους* I 82; *έσσωθείς* I 207; *έσσοῦσθαι* III 22, &c. chiefly in

¹ *Ἰακῶς* Hdn. II 14419 on II. V 478.

d. Brugmann conjectures unnecessarily (*Berichte d. sächsl. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, cf. Osthoff *Perfect.* 449) that ἐσσῶμαι is from ἐσσῶν, whose ε represents a mechanical change of η (cf. ἤκα, Attic ἤπτων) to ε, in order to bring the comparative into line with κρέσσων, Ionic for κρέίσσων. But cf. *sēcus* and *sēcicus* for a like ablaut variation. Stein edits ἤσσων (cf. ἤσσων I 98; ἤσσωνες V 86, VIII 113; ἤσσόνων VII 18; ἤσσοσι VIII 83) and is here supported in part by the unanimous voice of the MSS. Elsewhere the MSS. are in a terrible state of confusion. The other prosaists have η, e.g. Demokr., 15, Hippokr. III 190. The superlative has always η. Krüger holds to ἐσσῶν, *Formenlehre*, § 23, 4, 3.

ε is shortened from η in *vées*, *véas* (cf. Greg. Kor. 19).

Θαργελέο[s] for Θαργη- Chios, 174 C 18?

μηδέων Archil. 138, ablaut form of μηδέων; cf. μέζεα Hsd. *W.* D. 512, called Ionic by Greg. Kor. p. 535.

Some of the grammarians of antiquity, chiefly Tzetzes, assumed an Ionic *συστολή* in such words as *εσρόν* in Homer = Messenian and Herakleian *ξηρόν* (Tzet. Ex. II. 61₁₆, 90₁₆), *γραιός* (*ibid.* 90₁₁), where we have in reality ablaut forms.

ἴλεος appears to be the Herodoteian form, IV 94, VI 91. The interrelation of this form, which is also Kretan, with ἴληφος and ἴλλαος is a much-vexed question. ἴλεος represents the mutation ἴλη-, ἴλε-, the forms with *a* an old ablaut form ἴλα̃-. Archilochos, 77, has ἴλαος (-ο̃) according to Bergk, for which Fick proposed without justification to read ἴλεος. Cf. ἴλα̃ος in Theognis 782. ἴλα̃ος is Ionic as well as Attic (which has also ἴλα̃ος). See Pischel, *B. B.* VII 332 and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 351. The Hesychian εἴλησ εἶ· ἴλεως εἶ, has been read εἴλησ εἶ, and explained as an Asiatic-Ionic perfect.

Whether the form of the adjective is ἴλεως or ἴλεος in Ionic, is still a matter of contention, since the ground-form of the word has not been cleared up by the Lakonian **ΒΙΑΦΦΟ** (Roehl 75 = Rob. I No. 261). It is even a matter of dispute what is the genuine Homeric form. Nauck has called for ἴληος and ἴλεος in place of ἴλα̃ος and ἴλα̃ος. Stein's claim that ἴλεος is the Herodoteian form is supported by the arguments of Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII, p. 264.

140. | Ionic E = \hat{A} of non-Ionic dialects (Aeolic, Doric, &c.).

(1) In this category falls first Ionic -εων = -ᾶων < -ᾶφων or -ᾶων.

ὀπᾶων Hom. = ὀπέων Hdt. IX 50.

Ποσειδάφων Korinth., Ποσειδάων Hom. (Diol.) = Ποσειδέων in Hdt.¹ Ποσειδῶν Arch. ep. 114, for which we may read Ποσειδέων.

Ποσειδάων in the Ionic elegy is due to the pressure exercised upon the elegy by the epic. Cf. Theog. 692. In Archil. 10 Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος, as given

¹ Ionic Ποσειδέων Hdn. I 38₂₆, II 91₁₂, cf. An. Ox. III 241₁₆.

by Bergk, is not supported by MS. evidence, though corresponding to Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα Iliad XV 8. The objection that if Archil. may adopt -οιο from Homer, he has an equal right to -ᾶωνος is not cogent, since -οιο is an ancient Ionic termination and not obsolete in old Ionic poetry, while -ᾶων cannot be shown to be the property of any historical period of the Ionic dialect. Fick's substitution, Ποσειδῆωνος, is based upon Ποσειδηίων Anacr. 6, Ποσειδῆων Archil. 114, νηός 4, παῖθονα 76 tetr. (on the peculiar position of παῖθων in Homer, see Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 17), and ἀλλήων, Naxos, 23, where ἦων seems to be an intermediate stage between -ᾶων and -ᾶν.

Ἄμυθᾶων Hom. = Ἄμυθέων Hdt. Ἄλκμῶων, Ἄλκμῶων Hom. = Hdt. and Attic Ἄλκμῶων = Doric Ἄλκμᾶων from Ἄλκμᾶφων. (Cf. Fritsch, *V. II. D.* 39, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183, below § 141, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 238.) With Φιλέων in Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73, cf. Φιλᾶων in Hdt. VIII 11, which is, however, the name of a Kyprian. Μαχέων Thas. (Louvre) 10₁₁ = Hom. Μαχᾶων, a form retained by Hrd. 49.

(2) Ionic genitives in -εων = ā(σι)ε, Ἄτρειδέεω, &c., see § 425 ff. When *metathesis quantitatis* is involved, as in the genitive, an ε is always the result.

(3) Genitive pl. in -εων = -ᾶων (Boiot., Thessal. (-αων), Hom.). Homer's gen. in -εων (H 1, φ 191) and -εων, -ᾶων are Ionic. Menrad, *De Contract. et Syniz.* p. 41, calls for the restoration of -εων and -εω wherever possible in the text of Homer, despite the fact that -εων is always diphthongal in the Ionic lyric.

(4) λεώς = λαός (cf. § 160), and in proper names: Hdt., Ἄρκεσίλειος, Χαρίλειος, Μενέλειος (Μενέλαος Hdt. IV 169, of a λιμήν), and Ἄναξίλειος, as in Miletos 93, not long after 600 B. C. So in λεωφόρον Anakreon, 157, Chios, 175 (cf. λαοφόρος, of a road, H. XV 682), Λεωκράτης, Λεωμέδων (Hrd. 47), and many other forms on inscriptions. The MSS. of Hdt. are not consistent (cf. II 124, V 42). Even in the case of Doric names he occasionally uses the Ionic forms; e.g. Λεωπρέπης VI 85, but Λαοδόμας, Λαοδίκη, &c. (§ 158). The latter form is a contamination of Doric Λαοδίκα and Ionic Λεωδίκη. Examples of η thus conjoined with Doric ā are rare. Variation in proper names must be expected even upon inscriptions: thus we have, Chios, 177, Λεωσέβε[ο]ς I. 3, but -τόλαος I. 14. Hekat. had λεώς according to An. Ox. I 265₁₀, cf. Zeleia 114 C 6.

With these compounds of λεώς, and Ἄμφιάρεω¹ in Hdt., cf.

¹ Cf. Greg. Korinth., p. 42. Ἄμφιάρων Oropos, 182, a non-Ionic form. Ἄμφιάρηος ο 244 (Zen., ᾶρ- Aristar.), and Ἄμφιάρεω upon vases led Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXIX 415) to call Ἄμφιάρεω New Ionic. The same scholar, in common with Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 265, regards Ἄμφιάρεω, which is frequent upon Attic vases, as due to a folk-etymology which saw ἄρασμα in the verbal part. Pan-Hellenic ηο generally, but not necessarily, becomes εο in later Ionic (§ 287; 288). Ἄμφιάρεω in v. l. Hdt. VIII 134.

the Homeric Ἀγέλεως, Βριάμεως, &c. On the declension of λεώς, see § 477.

(5) Furthermore, in Ionic ἔως, τέως¹ (ἠῶϊο-σ, τᾶϊο-σ), μετέωρος, γεωπελάϊα, &c., § 280, cf. ἄμεως (from ὀμπῶϊος?, see § 141) = Attic ὀμῶρος, and in verbal forms, χρώμαι, ἐξαναστῶμεν, ἐπιβῶμεν, μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, τεθνεός I 112, &c.

On θηέμαι = Attic θεᾶμαι, see § 685.

In almost every instance when primitive *ā* preceded a spirant and a vowel, Ionic attests the presence of *ε* in place of *ā*. The instances where this is not the case deserve to be brought out into clear light. λῆός, in Hipponax, has already been referred to. In Hdt. we do not find νεώς, as might be expected from the analogy of λεώς < λῆός, but νηός, the epic form = Aiolic ναῦος². Herodotos' preservation of νηός is artificial and not in consonance with the genius of the Ionic dialect, which would call for νεώς; a form which in fact appears in composition: νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222. νεω- is the Hellenistic form, and as such is also not foreign to Aiolic monuments; but it may be safely claimed as genuine Ionic, even though the Samian inscription is not old.

141.] Ionic E = AI of other dialects.

Ionic γέη, γῆ and epic γαῖα may be regarded as forms phonetically interdependent, though the parallelism of Ἀθηναία, adduced by Bechtel (*Ionische Inschr.* No. 62), is faulty, since there is no *Ἀθηνέη. We have here to do with strong and weak case forms, as is shown on γῆ, under *Declension*.

A further example adduced as cogent is ἀγεόμενοι Hdt. VIII 69, though in Homer, *v* 16, Hesiod, *W. D.* 333, and Archilochos, 25, the original *αι* cannot be impeached; nor does an *ἀγέομαι for ἀγαίομαι win our sympathies when ἀγάσσεισθαι, &c., are compared. Fritsch (*F. H. D.* p. 39) is inclined to the view that ἀγεόμενοι can have originated only in a period when *αι* was written *ε* (150 A. D. according to Meisterhans, p. 27). Cf. παρακέεται II 130 (*C. P. d.*) for παρακαλεται. If recourse to this means of accounting for the form ἀγε- be deemed too bold, we may be compelled to dissociate ἀγεομαι from ἀγαίομαι, and to class the former with such verbs as ἀρομαι. Cf. Hesychios, ἀγῆ παρ' Ἡροδότῳ βασκανία. We must withdraw beyond the realm of probability any suggestion that ἀγαίομαι was the ground form which, through *ι* passing into the glide and by an Ionic weakening of *a* to *ε*, became ἀγεομαι. Curtius, *Verbum*, I 176, does not mention ἀγεομαι.

¹ Bredow, p. 50. τέως was adopted by Attic prose and poetry.

² νηός is derived from a stem *vāf-*, ναῦος from a stem *vāf-*, both stems combining to form the declension. Cf. the intermixture of strong and weak stems in the case of ναῦς, νηῦς, 'ship.' The stem *vāf-* arose from the locative **vāfēi*.

'Αλκμέων Hdt., Samos in Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 401, δίμνεως, Hdt., are not to be derived directly from the αι of 'Αλκμαίων or of μναίαιος (Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 267), but from the *ā* of 'Αλκμάων or of *μναῖα (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 416; Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183 and § 421). 'Αλκμαίων contains a suffix different from that in 'Αλκμαίων. In Alkm. 71 the *a* is probably short.

On κύπερος = κύπαιρος, see § 142.

142.] Ionic E=EI of other dialects.

On antevocalic ε from ει, see § 219.

μέζων in Herakl. and Hdt. < μεζων, a more original form than μείζων¹. μείζων is the poetical form (Theog. 338, 517, with no case of μέζων), though μέζων appears upon a metrical inscription from Attika, *B. C. H.* VIII 470². In Anaxag. 6, 16, Simplicius has μείζων, which Mullach has changed to μέζων. So too in all cases where μείζων appears in Ionic writers quoted by Stobaios, e.g. Demokr. 15. The form with ει has not been cleared up despite the efforts of Brugmann (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, *Grundriss*, I § 639) and of Osthoff (*Jenae Litteraturzeit.* 1878, Art. 476, *Zur Gesch. des Perf.* 449) to refer it to the analogy of χείρων, ἀμείνων. Brugmann adopts the same explanation for κρείσσων = κρέσσων. Cf. also *K. Z.* XXIX 140. The analogy of πλείων, μέλιω is more obvious, and is less open to objection. μέζων has been imitated by Lukian, *Syr.* 12, 19, 22 (despite μείζων 10 in all MSS., as in *V. A.* 6) and in the *Astr.* 5, 6. In Arrian μεζ- is well attested, but it is absent from the text of Euseb. Mynd. Eusebios 3 has μέζων. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Ionic form in a large majority of instances. Herodas has μέζων 12 times, μείζων once (336).

κρέσσων³, formed from the strong base κρετ-, which does not elsewhere appear in Ionic, though well attested in the case of Arkado-Kyprian, and perhaps not foreign to Aiolie. κρέσσων occurs in Hdt., Demokr. *Mor.* 94, 191, 193, 218, Hipponax 79, Anan. 3₂, Phokyl. 5₂, though in these poets the reading κρέσσων is disputed by some MSS. Theognis, 218, 618, 631 (*Ο κρείσσων*), 996, has κρέσσων; which is sufficient authority to justify Renner's displacement of κρείσσων, 1074, 1173. The Herakleiteian form is doubtful (47, 109). I hold fast to my assertion (*Diphthong EI*, p. 58) despite the objections urged against it, *A. J. P.* VIII 98, that it is impossible for *god* with *tau* to have become *σ*, and at the same time to have changed ε to ει in the preceding syllable. Hippokrates and Aretaios have κρέσσων, a form which recurs in

¹ Greg. Kor. 54; in An. Ox. II 392₁₈ μέζων is called Aiolie.

² μέζων appears upon a Tegeatic inscription, *B. C. H.* XIII 281. It is also found in Epicharmos 32, Pindar and Theokritos.

³ Greg. Kor. 54. κρέσσων occurs also in Pindar and Theokritos.

Euseb. Mynd. 10, 92, though the MSS. of the Neo-Platonist have *μείζων*. In the letters of Hippokrates the Ionic form has been carefully imitated (17²², 37, 27⁵⁴). In Protagoras we read *κρείσσω*. *κρείσσον* occurs upon an Attic epigram of the fifth century A. D. in Kaibel 170, and upon one from Thebes of the third century B. C. (K. 498).

εἰς, *ἐς* < *ἐνς*, see under *Prepositions*. The usual Ionic form appears to be *ἐς*, though *εἰς* is not unknown. *εἰς* in Ionic contains a spurious, in Aiolie a genuine, diphthong.

κύπερος, an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming, Hdt. IV 71, Hesych. s. v. *κύπερα*. Whether this is connected with the marsh plant. *κύπειρον* II. XXI 351 (Hesych. s. v. λ.) is doubtful. Eustath. 1239¹¹ mentions also *κύπαιρον*, which is Doric (969⁷, 1648⁷), cf. *αἴγερως*, *αἴγειρος* Hdn. II 411³¹. The forms with *ει* are from *-εργ-*, those in *-ερ-* are devoid of the suffix *-ιο-*.

δέκνυμι (*ἀποδεκνύντες* Chios, 174 B 14, also upon a document from Kos in Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscrip. in the Brit. Mus.* No. 260 (third cent.); *δέξαι*, *δέξασθαι*, *δεχθῆναι*, *δεδέχθαι*, *ἀπόδεξις*¹, in Hdt.; Hippokrates has *ἀπόδεξις*, and Hdt. himself often has the *ει* in verbal forms, e. g. II 30, IV 79, VI 61, IX 82, which editors remove. In Herodas we find no trace of the form *δεκ-*. *δέδεκται* is read by Gomperz in pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης* § 10; *ἀποδέξις* Euseb. Mynd. 25, but *ἀναδειξάμενοι* 31. *δέκνυμι* is to be separated from *δείκνυμι* and compared with *docco*². The poets offer no example of *δέκνυμι* (*δείξει* Solon, 10, *ἔδειξε* Theog. 500), nor does Herakl. (cf. 44), or Arrian. G. Meyer's suggestion (*Gramm.* § 115, note) that *δειδέχεται* is connected with *docco* and *δέξαι*, &c., is scarcely to be accepted. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, No. 1, p. 31.

εργω = *εἶργω* (the distinction between *εἶργω* and *εἶργω* is late and fanciful). Hdt. uses *εργω* (*ἀπεργμένον*, *ἀπερξαι*, *κατέργοιτες*, &c., Bredow, p. 153), and not *εἶργω*³ or *έεργω*. *έξειργον* V 22, is due apparently to the variable augment of *εργω*, and need not therefore be classed with *κατειργῶσι* IV 69, *ἀπείργουσα* IX 68, where the MSS. agree in demanding a form stamped as un-Herodoteian by all other passages. Since in Homer both *εἶργω* and *έεργω*⁴ are well established, a change of *τῆλέ* *με* *εἶργουσι*

¹ *δέξω* &c. Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 36, Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Par. 680, Vat. 698, An. Ox. II 176¹² (Choirob.), II 195¹⁰ (Choirob.), cf. An. Par. III 57¹⁷, An. Bachm. II 369². *δελός* = *δειλός* is a fictitious form, Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.

² So far as I am aware no scholar has accepted the conclusions of Möller in regard to *δείκνυμι*. K. Z. XXIV 462.

³ Anan. 3, has *καθειρξαι*, a doubtful form. Theognis, 686, 710, 1180, has *εἶργω*, which I would not change with Renner.

⁴ *Ἰωνικῶς*, An. Ox. IV 186¹⁰, Choirob. 561²⁹.

το τῆλέ μ' ἐέργουσι is not advisable. No prose document contains ἐέργω. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235.

143.] *Varia.*

The *ε* in ἐξαιθραπέουτος Mylasa, 248₂, is a prefix to help out ξ as representative of the Old Persian χš. Wiese, *B. B.* V 90, suggests that ἐξ- is due to a popular etymology which connected the word with the preposition. Cf. ἐξσατραπέουτος C. I. G. 2919, Tralles; ἐξσατράπης Theopompos, Lobeck, *Ell.* I 144. A parallel example from Attic is Ἐξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. III 1119, for Ξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. I 243. Cf. Benfey, *Kl. Schr.* IV 26 ff.

γέρινος is said to be an Ionic form of γυρίνος, Eust. 1864₆.

The vowel I (short ι).

144.] *Ionic I = E.*

1. E + σ + consonant + *ι* becomes *ι*¹ in ἰστῖη in the Ionic of Homer and of Hdt., as in other dialects. Cf. *Φιστίαν* Arkad., Ἰοστιαίε[ι]ος Thessal., Ἰοστιαίδης Boiot. and Doric (Lokrian, Kretan, Syrakusan, Herakleian), Aiolic and Attic alone having preserved the *ε* vowel here. In Kretan we find also the *ε* form (Cauer, 116₁₁), and ἀνέστιος occurs in Hom. IX 63. In Hdt. we find ἰστῖαι I 176, Ἰστῖης II 50, ἰστιητορίου IV 35, ἐπίστιος I 35, ἰστιῆσθαι V 20 (cf. the *v. l.*), ἰστῖη VI 86 (δ) for the ἐστῖη of all MSS., Ἰστιαίη, Ἰστιαίος, Ἰστιαιώτης (§ 194), &c. Greg. Korinth. p. 500, quotes ἐπίστιος. The editors of Hdt. have now removed all cases of εστ- from the text, even Ἰστιαιεύς having been substituted for Ἔστ-, though attested by Plutarch. Cf. the variation between Homeric Ἰστῖαιαν Hdn. I 272₁₃, II 512₁₅, and Apollodoros' Ἔστιαίαν (III 7, 3). Hrd. has ἐστῖη 4₁₀, 7₁₂₀.

In *συνεστίη* VI 128, the MSS. have -εστ-. For various conjectures, see Stein, *ad loc.* Bechtel *Thas.* (L), 18 B 10, writes [E]στιαίου. Hesychios has ἐστιᾶχος . . . Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωσιν.

Hekataios' ἔσθι = Attic ἴσθι (Hdn. II 355₅), so far from being an original formation whose *ε* had not yet become *ι*, is a new coinage due to the analogy of forms with *ε*-. I. E. *z-dhi, imperat. of $\sqrt{\epsilon s}$, became ἴ-σθι in the proto-Hellenic period.

ε before σ + cons., when the latter is not followed by *ι*, does not become *ι*; e.g. εὐεσταῖ Hdt. I 85, ἀπεστοῖ IX 85.

2. Μυδαίων on late coins of Mende for older Μειδαίων, Kirchhoff, *Alph.*⁴ 119.

3. The corruption of antevocalic *ε* to *ι*, so frequent in Thessalian,

¹ Cf. Collitz, *A. J. P.* VIII 216, who suggests that the change is late. It is certainly confined to certain dialects. On ἰστῖη see Eust. 280₁₇, 1561₆₀, 1562₃₃, 1579₄₇, Et. M. 382₄₁, Ἰστῖαια Eust. 280₁₅.

Boiotian, Doric, Kyprian, &c., is rare in Ionic, if indeed it can be shown to exist at all. Καλλιμένιος 36 (Amorgos) is doubtless a mere slip on the part of the engraver. *μαυσκάρχην* is a late spelling in Tanaïs, Latyshev II 447⁸⁵, 448⁸; cf. 451⁹, 454⁷, 455⁸. The nearest approach to *ι* is the pronunciation of *ε* as a semivowel in the synizesis *εο*. This semivocalic *ε* may disappear in contract verbs, as in Arkad. *έλλαν*]οδικόντου 1257¹¹. Cf. *ρευοσσευμένα* Hdt. I 159. Before *ο*, *ε* not unfrequently disappears in prose: *Θόκλος* Styra, 19²⁰⁶, *Θοδίων* 19³⁷⁸, *Κλόδεινος* 19³⁷⁹. *Έποκλε*[ης] 19¹⁵. Cf. Megarian *Θοκλειάα*, *Θοκλής* *Mittl.* VIII 180, 190. Fritsch's paper in *Curtius Stud.* VI (cf. pp. 125-132), is at present scarcely trustworthy as regards Ionic. A reverse process has given us *Θε-* in Boiot. *Θέσζοτος* and *Θέδωρος*, perhaps from *Θεύδωρος*.

4. *έρνυμα*, Hippokr. from *έρείκω*; *έρεγμα* Theophr.

A nominative *ίρης* = *έρης* (Thessal.) is assumed by Baunaek, *K. Z.* XXVII 565; and for *ίρένες*, *ίρέες* is substituted by the same scholar in Hdt. IX 85.

145.] Ionic *ι* = EI.

See under *ι*, § 197, for supposed cases of itacism in Ionic.

ίκελος varies with *είκελος* in the MSS. of Hdt. as in those of Homer. I have shown in *A. J. P.* VI, p. 439, that the *ι* of the form *ίκελος* is not descended from the *ει* of *είκελος* by the merging of *ε* + *ι* into *ι*, and by the weakening of this *ι* to *ι*. *ίκελος* is = **ιέλικελός*, and is morphologically the older form, *εικ-* having lost its *ε* upon the accent originally shifting to the final syllable in *ίκελος*. Adjectives in *-λος* are usually oxytone. With this interrelation of *εικ-* and *ικ-*, cf. *άφενος*, *γήρας* (strong forms) and *άφ(ε)ρειός*, *γεραιός* (weak forms). *είκελος* owes its *ει* to the influence of *-εικής*, *είκόν*, &c. Stein reads *είκελος* III 81, *είκελα* VIII 9, *προσεικέλα* III 110, *προσεικέλους* IV 61, *προσεικέλος* IV 177. Dem. *Mor.* 21 has *ικέλη*. The *Et. Mag.* 297²³, states that *είκελος* is the correct form, though *ίκελος* often occurs; and that in composition only the form with *ι* is admissible. This testimony is of course not authoritative for the fifth century. In Homer *ίκελος* occurs 17 times, while *είκελος* has the *v. l.* *ίκελος* (itacistic) 16 times. Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Uranios prefer the *ι* form, which is doubtless to be adopted in the *Dea Syria*, 25, 33, 40 (cf. *Astr.* 10, 20), though from the MSS. of Lukian we cannot learn which form the satirist used.

The existence of parallel forms in *ει* and *ι* in the name of Poseidon, and in names derived therefrom, does not substantiate the presence of itacism in this word. Hdt. VII 115 has *Ποσειδίου*, III 91 *Ποσειδίου* with *Ποσειδίου* as *v. l.* The Ionic name of the god in Hdt. is *Ποσειδέων* (12 times)¹. Cf. also

¹ Hdn. II 91¹³.

Ποσειδωνήτης I 167, and Ποσειδώνιος IX 71, 85. On the Archilocheian Ποσειδάων, see above, under E, § 140. Archilochos has Ποσειδῶν, or perhaps Ποσειδέων ep. 114.

As regards the inscriptions, which speak with greatest authority in cases similar to this, their testimony is as follows:—

With ει.	With ι.
Ποσειδεωρίο(ν) Pantikarp., Laty- sch. II 291, 139 ¹ .	Ποσιδέιος 234 B 34, Perinthos.
Ποσειδώνιος Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 277.	Ποσιδέιον <i>Jahrb. für Phil.</i> , Suppl. Vol. V, 487, No. 47, and Vol. X, 29, No. 21.
Ποσειδωνίο[ν] 153 ₃₇ , Smyrna.	Ποσιδέιον 153 ₃₂ , Smyrna.
Ποσειδώνιος 131 ₁₆ , 17, 18, Olbia.	„ 177 ₁₇ , Chios.
Ποσειδώνιος 240 ₂₈ , 47, Halik.	Ποσιδήϊου 196 ₅ , Maroneia. Cf. the form in Hdt.
Ποσειδέιος Thasos (Louvre), 10 ₁₀ .	Ποσιδηϊών C. I. A. I 283 ₁₇ (Ionic?).
Ποσειδέϊον Maroneia, Head. II. N. 216.	Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 279 A.
Ποσειδῶνος 206 B 31, Eryth.	Ποσιδεῶνος 206 A 46, Erythrai.
Ποσειδίππου Thasos (Louvre), 211, Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216.	

The Attic month Ποσιδέων appears in Anakreon 6 as Ποσιδηϊών. On Ποσιδέης (Ποσιδήης), the basis of Ποσιδήϊος, &c., see Hdn. II 917₆.

As regards the age of the inscriptions, the only inscription with ι, dating certainly before 400, is that from Maroneia, 196₅, the others with ι being later; while those with ει are not older than the bulk of those with ι. Chronological considerations do not therefore make in favour of the origin of the forms with ι from those with ει. Despite the obscurity which attends this word (cf. Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 331), it is evident that the variation between ει and ι, which is confined to no single dialect, must depend upon stem-gradation. On this view the ει and ι stand in no immediate relation to each other.

The ι of Πισίστρατος Samos, 225, though of uncertain quantity, does not necessitate the assumption of itacism, when compared with Πεισωναί(ρον) Teos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 369. Cf. Περίθεος in Delphic, Πισίας, Πισιδῶρα, &c.

To the forms terminating in -ειη from -εσ stems, quoted below, § 215, there exist in the MSS. of Herodotos sporadic variants in -ιη, none of which deserves recognition as a genuine Ionism; and much less may they be adduced in evidence for the reduction of ει to ι. There is, however, a small list of forms with no trace of -ειη, where Hdt. has -ιη, Attic -ιᾱ. These are derived from κράτος, -ωδης, and τύχη: δημοκρατίη, ἰσοκρατίη: εὐδοίη: εὐτυχίη, συντυχίη: and λιπαρίη.

Comparable with these forms is -ιᾱ in Attic substantives from

sigmatic stems. This $-i\bar{a}$, like the Ionic termination $-i\eta$, represents a transference of the $-i\eta$ ($-i\bar{a}$), which is in place in O stems, to the $-e\sigma-$ declension. Forms in $-i\bar{a}$ are claimed as the property of the $\rho\epsilon\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ $\Upsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ by a scholiast on *Elektra*, 996, quoted by Bredow, p. 189, but without foundation. Where the Attic poets have $-i\bar{a}$ (*αἰκία*, &c.), this termination should be classed with the Homeric and Hesiodic $-i\eta$ (11 occurrences in *thesi*, 3 in *arsi*), the explanation of which is still involved in obscurity, despite recent attempts to clear up the nature of the \bar{i} . Cf. Jebb on Sophokles' *Elektra*, 486 (small edition), Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 435, Danielsson, *Gramm. Anm.* I 42, Johansson, *K. Z.* XXX 401, *B. B.* XV 176, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II 1, p. 313. Most of the epic words in question are so formed that $-i\eta$ would not permit their insertion into the verse. Whether Ionic $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta =$ Attic $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ has \bar{i} is very doubtful.

146.] *Varia.*

1. *Iota* and *alpha* are not phonetically related; hence $\Sigma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\pi\eta$ and $\Sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$ (Schol. Ap. Rh. II 946) are not connected.

2. $\chi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ Samos, 220₃₀, *Teos*, *Mith.* XVI 292₁₃, 16, by syncope from $\chi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\nu\omicron$, cf. Euboeian $\Upsilon\pi\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\delta\eta\varsigma$ (Styra, 193₇₃, cf. 192₂₀) and Boiotian names in $-\omega\rho\delta\alpha\varsigma$; Angermann in Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 20.

The Fowel O.

147.] *Ionic O = A of other dialects.*

1. On $a = o$ in forms in $\Upsilon\pi\rho\omicron-$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, &c., see above § 131; on $\acute{\zeta}\acute{\omega}\omega$, § 200. Prosthetic o in $\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ Arch. 97, according to Et. M. 167₂₅, and Photios. Hesychios has $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\gamma-$.

2. Examples of op , $po = ap$, pa , are very rare: $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$ 117 Pantikapaion, and Ephesos (Wood's *Discoveries*, App. 2, No. 2). $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ is further supported by the Hesychian gloss (*s. v.*) and by Hdn. II 384₁₃ = Et. Mag. 214₄₄, where the form is quoted from Xenophanes¹ and Aristophanes. Hippokrates used $\beta\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ for $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$, according to Galen. The dialects of Lesbos, Boiotia, and Thessaly are generally held to evince a strong predilection in favour of the weak op , po , though Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I § 292) makes mention only of Lesbian and Boiotian forms. I have, however, shown *A. P. A.* XVIII 104, 159, that it is inadvisable, if not futile, to attempt to set up such a restriction. $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ was the name of a Gortynian worthy of an epigram by the great Simonides (127), though the substitution of po for pa is not

¹ $\beta\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu$ τὸν $\beta\acute{\omicron}\tau\rho\alpha\chi\omicron\nu$ Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει. For this differentiation between Ionians and Xenophanes, cf. above, p. 31, note. Bergk⁴ does not register the word.

elsewhere attested as a peculiarity of Kretan speech. But at best βρόταχος can have been but partially adopted by Ionic¹. According to the express testimony of the scholiast on *Iliad*, Δ 243, Eustath. II. 468₃₂, and Greg. Korinthios, p. 414 (cf. An. Par. III 57₁₁), the Herodoteian form was βάρτακος, a form not adopted by Stein (IV 131, 132). Cf. Roseher in Curtius' *Studien*, IV 189, whose etymological combinations are somewhat out of date, German *kröte* being the phonetic equivalent. Hesychios reports also βύρθακος, βόρταχος, βράταχος, βρύτιχος.

βρόγχος is Hippokratic; cf. Et. M. 215₂₉ (211₁₉): ἡ μὲν συνήθεια βρόγχον καλεῖ, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι βράγχον. Cf. Hdn. II 284₅, 483₂₉, § 127.

πορδακός Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archilochos 140 has, however, παρδακός. Sim. Am. 14 has πάρδαλις, not the ο form which was once thought to be Ionic. πórδαλις in Ven. A, N 103 (cf. Spitzner), P 20, Φ 573 though Aristarchos read παρδ-. Some of the ancient grammarians attempted to set up a distinction between an Ionic πórδαλις and Attic πάρδαλις (Et. M. 652₂₉, Phot. 383, Apoll. Lex. 133₃₄, Eust. 787₃₀, 890₁₀, 922₃₃, &c.). πórδαλις is Aiolic. This form occurs Arist. *Lysistrata*, 1015 Rav. and frag. 478 K.

The form Καλλίστροτο[s] has been adduced from one of the Styrian lead tablets as proof of the influence of Boiotian vocalism upon the dialect of Styra. In Bechtel, No. 19₂₁₀, we read -στρατ clearly enough, Vischer's -στρο being incorrect. All other examples of the supposed interdependence of Boiotian and Styrian have in like manner been deprived of their validity upon more careful examination of the evidence, cf. § 157. In Styra we have Στράτων 19₄₁₆.

In εἰφέθορα Ηιήρ. VIII 246 (cf. II. XV 128). εἰφέθορα Galen, ορ is the ablaut of ερ, as in Ark. εἰφθορκός C. D. I. 1222₁₀₋₁₁.

3. Ηιήροκρ. VII 356, VIII 156 has μολόχης in θ, *vulg.* μαλόχης as θ in VIII 380. μολόχης in Antiphanes (158 K), μολόχα Epicharmos (104); μολόχη in a late Kretan inscription, *Mus. II.* III 723.

4. The inscriptions offer several instances of a preference for the ο sound:—

*Οστακος Delos, 55 I₇ and B. C. II. VII 11, l. 57, has been identified by Bechtel with ἄστακος, *lobster*. The form ὄστακος comes to light in Aristomenes, Γοητ. 2, and is quoted by Hesychios. It occurs also in Athenaios. Cf. Sturz, *De dialecto Mac. et Alexandr.* p. 70, who held that ὄστακος was Alexandrian.

With Κο]μοσαρή Phanagoreia, 167, cf. Καμασαρή, a queen of Bithynia, C. I. G. 2855. See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 1041.

¹ Modern Greek βροθάκα (Pontos), βορθακός (Crete) are not necessarily survivals of the ancient forms.

Ἐρμόδοσσα Chios, 174 A₂, 4, a locality in Chios, suggests a comparison with Ἐρμόδοσσα, name of a woman and also of several cities.

5. On Ionic (Attic) -κόσιοι = Doric and Boiot. -κάτιοι, Arkadian -κάσιοι, see under Numerals, and cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* V 7 ff.

148.]

A variation between *ā* and *o* exists in the case of χαμᾶθεν Hdt. II 125, where *dz* have χαμᾶθεν, a form attacked by Cobet (*Var. Lect.* 89) and expelled by him from Kratinos, Xen. (*Hellen.* VII 2, 7), and Aristotle.

149.] O in Ionic = E.

Κυανοψιών, name of the month in Samos, Kyzikos (Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489), also Attic (*Berichte der Berl. Akad.* 1859, p. 739). Cf. Πυραεψιών in inscriptions after Christ. See Schmidt's *Chronologie*, p. 458, Brugmann's *Gr. Gr.* p. 32 note.

The old ablaut of *Fεργ* (*Forγ*) occurs in Ἀθηνάης Ὀργάνης Delos, 54. Cf. Hesychios, s. v. Ὀργάνη: ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἦν καὶ Ἐργάνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων λέγουσιν. The same form of the name has come to light in Athens, *Bull. dell. instit. di Corr. Arch.* 1874, 107. Cf. ὄργανον and later ἔργαον with its *ε* from ἔργον. See § 295.

On ὄβολ-, see § 137.

150.] O in Ionic = OΥ.

The Samian inscription, No. 220, has the new forms ἀλοργούς l. 23, ἀλοργούν 22, 30, ἀλοργήν 15, 16, ἀλοργά 36, ἀλοργάς 28, and παραλοργές 21; with which compare the Attic ἀλουργής and παναλουργέα Xenophanes 33. ἀλοργός is from ἄλο(ε)ργός, Bechtel, *ad loc.* Cf. §§ 295, 314.

151.] O in Ionic = OI.

From δεσπόνησι in Kyzikos, I. G. A. 501, Rob. I 148, = δεσποίναις according to the commentators, we might conclude that Ionic *o* was here = Attic *oi*. No such interrelation of *o* and *oi* is known. It is possible that the *o* is due to that of δεσπότης, but Osthoff's attempt to connect -ποινα and πότνια (*potnija, *-ποτνια, *-ποννια, *-ποινα, -ποινα), does not provide us with the fitting key to explain the appearance of *o* in a δεσπόνη. On the dative termination, see § 450, 3.

On anaptyctic *i* in Τροιζήνιος, see under OI, § 228.

152.] Varia.

The assumption of hyphaeresis of *o* in Hdt. βοηθός is rendered easier if we recall the Homeric ὄγδρον § 287. With βοηθός cf. δορυξός, Πετριθός, &c. No dialectal dividing line can here be established. See G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 152.

On the change of *o* to *v* in Euboian Ionic, see under Υ. On the substitution of *o* for the *v* of *av*, *ev*, see under these diphthongs.

The Vowel Υ (ÿ).

153.]

The weak ablaut form of *ρευ, ρου* appears in *ῥύσκειται* Archil. 142.

154.] Ionic Υ=O.

The change of O to Υ is attested to a limited extent in Ionic:—
Upon a Kymaian inscription (Bechtel, 3 A = Roberts, I 177 A) we find ΗΥΨΥ (*ÿπÿ*) twice; from which it is clear that of the Ionians, the Chalkidians¹ at least had not adopted the later ÿ. Other instances from Euboian Ionic of a similar retention of the I. E. phonetic value of *v* as *oo* do not stand on so sure a footing. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* p. 228, claims that the modern names *Kyrra* and *Stura* are living witnesses to a pronunciation which held its ground throughout the Ionic period of the epos, and in fact to the dawn of Attic supremacy in Greece proper; while in Asia Minor *v* had become *ÿ* before the year 500². The Styrian *Μέτυκος* 1970, may stand for *Μέτοικος*; but it is at best a doubtful form which has been illegitimately used to show the connection between Boiotian and Euboian Ionic³. Cf. §§ 147, 2, 157. No interrelation of *o* and *v* need be assumed on the score of *Κεφαλότης* Styra, 19217, 218 (*Κέφαλος* 19213:217), or of *Φιλύτης* 19333, since names in *-ύτη*, &c., are primitive. Cf. *Φιλύτα* Kyrene, C. I. G. 5143, *Φιλυτῶ* Delos, C. I. G. 2310. **Ολομπος*, occurring on a vase, C. I. G. 8412, perhaps of Chalkidian workmanship, is of doubtful validity, as the inscription is not free from errors.

As regards the Ionic of the mainland, we have but slender support for the assumption that the old pronunciation of *v* was retained. *ῥυφείν* in Hipponax⁴, 132, cf. *ῥυφήματος* (*θ*), Hipprokr. VI 198⁵, *ὑπέατι* Hdt. IV 70, *ὄλορθος* Hdt. I 193 (*A B C* and Athen. XIV 651 C), *ὀλόρθων* Hipprokr. VIII 116 (*θ C*), VII 366, VIII 192, *ὀλόρθους* (*θ*), *ὄλορθοι* VIII 200 (*θ*), are the only examples from literature of the change of *o* to *v*⁶. In Phokaia *v* was pronounced as *oo*, if we may judge from *ῥελητῶν* 172, about

¹ *Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ, Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως* Thuk. VI 4.

² Kirchhoff is inclined to believe that the Ionians adopted the ÿ pronunciation upon the reception of their alphabet by the other Greeks.

³ Kyprian *Στασιτικός* Meister (*G. D.* II, p. 191) is not above suspicion. Hdn. II 368²¹ = Choir. 832²⁵: **Ἴωνες τὸ τετυφύῖα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λέγουσι διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς υἱ*. Lobeck, *El.* II 25, note 5, endeavours to parallel this remarkable statement with Theognos. 103¹¹ *τρίττοια ἢ θυσία = τριττία*.

⁴ Eust. 1430²⁹ states that *ῥυφείν* is Doric and Ionic *κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς*, and, to judge from what precedes, also Iolic.

⁵ Cf. *v. l.* VII 20, 26.

⁶ Hipponax has also *κροκίδειλος* (Eust. 855³²) or *κροκίδειλος* (Et. Gud. 318¹⁷). *μυθῆται* or better *μυθῆται*, in Anakr. 16, is connected by *L. S.* with *μόθος* and classed as one of the Aioliisms of the Teian bard.

350 B. C. Hycle = Velia, the Osean name being spelled with V, which the colonists reproduced by their Υ (Hdt. I 167).

Other forms from Hippokr. are *ὀξόβαφον* VIII 184 (*θ*), and so VII 366, 368, 372, and perhaps *Στυμάργεω* V 84 (cf. *στύμα* Theokr. XXIX 25).

That *o* became *v* in *αἰσιν[μ]ρήτηι* Teos. 156 B 4, is not proven. Cf. Megarian *αἰσιμνάτα[s]* C. D. I. 3016. Cases of *ι* arising from an *v*, which is itself from *o*, are rare.

There is no change of *o* to *v* in *ἄνυμα*, found in *Κλεώνυμος* Smyrna, 153₃₀, *Ἐκατόνυμος* Eryth. 206 A 15, Chios, Pasp. 2, *Κλειπώνυμος* Thasos (L.), 8₃, *Πυθώνυμος* Thas. (L.), 10 B 12. *v* occurs in this word in Pindar, Aiolic, Boiot., Thessal., Phokian, Delphic, Aitolian, Megarian, Korinthian, Rhodian, in Aigina and Selinus, and is pan-Hellenic in *ἀνώνυμος*, *ἐνώνυμος* (Ephesos 145), and *δυσώνυμος* (Hippon. 14). The extensive geographical reach of the forms with *v*, and the undeviating writing *ἀνώνυμος*, &c., render the assumption not improbable that the forms in *v* are original, those in *o* later. If the *o* forms are original, there can be no doubt that the vowel interposed between the nasals was in a pre-historic period a closed vowel, the first *o* remaining open.

On the substitution of *o* for the *v* of *av*, *ev*, see under the head of these diphthongs.

155.] Ionic Υ = I.

Συκεεῖσιν, on the stèle of Sigeion, Bechtel, 103 = Roberts, I 42 A 10. In the Attic part of the inscription we find *Συγκεεῖσι*. The *v* is doubtless older since it is found on the epichoric document. The two forms are then interrelated as *βυβλίον βιβλίον*, *Τυδαριδᾶν* *Τυδαριδᾶν* I. G. A., 62 A, and *Κυρδνῆς* and *Κυρδνῆς* on the Attic tribute lists. Iota does not pass into *v* in any Greek word.

Hdt. has *βύβλος*, *βύβλινος*, *βυβλίον* (Hrd. 390). A mustering of the occurrences of these words in Stein's edition shows that the chief support of the forms with *ι* is derived from MSS. *P. R.*, while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant. I conclude, therefore, that Bredow's distinction between *βιβλίον*, *βύβλος* (*notione chartae scriptoriae, libelli*) and *βύβλος* (*notione libri, poetice parryi*) must fall to the ground, and that the Ionic of the fifth century preferred, if it did not recognize exclusively, the forms with *v*. The variants in favour of *ι* are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in *ι* as we find as early as 400 B. C. in Attic (C. I. A. II, Add. 1 B 25; *Mith.* VII 368, concerning the Attic cleruchs in Samos, 346 B. C.). The forms in *ι* continue in Attic inscriptions until the second century B. C., after which *βυβλίον* is the normal form. See Birt's *Buchwesen*, p. 12.

μόλυβδος Hdt. I 186. III 56, has the variation *μόλιβδος*, a

form that does not find any support in the Attic *μολυβ[ι]δῶν*, C. I. A. II 476₄₃, or in any other inscriptional form¹. That the *ι* form elsewhere forced an entrance at an early period should not mislead us as regards Ionic. Homer has *μολύβδαινα* and *μόλιζος*.

In an Halikarnassian inscription (Bechtel, No. 241) we read ΗΜΥΣΚ, which Bechtel transcribes ἤμ(ι)σ(υ). This is possible, though the occurrence of ἤμυσυ upon Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 17₄₇) and elsewhere, *e.g.* Delos (B. C. II. II 580), renders the attempt to rescue this form for Ionic not overbold. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 22, Blass, *Aussprache*³, p. 40. ἤμυσυ occurs upon a late Chian coin, Head, *H. N.* 514, on a late inscription from Thasos, 72₁₆, upon one from Teos, 158₄, and in Sterrett, *Papers of the American School*, III 335. The forms in *iota* are primitive, those in *upsilon* being due to an assimilation which could take place only at a period when the inherited tendency to avoid a succession of *v*'s was no longer felt².

On *αἰσυμνήτης* see above, § 154. Ionic here preserves the original *υ* in the Teian *αἰσυ[μ]νήτη* 156 B 4; and it is to the influence of Ionic that is due *-αἰσυμνῶντος* in Cherson. Taur. C. D. I. 3087₅₇, whereas *αἰσιμνάτας* is the Megarian orthography (Megara 3016, Selinus 3045 A 5, Chalkadon 3053₁, Salymbria 3068). Bechtel, C. D. I. 3016, conjectures that the change between the weak vowels *υ* and *ι* ensues when *Ϝ* originally preceded the strong vowel (*ἄϜετρα, ἄϜτμή, ἄϜσθω*). But cf. *Ἀστίμαχος* from *ἄστυ*, *R. M.* XXXV 358.

The interchange of *υ* and *ι* is at best but sporadic, *e.g.* *Ἀμφικτιόνες*³, *-κτίονες*; *κυλύχνιον, Κυρθηκῶι, Χοιρύλος* Delos; *Τυδάριδαι, Ἐλενῦια* Lakonia, *Ἰακυνθοτρόφος* Knidos, *Ἰάκιθος* Lakonia.

On a supposed change of *α* to *υ*, see above, § 132. An. Ox. I 442₂ cites as Chian *θνοῦς = θεοῦς, ἡδῶς = ἡδέως, Νυαπολίτης = Νεσπολίτης*. Cf. Lentz' Herodian I, p. xxv, 19. No such interrelation of *ε* and *υ* can be admitted.

The Long Vowels.

156.] *Ā.*

The three subdivisions of Ionic uniformly present Η in place of that *Ā* which is specifically Attic. No instances of the retention

¹ *μόλυβδος* Ionic-Attic, Eust. 1340₂₉; cf. 841₁₇, cf. Hdn. II 551.

² In Attic the *iota* held its ground in those forms which show no *υ* in the endings.

³ So Hdt., Attic inscriptions, C. I. A. II 54 A 24, Ditt. *Syll.* 702, cf. 719, &c., Delphic, *l. l.* 186, &c., Boiot., C. D. I. 485₇, Aitol. C. D. I. 1410₉. *Ἀμφικτιόνες* Hdt., Attic, C. I. A. I 449₇, Delphic, Ditt. 206₁, Boiot., C. D. I. 502₉; cf. Hom. *περικτιόνες*. The interrelation of the words has not been cleared up despite Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXXI 429 ff.), whose *√kšū* does not exist.

in Ionic of I.É. \bar{a} are found. Wheresoever \bar{a} occurs, it is the result of literary tendencies or of special laws operating within the dialect. The following categories of Ionic \bar{a} may be noticed:

1. $\bar{a}s < \bar{a}rs$ as in $\pi\bar{a}\sigma\alpha$, $\tau\bar{a}s$: § 161.
2. $\bar{a}r$, $\bar{a}p$, $\bar{a}k < \bar{a}rf$, $\bar{a}p^f$, $\bar{a}kf$ as in $\phi\theta\bar{a}\nu\omega$, $\bar{a}p\eta$, $\phi\bar{a}r\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$: § 162.
3. By influence of analogous forms ($\mu\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$: $\mu\bar{a}\lambda\alpha$): § 163.
4. $\bar{a}\lambda < \bar{a}\lambda\epsilon$ when the accent does not fall upon the \bar{a} : § 164.
5. \bar{a} from a before a , ϵ , η , ι : § 208.
6. \bar{a} by contraction of $a + a$ ($\theta\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$), $a + \text{spur. } \epsilon$ ($\nu\iota\kappa\bar{a}\nu$), $a + \epsilon$ ($\delta\bar{a}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\iota\mu\bar{a}\tau\epsilon$), $a + \eta$ ($\Delta\bar{a}\nu\bar{a}$). See under Contraction.
7. By crasis of $a + a$ ($\tau\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ § 261); by crasis of $a + \epsilon$ ($\tau\bar{a}\mu\bar{a}$ § 272, 4).

Some instances of Ionic \bar{a} , which still baffle investigators, do not militate against the overwhelming mass of testimony making for the conclusion that Ionic η has been substituted for every I.É. \bar{a} transmitted to the dialects.

Names in 'Oμησ- do not disprove an Ionic-Attic 'Oνᾶσίωv C. I. G. 2386 Paros, &c.

In some cases a slight correction of the traditional reading shows that the assumption of Ionic \bar{a} is baseless. Thus in Hippocras 13, Bergk reads $\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ *accursed*, where $\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ or, better, $\epsilon\nu\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ will remove the apparent difficulty. Cf. § 532. Both $\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\nu\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$ contain the weak ablaut form of Skt. *āgas*. $\epsilon\nu\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$ in Parmenides has a different root.

On \bar{a} in Homer, see AIOIC § 18.

A variation between \bar{a} and η in the same word, as in Arch. $\bar{a}p\alpha$, Herodas $\eta p\alpha$, is due to the different origin of the forms in question, cf. on $\eta + a$.

157.] The dialect of Styra, it has been alleged, offers instances of an original Hellenic \bar{A} , due to the influence of the speech of Boiotia¹. While names of Ionians may assume, it is true, a form inconsistent with the laws of Ionic, this happens solely when a special reason exists. Compare for example the names of the children of Kimon, where political preferences have dictated a nomenclature alien to Attic. So the Makedonians by their $\Pi\tau\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\bar{a}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ testify to the influence of the Homeric epos. In all other cases it must be denied that Ionic can admit a thoroughgoing contamination of its phonetics from the influence of a neighbouring speech-centre. The examples from the lead tablets are worthy of registration. Cf. Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 125, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 36, and above §§ 147, 2, 154.

$\Sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\bar{a}\nu\omega\rho$ 19₃₀₆, to be read $\Sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\bar{a}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$.

¹ The view that the names in § 157 are instances of the retention of a primitive Ionic \bar{a} , parallel to Attic \bar{a} , and not yet changed to η , does not call for refutation. Kirchhoff's view that the \bar{a} of $\Gamma\alpha\rho\upsilon\phi\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ (Rob. I 191 C) is Chalkidian Ionic is indefensible. See *Alph.*¹ 126.

-αντίδα[s] 19₁₀₀, to be read Ἀντιά[ρης].

Λυσαγόρας 19₂₁₄, an uncertain reading.

Λαοκράτης 19₃₉₁, to be read Λ(ε)οκράτης, since E and A are not infrequently confused in the tablets.

Χαρίλαος 19₄₂₁, to be read Χαρίλ(ε)ως, unless the man is a Dorian.

Λοχᾶγός 19₁₂₆ is based upon the Lakonian λοχᾶγός, which is in Attic, too, a loan form. Hdt. uses λοχηγέω(√ἀγ).

Ἐσνέας 19₁₉₁ is no name at all; which may be said of Lenormant's Εἰνέας. In Roberts, I 189 F, upon a vase from a colony of Chalkis, we read Αἰνέης, and upon a Thasian inscription in the Louvre (35), Αἰνησίης. Bechtel, 12, has Αἰνεητῶν, from Αἰνεα.

Δᾶμάρετος, cited by Karsten, p. 18, is in reality Δημάρητος, and is so read by Bechtel, 19₁₈₀.

Ἡγαμονεύς 19₂₀₀ is read by Bechtel Ἡηγεμονεύς. This and Δαμάρετος are due to Lenormant.

158.] The retention of *ā* in Hdt. occurs in the names of non-Ionic personages and places which are of Doric source. So the Athenians retained Πριήγη, &c. § 73. (Gramm. Meerm. (649): τὰ εἰς *ās* λήγοντα ὀνόματα, ἐὰν μὴ ὦσι Δωρικά, εἰς *ἠς* τρέπουσιν ('Iones). The following are instances of proper names with *ā* in Hdt.:—

Ἄγισ VI 65, the Spartan, the clip-name of Ἡγησίλεως, which occurs VII 204. It is noteworthy that Hdt. uses the Ionic form of the adj. Σπαρτιήτης.

Ἄεροπος VIII 137, an Argive, VIII 139, a Makedonian; but Ἡέροπος IX 26, a Tegeate.

Ἄκαρνάν I 62; Ἀκαρνανίη II 10.

Ἄπιδανός, the Thessalian river, VII 129; but Ἡπιδανός VII 196.

Ἄριςβα I 151, a city in the Troad = Ἄριςβη B 836. The proper form may, however, be Ἄριςβα: so Strabo, XIV 635. Eustathios distinguishes between two cities, Ἄριςβη and Ἄριςβα: Hdn. I 308₁₅ says that Hdt. used Ἄριςβαν (λάζων).

Ἄριστέας VII 137, a Korinthian. Cf. Ἄριστέης IV 13, the Prokonnesian epic poet.

Γυγάδας (χρυσός) I 14. This apparently irregular form (Γύγης elsewhere) is explained by the statement of the historian: ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέεντος ἐπωνυμίην.

Δυμανᾶται V 68, a Doric tribe.

Κράθις I 145, a river in Achaia and also a river near Sybaris, V 45.

Names in -λαος. Μενέλαος of a λιμήν IV 169, and Μενελάου VII 169; Ἀρχέλαοι V 68; Λαοδάμας, a Phokasian, IV 138, an Aiginetan, IV 152. Hdt., however, is not consistent in writing

Νικόλεως VII 134, and Νικόλας VII 137, though a Spartan is referred to. Furthermore, we have Λακρίνης, a Lakedaïmonian, I 152; Λαφάνης, an Arkadian, VI 127; Λαδίκη, a woman of Kyrene, II 181.

Cf. the forms of λαός §§ 140, 160. A perfect dichotomy of the dialects as regards names in -λαος is clearly impossible, in view of the fact that even Attic citizens before the year 500 B.C. have names formed from this form of the word, the right to use Λεώς having been confined to the tribe *Leontis*. That -λαος was also in use among the Ionians is clear from its occurrence upon a Chian inscription, 177, -τόλαος l. 14 (Λεωσέβεο[s] in l. 3).

Ὅρρεάται VII 73.

Παρωρεάται IV 148, but VIII 73 Παρωρεῆται.

Προναίη I 92. Cf. also Προνηίη.

Τιθορέα VIII 32, a peak of Parnassos.

Ῥάται V 68, from Sikyon.

Φιλάονα VIII 11, though -ων generally becomes -εων in Hdt. Cf. Μαχάων in Homer = Μαχέων, Thasos (Louvre), 1011. Cf. Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73. Hdt. has ὀπάων V 111.

Χαράδρα, in Phokis, VIII 33. So Stein, Bredow Χαράδρην. So also χαράδραν IX 102. Cf. § 128.

Χοιρέαται V 68, from Sikyon.

Besides these names we have several which show -ās in the nominative case preceded by a consonant (Ἀριάντας, Σίκας, Ἀῦρας, Δύρας) which are inflected -α, -α, -αν. Proper names in -εης and -ιης are the rule, with but few exceptions (Ἀριστέας VII 117).

Herodotos' treatment of the names of non-Ionic persons and places is tolerably elective. In a considerable number of instances where we might expect a thoroughgoing Dorization he surprises us by such Ionisms as:—

Λεωνίδης, Λεωβάτης, Λευτυχίδης (a form that occurs in Timokreon, 1). Μενέλεως he occasionally uses despite Μενελάου VII 169, Ἀηρισαῖος IX 1, whereas Homer has Λάρισα B 841, P 301. By a reverse process we have Ἀριστολαΐδew I 59, an Athenian.

Again, the island is called Θήρη, its founder, Θήρας. The leader of the colony never occurs in any writer in the form Θήρης. Ἀζήρ VI 127, is the inhabitant of the Arkadian Ἀζανία; Ἐνιήρες VII 132, &c., despite the frequent names in -ίρες; Τεγέη, Σικελίην, Σικανίην VII 170. Μηλίδα VII 198 (η also in the lyric parts of tragedy).

ναύκραροι V 71, is the Attic form, because the ναύκραροι were peculiar to Attika.

159.] Retention of ā in proper names occurring outside of Herodotos. In poetry, see on Ποσειδάων under the vowel E, § 140.

Upon an Halikarnassian inscription Ἰαλικαρναῖ[έω]ν 238₂, and in 240₂₃ we read Ἰάσωνος: Ἀετίωνος Iasos, 104₁₆, Ποιᾶσσιών Κεος, 47₂, Ποιᾶσσαν 47₁₁. Cf. Ποιήσσιωι Ditt. *Syll.* 63₂₂, time of the second maritime league; Δημανέτης Amorg. 29, but Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Le Bas, *Geg. Archéol.* III 1, No. 186. Ναῖς Roberts, I 190, II F, Χώρα 190, I K, Γαρφόνης 191, on Chalkidian vases. See *K. Z.* XXIX 390.

The usage of Attic prose inscriptions may here be noted. In the fifth century we find both the epicoric and the Attic names of tributary states (*Hermes*, V 52). In the fourth century the tendency to permit the adoption of the epicoric name seems to be stronger.

160.] $\hat{A} < \bar{a}F$.

λαῖός < *λαῖφός (cf. § 140, 4).

Homer has λαῖός¹, λαοσσός, and in proper names, Λαοδόμεια, &c.; λεώς in Ἀγέλεως and perhaps Πηνέλεως²; and ληός, incorrectly transcribed in Λειώκριτος (Ληόκριτος) and Λειώδης (Ληώδης < λαῖφ + φαδης). Of these, the first form has found an echo in Ionic poetry: Archil. Χαρίλαε 79 (paroemiacus and ithyphallicus). The reading is not perfectly certain, Ailian having Χαρίδα. Cf. Χαριδαντίδης, a Thasian name, Bechtel's *Thas. Inschr.* p. 8. Ἰόλαος 119₃ (a hymn of uncertain metrical reconstruction)³; Kallinos, λαῖφ 118; Tyrt. λαόν 111₃, λαούς 12₂₄; Xenoph. λαοῖσι 215; Theog. λαοί 53, 776, λαοφθόρον 781. These forms are not Ionic⁴. Genuine Ionic is ληός, the oldest Ionic form of the word known to us, preserved in Hipponax 88, and in Hdt. λήϊτον VII 197 (λήϊτον καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί)⁵. Cf. Λήϊτος in

¹ It is clear that any explanation of the \bar{a} of Homer must not lose sight of the history of the words in question. Thus θεᾶ has been claimed to be Archaic Ionic, retained because it had passed out of use in the later language. This explanation, even if true, would not suit in the case of λαός. The presence of the morphologically later λεώς in passages of Homer, which even Bergk cannot attribute to his diaecueasts, shows that the change of pan-Hellenic \bar{a} to Ionic η must have ensued centuries previous to the final composition of the Homeric poems. A feature of minor importance is that λαός may have been felt to be more easily disposable in the verse than λεώς.

² See *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Monro, *Hom. Gr.* 390.

³ Fick proposed Ἰόληος. We find however Ἰόλαος, *Archæol.* 867; Eurip. uses both Ἰόλαος and Ἰόλεως. Ἰόλαος on a vase (Klein, *Vasen*,² 206, 1), which shows mixed dialect (Ἰόλαος Μανία by the side of Μεγάρη Ἀλκμήνη). Cf. *K. Z.* XXIX 400.

⁴ This is not disputed by the Chian, -τολαος 17714, as has been shown, § 140, 4: cf. Μενέλαος Smyrna, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 344; Ἀγησίλαος Perinthos, 234 B 5; Χαρίλας Miletos, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 329. Pherekydes 34 has Ἀρκεσιλάου. Κριτόλαος on a late document from Amorgos (*Mith.* IX 102, No. 6, l. 10), Νικόλαου, *ibid.* p. 83, l. 11 recall the many names in -λαος and -λας, names of Doric residents of Attika. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 290 in fact contends that λαός is an importation from Doric in exchange for θεᾶρός which migrated from Ionic-Attic into Doric countries. It is noteworthy that λαός does not occur in the iambs of Archilochos.

⁵ *Et. Mag.* 562₅₃.

Homer, XIII 91, and Pott, *K. Z.* VII 324. With *ληός*, cf. *νηός* in Hdt. (§ 170) and *παίηονα* Archil. 76.

This *ληός* became *λεός* in later Ionic; in Miletos, at least, shortly after the year 650 B.C. (*Ἰωνοῦ Ἀναξίλακος* Becht. No. 93); *λεός* is the form in Hdt., though we find *ληός* V 42 and even *λαόν* IV 148, which Stein refuses to accept. *λαοφόρον* is found I 187, despite *λεοφόρον* Anacr. 157, *λεωσφέτερον* IX 33 and the other forms in *λεω-*. The testimony is so strong on the side of *λεός* that a fair view will not regard harshly the attempt to make Herodotos uniform in his adoption of this form. Renner, Dindorf and Nauck (*Mélanges gr.-rom.* III 268) claim that the Herodoteian form is *ληός*, cf. §§ 158, 170.

When *F* disappeared after *ā*, its disappearance was not signalized by the lengthening of the vowel (*ἀείλιος* Hdt. I 93, 145, Herakl. III, cf. Attic *παῖα* = Aiolic *παίῖα*). Hence, when in Ionic *ā* appears, it is clear that we are dealing with a poetical form such as *ἄείσω* Theog. 4, cf. Od. 17, 519, and that such a prose form as *Ἄϊδην* as commonly read in Hdt. II 122, has the *a* short. In Ionic poetry the short *a* appears in *Ἄϊδαο* Theog. 244, 427, 906, *Ἄϊδεω* 703, 726, 802, 1014, 1124, Solon 248, Anacr. 435; *Ἄϊδην* Tyrnt. 12₈ = Minn. 214. *Ἄϊδος* Theog. 914, has *ā*. In but two iambic passages (Simon. Amorg. 114, 7117) do we find traces of *Ἄϊδης*. Homer has *Ἄϊδος* (Iliad nine times, Od. four times), elsewhere *ā* (so *Ἄϊδης* V 395, IX 158, &c.). Hesiod always has *ā*, and so the Homeric Hymns, except in one passage, IV 348, where *Ἄϊδη* is read by Gemoll. Hdt. and Herakl. 127 (but cf. *ἄδην* 38) have *Ἄϊδης* according to the MSS., though there is no evidence to support the correctness of the tradition in favour of the open form. In Aiolic and Doric the *a* is invariably short. So, too, in words derived from the same base. See § 275. *Ἄϊδης* is rare in tragedy, e.g. Eurip. *El.* 142, *Suppl.* 921, *H. F.* 116, frag. 930.

It is widely held¹ that *Ἄϊδης* is derived from *a + fiδ-*, and that the passages in Homer where the *a* is long represent *āv*, *F* having been vocalized. There is no objection to this explanation, so far as it goes. The difficulty lies in the Attic *Ἄϊδης* (i.e. *ἄδης*), which cannot have arisen either from *āfiδ-* or *āfiδ-*. Since the Attic and Homeric forms cannot be dissociated, it is best to regard each as descended from *aifiδ-* (cf. *κάω*, *ἄεί*). This necessitates the abandonment of the old-time etymology whereby *Ἄϊδης* is the *unseen* god. *aifiδ-* may be connected with *aīa* or with *aīél*. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276. On this view *Ἄϊδος* is the older, *Ἄϊδος* the younger, form; and the apparently isolated cases in Simonides Amorg. are brought into line.

¹ See for example Baunack in his *Studien*, I 294.

161.] $\bar{a}s < \check{v}s$.

$\pi\bar{a}\sigma\alpha < *πάντιστα$ may serve to illustrate the existence of that \bar{a} in Ionic-Attic which did not suffer the change to η at the time when $\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ became $\alpha\sigma\alpha$. When there arose the tendency to substitute a lighter form for the disyllabic $*πάντιστα$, or to expel v before *sigma* (whether proethnic or from $\tau\iota$), the law according to which \bar{a} became η in Ionic had ceased to exist, having extended its operations throughout the length and breadth of the dialect. A $\pi\eta\sigma\alpha$ or $\tau\eta\sigma$ for $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma$, was thus rendered impossible. So, too, with names in $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\bar{a}\sigma$.

The \bar{a} of Ionic $\pi\bar{a}\nu$ is due to the influence of $\pi\bar{a}\sigma$. According to Bekk. Anecd. I. 416₁₁ = Bachm. An. I 111₁₉ [Drako 24₁₈, 29₂₂, 85₁₃], An. Ox. III 290₇, Eust. 1434₁, the Ionians and the poets shortened the a in $\bar{a}\pi\alpha\nu$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu$. $\pi\bar{a}\nu$ occurs in $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\mu\alpha\rho$ ν 31, $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\sigma$ Λ 472 &c. See on Aiolie Accent.

It is noteworthy that Kallinos, I₁₆, has $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$ ¹, whereas Homer has $\xi\mu\pi\eta\sigma$; forms not to be derived immediately from $\pi\bar{a}\sigma$, despite Boiotian (but κοινή) $\xi\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$, adj., *C. I. G.* I 162₅₃₀. $\xi\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ does not occur except in the epic. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 225, connects $-\pi\bar{a}-$ with $\kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\omega$ through $\kappa\upsilon-\bar{a}-$, and thus regards $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$ either as a genitive or as a petrified instrumental with the *sigma* of ablative adverbs. This $-\pi\bar{a}-$ does not seem to be associated with Kyprian $\pi\alpha\iota$. I know of no other case where *sigma* has attached itself to an instrumental. $\xi\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ in Homer should be reflected by $\xi\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ in Kallinos, as I am aware of no reason for expelling the Homeric form in favour of the Aiolio-Doric (or Attic) $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$.

162.] $\bar{a}\nu$, $\bar{a}\rho$, $\bar{a}\kappa < \alpha\nu f$, $\alpha\rho f$, $\alpha\kappa f$.

1. $\alpha\nu f$, Ion. $\phi\theta\bar{a}\nu\omega$ = Attic $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, according to the commonly accepted explanation of this form. $\kappa\iota\chi\bar{a}\nu\epsilon\iota$ Archil. 54₃ (troch. tetr.).

2. $\alpha\rho f$, Homeric, Hdt. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$, Hom. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, = Attic $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}$, &c. from $\acute{\alpha}\rho f\acute{\alpha}$, Arkad. $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\rho f\omicron\nu$.

3. $\alpha\kappa f$, $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\sigma$ Hipponax, 5₂, 6, 7, 8₂, 9, 37₃, but $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\nu$ 4₃, (= Attic $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\nu$). Ion. $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\sigma$ = $*\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\sigma$ = $\phi\alpha\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa(\kappa)\omicron\sigma$. The assimilation of $\kappa\upsilon$ to $\kappa\kappa$ is later than that of $\kappa\upsilon$ to $\pi\pi$. On the accent, see § 123. The \bar{a} has been thought to appear in Demosthenes XXV 80 (where see Blass) despite the fact that in Attic f usually disappeared without lengthening the preceding vowel.

163.] \hat{A} in the forms of the Comparative degree.

$\mu\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, for which one might expect $*\mu\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, if the form with $\lambda\lambda$ was formed before or during the period in which proethnic \hat{A}

¹ The accentuation $\xi\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$ according to Et. M. 63₂₁ did not gain favour in antiquity; $\xi\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ Apoll. Adv. 564₂₆.

became η in Ionic-Attic. The force of analogy has, however, substituted for the old comparative *μέλλον (cf. *melius*) the form ωσλλον, which arose at a period when \bar{a} no longer became η in Ionic-Attic. The proportions τάχα, τάχιστα: θάσσω and ἐλάχιστα: ἐλάσσω might have given us first μάλλον, then μάλλον for μέλιον. The difficulty, which is not recognized by King-Cookson, p. 364¹, is that θάσσω and ἐλάσσω are themselves associative forms, whose priority to μάλλον is not made out on other grounds than the desirability of using them to account for μάλλον. In Tyr. 12, μέλιον, restored by M. Schmidt, is hysterogeneous, due to the parallelism of ἦδιον: ἦδιστα; so μάλιον: μάλιστα. Hdn.'s (II 548₉=An. Ox. II 240₂) statement that μάλιον is Ionic has been changed by Lentz, so as to make this form the property of the Lakonian dialect. From Choeroboskos we should imagine that the a is long. Harder, *De alpha vocali apud Homerum producta*, p. 104, would read μάλλον (*sic*) for μάλιον². Cf. § 556.

θάσσω, Attic θάττω, with \bar{a} according to Herodian, I 524₁, II 131₃, 942₁₇, from *θάγγλιον for *θέγγλιον with a through influence of τάχα, τάχιστος. The nasal before σσ disappears, leaving compensatory lengthening. Blass (Kühner, *Gram.* p. 555) raises the question whether θάσσω and ἐλάσσω are not the proper forms in Homeric, Ionic and Doric.

ἐλάσσω < *ἐλάγγλιον for *ἐλέγγλιον, cf. ἐλέγγιστος. Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 156.

*μέλιον, *θέγγλιον, *ἐλέγγλιον are displaced forms which existed at a period when I.E. \bar{a} was changed to Ionic η . Their displacement by the \bar{a} forms was therefore subsequent to the production of Ionic η .

164.] $\bar{a}\lambda < a\lambda$.

$\bar{k}\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s < *καλιος =$ Skt. *kalya-* would become *καλός* in all dialects, since λ , when preceded by the accent, becomes $\lambda\lambda$ (*κάλλιον*, *κάλλιστος*, τὸ *κάλλος*), when followed by it, λ (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 47 note)³. In Homer we find *κᾶλός* without exception, a form that cannot in the epic be regarded as Doric, though so regarded by King-Cookson, p. 184. In Hesiod *κᾶλός* prevails; in Theog. 585, *W. D.* 63, *κᾶλός*. In the lyric poets we find *κᾶλός* in the following passages⁴: Kallinos, 2₂; Tyrtaios, 47, 10₁, 10₃₀*; Mimnermos, 5₃, 11₄; Archilochos, 21₃, 29, 77₁; Simon. Amorg. 7₃₀, 7₃₇; Theognis, 16, 242, 257*, 609, 683, 1019, 1047, 1106, 1216, 1251, 1329, 1336, 1350*, 1369* *bis*, 1377; Solon, 13₂₁, 13₄₀*; Phokyl. 13₂; Anakreon, 22, 63₁₀, 71; Oracle in Hdt. I

¹ Following Osthoff, *Perfectum*, 450.

² The schol. AV II. VIII 353, brings forward a *μάλλιον*, which Eustathios 1643₃₂ calls Doric.

³ Attic *κάλη tunor*, is Ionic *κῆλη*.

⁴ Cf. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 22 ff.

66*; cf. also Sim. Keos, 147₄. On the other hand *κᾶλός* appears as follows: Mimm. 1₆; Solon, 13₂₁; Theog. 17 *ὄϊς*, 282, 65₂, 69₆, 960, 99₄, 1259, 1280, 1282; Ananios, 5₂; Sim. Am. 7_{π(?)}; Sim. Keos, 147₄, 156₁. In Herodas we find *κᾶλός* 318, 458, 72₄, 115, *κᾶλός* 420, 39, 6₂₁. Passages marked with a * have the *a* in the arsis.

If we question the Greek dialects¹ other than Attic, we learn that *κᾶλός* is the prevailing form: Terpander, 6₂; Alkman, 3₅; Sappho, 1₉, 3, 11₂, 14₁, 19₃, 28, 58, 79, 101₁, 2, 104; Praxilla, 5₁. Alkman has *κᾶλλα* = *καλῶς* 98, Alkaios, *κᾶλιον* 134, Sappho, *κᾶλιστ'* 104₂, if Bergk's conjecture be admitted. In the 'universal melic' of Simonides of Keos we have *κᾶλός* 57, 37₁₂, 40₃, 70, in Bacchylides, 1₁, 25. In the Attic drama we find both forms, *κᾶλός* being the rarer form. The lyric poets have *κᾶλός*: Ion, 1₁₅; Kritias, 1₁₄, 2₁₉; and in the Skolia, 19₁, 2, 20₁, 2. Plato (?) has *κᾶλός* 8; Aischrion, 1, 4₂, the same form. *κᾶλός* occurs upon an epigram from Delos, 53.

Those who demur to the form *κᾶλός* in Homer have recourse to the easy expedient of regarding this form as an incorrect transcription of ΚΑΛΟΣ, which they would read *καλλός*. But surely we have no right to assume with G. Meyer (*Gramm.*² § 65) that wherever *κᾶλός* is found in the Ionic iambic and elegiac poets it is an incorrect form.

165.] *Ā* in other words.

φᾶρος in Pherekydes of Leros, Herodotos, and in Homer, if *φᾶρος* is not to be read with Nauck. So, too, in Xenophanes, 33. In Attic both *ā* and *ǎ*. Cf. Hdn. π. μ. λ. 39, 31, Bergk on Alkman 23₆₁. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 92 ff., suggests that the word is non-Hellenic.

καρᾶδοκέω in Hdt., who, however, has *τρικάρηρος*, Hom. *κάρηρα* from *καρασν-*; *κάρᾶ* < *καρᾶσα*. Another form of the root yields *κρη* in *κρησφύγετον* Hdt. V 124².

γλᾶσσα (or *γλάσσα*?) = *γλωσσα*, nine times in Herodas.

On *Ζανός*, see § 182.

ἔᾶσα Hom. Hdt. I 90, from *ἐάω* = Skt. *sāváyati*, Lat. *desinare*. *ἔᾶω* is originally an aorist formation, pres. *σέῃω*, aor. *σεῖᾶ* - (σεῖᾶ-ιω). *ἔᾶσεις* Anacr. 56, *ἔασον* 57, fragments of doubtful metrical reconstruction.

ἰθαγένης Hdt. II 17 (Greg. Kor. § 161) = *εἰς ἰθαγένης*, a loca-

¹ See Apoll. *περὶ ἐπιπρ.* 565₁₃: Καλά . . ὃ δι' ἐνός μὲν λ γράφεται κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, παρὰ Δωριεῦσι δὲ δι' ἑτέρου λ, καὶ οὐχ, ὡς ἐνιοι ὑπέλαβον, κατ' Αἰολίδα διάλεκτον ἔβαρύνετο γὰρ ἄν, πρὸς οἷς οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸς Αἰολεῖς ἐν διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ λ προφέρονται. Doric *καλλά* is due to the influence of τὸ κάλλος, &c., Aiolie *κάλιον* (Alk. 134) to that of *κᾶλος*.

² Ionic *κάρη*, Hesych. s. v. *κάρᾶ*, An. Par. IV 266, Zenod. *κρητός* A 530 (schol. Ven. A οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Ἰακόν); see Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 372.

tive (Curt. *Stud.* VI 384). Rutherford, *New Phrynicus*, p. 15, classes the *ἰθαγένης* of Aischylos among the old Ionisms of the Attic dialect. See § 75.

ἀράλωμα Thasos, 72¹¹, *ἀράλωσω* Theog. 903. Cf. *ἀνήλωμα* C. I. G. 2347 c 61, 3137⁵⁸ = Ditt. *Syll.* 171⁵⁸ (Smyrna), which owes its *η* to verbal influence. Even the perfect indie. and the participle have a loan *η*.

ἄρω from *αἶρω*, subj. of *ἦρα*, in *ἐπάρει* Eph. 145 A₂, *ἄρειεν* Sim. Am. 760, *ἐπάρας* Eph. 145 A₉, cf. Hdt. I 90. See § 305. Different are *καθάρασθαι* Delos, *B. C. H.* V 468 (third cent.), *καθᾶραι* *ibid.* V 23, l. 185, 24, l. 194 (second cent.) from *ἐκάθᾶρα* which is a neologism for *ἐκάθηρα*. Cf. Rutherford, *Phrynicus*, p. 76.

Due to metrical compulsion is the *ā* in *ἀθανάτων* Kall. I₁₃, Tyr. 12₃₂, Sol. 4₂, 136₄, 74, Theog. very often. *παῖδ' Ἄρεω* Archil. 48¹, probably with *ā*; cf. also Tyr. 117. The lyric poets have *ā*, except Bacchyl. 36₂. Another poetical form is:—

ἀνῆρ Xenoph. 64, Phokyl. 15₂, Demod. 3, Solon, 13₃₃ (?). Elsewhere *ā*. No form in *η* (cf. *ἠγορέη* with *η* from *-ἠρωρ*) is found. *ἀγορέαν* C. I. A. I 471, in an old Attic epigram.

On *lāas* in Hom., cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 94.

χαμάθεν is rejected by Blass, *Aussprache*³, p. 116, in favour of *χαμαῖθεν* or *χαμᾶθεν*². The MSS. do not have *χαμᾶθεν*, II 125, where *χαμάθεν* is found beside *χαμόθεν*; and in IV 172 we have no authority for Stein's *χαμᾶθεν*.

The MSS. often mix Ionic *η* with Attic *ā* after a fashion that gives a false conception of the original dialect preferences of the poets, e.g. in Archil. *γραυς*, in Ananios *ἀνθίας*.

ἀπεροπός in Anakr. 73 (Bergk) should be *ἦπ-*. *σκύτα* Arch. 122 cannot be correct.

Names in *-ās* (Conson. Decl.) are not contracted from *-eas*, but represent, originally at least, the lengthening of the short final *a* of the first member of a compound name, e.g. *Ἄλλκās* from *Ἄλλκαμένης*; or the lengthening of the initial *ā* of the second member, e.g. *Μολπās* (*Μολπᾶδος* 163₁₀, Abdera) from *Μολπ-ἄγορης*, Abdera, 163₅, and the name of a son of Aristagores in Miletos (Hdt. V 30). Later on these forms were created *ad libitum*. See Bechtel on No. 76, p. 60. Ionic and Attic are here parallel: cf. *Ἄλλκās* C. I. A. I 433, which cannot have originated from *Ἄλλκeās*; Ionic *Μολπās*, *Νοσσικās*, *Ἡρās*, *Θευδās*, &c. See § 281.

166.] II. Preliminary Remarks.

η in Ionic may be (1) the pan-Hellenic long *e* sound, (2) the equivalent of *ā* of all other dialects, including Attic *ā* after vowels and *ρ*, (3) dialectal arising from compensatory lengthening of *ā*, as in *σελήνη* < *σελασινᾶ, *τρήμων* < *τράσρων. Attic and Ionic here agree.

¹ Eustath. 518₂₂ ὅθεν κατ' ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας Ἀρχιλοχος.

² Cf. Apoll. Adv. 600, Eust. 999₂₂, and Osthoff's *Perfect*, p. 597.

Pronunciation of η. In the alphabet of Keos, Naxos, and Amorgos, Ionic-Attic $\eta = \bar{a}$ of Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, North-West-Greek, Arkado-Kyprian, Doric, or $= \epsilon + a$, is represented by Θ or H (later); pan-Hellenic η by E . From this it is clear that the difference in graphical representation reflects a qualitative difference in pronunciation, $\eta = \bar{a}$ or $\epsilon + a$ being the open \bar{e} , $\eta =$ I.E. \bar{e} the closed long vowel. The dialectal η was a broader, more guttural sound than the aboriginal η . This difference doubtless once obtained in all quarters of Ionic.

The existing examples, however, restrict it to Island Ionic (§ 400):

<i>Keos.</i>	<i>Keos.</i>
$\theta\nu\text{H}$ Rob. I 32 A.	$\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ Rob. I 32 A.
<i>Amorgos.</i>	<i>Amorgos</i> ¹ .
$\Delta\text{E}\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu(\tau)\iota$ Kirch. Alph. ⁴ 32.	$\text{P}\alpha\tau\text{E}\rho$ Kirch. Alph. ⁴ 32.
$\mu\nu\text{H}\mu\alpha$ Rob. I 158 D.	
<i>Naxos.</i>	<i>Naxos.</i>
$\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\Theta\omicron$ Roberts I 25.	$\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\theta\text{E}\kappa\epsilon$ B. C. II. XII, p. 463,
$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\Theta\omicron\nu$ Roberts I 25.	pl. 13.
$\text{N}\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\Theta$ Roberts I 25.	$\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\text{E}\kappa\epsilon\nu$ Rob. I 25, 26 A.
$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{E}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$ Roberts I 25 and I	$\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\nu\text{E}\tau\Theta$ Rob. I 25.
26 A; cf. also Delos, 24 A.	$\pi\omicron\iota\text{E}\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ B. C. II. XII, p. 463,
$[\text{F}]\iota[\phi\iota]\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\Theta\varsigma$ B. C. II. XII	pl. 13.
463, pl. 13.	

This accurate distinction² is, however, not carried throughout the entire history of the dialect; and in fact, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens, we find instances of a confusion between the two E sounds. Thus in Naxos $\epsilon\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\text{H}\sigma\text{E}\rho$ Rob. I 28: in Keos, Rob. I 32 A, l. 17, we have $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta\text{H}\iota$, l. 23 $\theta\alpha\nu\text{H}\iota$, where we should expect the closed \bar{e} sound to be represented by E, not H³. So also in Amorgos $\Sigma\omega\tau\text{H}\rho\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ Bechtel 229. Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229, Blass, *Aussprache*³, p. 24 ff., Roberts, I § 33, and on 32 A, with the authorities there quoted. Karsten, p. 23, Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 291.

A knowledge of the character of the η sound in Ionic is important, since Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, IX 202 ff., has endeavoured to establish the principle that open $\bar{e} < \bar{a} + o$ becomes $\epsilon\omega$ ($\lambda\eta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$), whereas closed \bar{e} (= I.E. \bar{e}) + o becomes $\epsilon\omicron$ ($\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$). Opposed to this doctrine is the Chian $\pi\acute{\omicron}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Bechtel 174 A, 13), a form that must be held to be genuine

¹ In Amorgos E also denoted the sound connected with that η which was specifically Ionic ($\Delta\alpha\mu\psi\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\omega$, gen. of $-\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\varsigma$).

² In Keos E was = pan-Hellenic η and also spurious $\epsilon\iota$.

³ A similar confusion between E and H is found on a vase in the Louvre, whose provenance is Keos according to Kretschmer.

Ionic. See § 486. Ἄρρω in Archil. 48, is as cogent an objection to the law of Merzdorf as is πόλεως. And ηφο from pro-Hellenic *āvo* does not become εω in later Ionic with consistency; as witness Ionic πλέως, χρέως and Hdt. ἠός beside λεώς. Cf. Brugmann, *Gr.* § 19.

Cauer in his otherwise excellent preface to the Iliad (p. xvii) attempted without success to show that, in his text of Homer, Aristarchos wrote η before ο, ω, α, when the η=ā, and ει when =pan-Hellenic ē. Cf. § 221.

167.] Pan-Hellenic η appears invariably as η in Ionic. The form χρᾶσθαι¹ in Herodotos, and even in Attic (*Mith.* IX 289, l. 24), is no exception to this law. That the root of this verb is χρη- (*χρηιομαι) is raised beyond a doubt by the forms of the Kretan, Aitolian, Lokrian and Megarian dialects. In Hrd. 6₅₅, we have ἐχρηῆτο. A weaker form of χρη- is χρᾶ- (cf. κτη-, κτι-ομαι), and it is this that appears in the Herodotean χρᾶσθαι (§ 272, 3), and perhaps in Attic χρῶμαι, χρώμενος, and Messenian χρῶνται, χρωμένους. *χρᾶομαι is thus the base of this form. A second form of χρη- is χρε-, found in χρέομαι (Hdt., Herakleia, Rhodes, Krete, Delphi, &c.). A fourth form is χριέομαι, in Boiot. χριεῖσθθη, Megarian (Chalkadon) χριεῖσθω, and Eleian χρηῆσται, from χρῆος = Attic χρεώς. Cf. Ahrens, II 131; Meister, I 70, 226, 297; Brugmann, *M. U.* I 64; Merzdorf, in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 203, 209 ff., IX 230, 236; G. Meyer, § 51; Johansson, *D. U. C.* 155 ff., *B. B.* XV 171, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 208. Cf. §§ 264, 2; 272, 3; 288, 3; 687.

κηάλος Archil. 141 (cf. Alkm. 26₂); κειάλος *Aves* 300, is a pun on the occupation of Sporgilos.

Attention may here be called to that η which is produced by the lengthening of ε, the initial vowel of a word which stands second in a compound. This initial vowel may or may not be lengthened in the same dialect upon composition taking place. Cf. ἀνηρίδεντος Chios 174 C 25, with ἀνεριδεντος (Homeric ἐριδος); also Ξειήρετος Keos 42, not from ἀρετή despite the later Ξειάρετος C. I. G. IV 8518, 108, 109 (Rhodes). Bechtel derives -ηρετος from ἐρέω (cf. Archil. 25, 68). But see Wackernagel's *Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 41, and cf. Νικηράτων Styra 19₂₆₈. Ξειήρης *B. P. W.*, 1890, p. 1405, no. 44.

168.] Relation of η to ει. The non-diphthongal EI is generally expressed by E upon Ionic inscriptions (see § 213). Ionic η = (1) pan-Hellenic η and (2) ā of other dialects, stands in no relation to this non-diphthongal ει in Ionic; nor is any change of η to diphthongal ει to be admitted. The form Κτεωρίων Styra 19₁₂₀,

¹ Anecd. Bachm. I 417₁₉; χρᾶ Ἴωνικῶς, Ἀττικὸν δὲ χρῆ Schol. Ven. A on A 216; Hdn. II 606₂₅ χρῆ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ χρῶ χρᾶς (Hdt. IV 155), χρᾶ (Hdt. IV 155 &c.) Ἴωνικῶς καὶ Ἀττικῶς.

was asserted by me (*Diphthong EI*, p. 80) to be an impossible form. The same is now held to be the case by Bechtel, *ad loc.*¹ Vischer in 19₁₀₄ read *Θείσων*, which he held to be the 'Boioto-Aiolic' form for *Θήσων*. This is incorrect as regards the presence of a Boiotian form upon the Styrian leaden tablets. Nor can it be justified on other grounds. Bechtel suggests **Αλ]θήσων*; cf. **Αλθημένης*, a Thasiote name. *γλυκίαν* Hrd. 4₂ is not Ionic, cf. 5₅₃, 6₅₃.

On H resulting from contraction, see §§ 263-265, 280.

169.] Ionic H = *Ā* of other dialects. I.E. *ā* is represented in Ionic regularly by *η* = Aiolic and Doric *ā*. A few noteworthy forms are here mentioned.

παμπήδην Theog. 615, with which cf. Solon's *πεπᾶσθαι* (137). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* 1426) opines that the Athenians borrowed *πάομαι* from the Megarians (Theog. 146 *πᾶσάμενος*) and Dorians. This verb is not in use in Ionic, which has accepted *κτάομαι*. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 411; Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 211. On *Πολυπάμων* in Homer, cf. Fick, *Odyss.* p. 17; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 70; G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 65; Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 150. A Thessalian has the name *Παμε[r]ός*, from **πάομαι*. A Kyprian name is *Πασίκυπρος*.

ἦκη Arehül. tr. 43, is the only instance in Greek of the long vowel of this root. Cf. Skt. *ācus*, Lat. *ācer*. The weak form occurs in *ἄκονη*, *ἄκων*, &c.

ἦέρος, *ἦέρι* in Hdt. with the pseudo-Ionic nominative *ἦήρ* in Hippokr. II 22, 24, 34, 60, 70², Aretaios 260; *ἦέρος* Hippokr. Lukian, Hippokr. *cp.*, Aret.; *ἦ-ρι* Hippokr. Aret.; *ἦέρα* Hippokr. II 26, 34, 72, Aret., Hdt. I 172, IV 31; *ἦερίων* Luk., *de Astr.* 23. The Homeric *ἄήρ* has been regarded as equivalent to *ἄνῆρ* = *ἄφῆρ* (cf. Dor. *ἄβήρ*, and Aiolic *ἄνηρ*). **Αιδος*, which has been cited as offering a parallel case of the vocalization of *af*, must be classed elsewhere on account of the Attic **Αιδης*; see § 160; so, too, *ἄίσσω* cannot be explained as = *ἄνίσσω* (Fick), since an *ἄφίσσω* would have become *ἄπτω*³. *ἄήρ* in Attic is not a form in accordance with the genius of that dialect. If the *ā* is original we shall have to seek for a root *aif*, or for a strong root with *ā*, whose weak form appears in Aiolic *ἄνηρ* (Aiolic, § 214). The

¹ Cf. *Κτησίων* 19₅₈₋₆₀, 231-26, 266, *Κτήσιμος* 19₅₇, *Κτησις* 19₁₂₂, *Κτηρῖνος* 19₁₃₅, *Κτηρῖνος* 19₂₂₂₋₂₂₆. The *ā* of *κτάομαι* is ablaut of *κτη-*. Boiot. *Κτεισίοα* C. D. I. 483 = *Κτησίου*.

² Noteworthy is *ἦήρ* in the genuine work of Hippokrates π. *ἀέριον ἴδ. τῶπ.*, but *ἄήρ* in the spurious *περὶ ἰερῆς νόσου* Littré, VI 372, 374, 390 twice; on p. 394 *ἦήρ* is a conjecture of Littré. In VI 94, v. l. VI 524 we find *ἄήρ*, in VIII 268 *θ* has *ἦήρ* (*vulg.* *ἄήρ*).

³ *ἄίσσω*, Attic *ἄπτω* < *φαίφικτω*. Cf. *ā* as representative of *aif* in *δᾶήρ* = *δαίφῆρ*, Skt. *devār-*, and in *ἄεί* = *aifēi*.

assumption of a ground-form $\check{a}f\acute{\eta}p$ would necessitate the hazardous conclusion that a native Attic $\check{a}\acute{\eta}p$ arose by dissimilation from $\acute{\eta}\acute{\eta}p$. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276, without advancing an etymology of the puzzling word, ventures the assertion that it is an importation from Homer by the philosophers (*e.g.* Herakl. 25, Anaxag. 1, Meliss. 17) and the poets. At all events it is clear that $\check{a}f =$ Aiolic $\acute{a}v$ cannot be reflected by Attic \check{a} ; in other words, the supposition that f upon its disappearance lengthens a preceding vowel must be abandoned as an error. It is not long since scholars have learned that the loss of the palatal spirant yod is not compensated by the lengthening of a preceding vowel. The momentary appearance of $\check{a}^{\bar{}}$ as $\acute{a}v$ (\bar{a}) under the ictus in Homer cannot cause \check{a} to be regarded as long in prose. Homeric verse does not shape the form of words for the dialects, which live their own life. We must distinguish between words that have been adopted into literature from Homer in the Homeric form as the result of conscious art, and the phonetics of the dialects which are free from such external influence.

$\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}p\acute{o}s$, $\acute{\eta}p\acute{\iota}$, 'early,' are from $\acute{a}v\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$. $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$, 'breakfast,' Hom. Hdt. $< \acute{a}v\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$. These words must be separated from $\acute{a}\acute{\eta}p$, etc. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 62, Brugmann in Curt. *Stud.* IX 392, and *Grundr.* II § 122. Is it possible that the η of $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}p\acute{o}s$ &c. was introduced through confusion with $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}p\acute{o}s$, $\acute{\eta}p\acute{\iota}$?

$\acute{\eta}p\acute{\alpha}$, stated to be Ionic for $\acute{a}p\acute{\alpha}$ by Gram. Vat. p. 699, and found in Hippokr., is also Doric and Aiolic; $< \acute{\eta} + \acute{a}p\acute{\alpha}$, § 282. Cf. Apoll. *Conj.* 227₂₁ Sehn.

170.] $H = \bar{A}$ of Doric, E of Attic and of later Ionic by *metathesis quantitatis*.

In the Hipponaktian $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ we have the oldest Ionic stage of pre-Hellenic $*\lambda\acute{a}f\acute{o}s$ which can be recognized upon Greek soil. $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ is found in all MSS. but ν , Hdt. V 42. Were it not for $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ I 22, II 129, VIII 136, $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ might claim admission to the text of the historian with the same justice as $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$. See §§ 140, 4, 160.

$\nu\eta\acute{o}s < *r\acute{a}\bar{f}\acute{o}s$, in Hdt. and in Lukian, as in Archil. 4₁ (eleg.), with the retention of η , whereas, according to Merzdorf's 'law' the form should not have η . Editors of Hdt. write $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$ despite the fact that $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ is found almost without a variant. $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ occurs not infrequently in tragedy where its presence has been attacked by most editors. In order to avoid the inconsistency arising from the fact that Old Ionic $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s =$ Hdt. $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$, but Old Ionic $\nu\eta\acute{o}s =$ Hdt. $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$ (which is claimed to be the New Ionic form) not $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$, the $-\acute{o}s$ of $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}s$ has most improbably been regarded by Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, as due to the influence of that of $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{o}s$. The Doric genitive is $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{o}s$. Theognis has $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}s$ 84, 856, 1361, in 970 A has $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$, though Bergk reads $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{o}s$; $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\nu}$ 680¹. On the other hand,

¹ Renner regarded this form as a Dorism, but wished to substitute $\nu\eta\acute{\omega}s$ for $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}s$.

μηός 513, *μησί* 12; Solon *μηί* 19₃, *μησίν* 13₄₁; Mimn. *μησίν* 9₂. The forms in *η* deserve mention in this connection, because of the superstition that *μησί* and *μησί* are identical as regards quantity. The *a* of *μησί* is short. Cf. *βασιλεύς* < *-ηύς*, *Ζεύς* < *Ζηύς*, &c. In Ionic *μηός* the *η* is due to *μηός*; *μηί* instead of *μηί* is due likewise to the influence of the genitive.

171.] Ionic *η* = *Ā* of other dialects (including Attic *Ā* after E, I, Υ, P).

1. In the endings of the Vowel Declension, and in adverbs representing petrified cases of this declension.

2. In verbal forms of the *-αω* inflection, and in forms derived therefrom.

3. In radical and thematic syllables (excluding such as may be classed under 1 and 2).

4. In syllables of derivation.

5. In other forms.

η = Attic *ε̄* is derived from *ε(ι)η* = *ε(ι)ā*. Cf. Attic *δωρεά* < *δωρειά*, which prevails till 268 B.C.

References for the study of the interrelation of Ionic *η* and Attic *ā* :—

Ahrens, *Göttinger Philol. Versammlung*, 1852; Bergk, *Gr. Lit. Gesch.* I 73; Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, V 49 ff.; Cauer, in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 244, 435, and *Wochenschrift für kl. Phil.* 1887, No. 51; Curtius, in his *Studien*, I 248; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* XXIII; Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 10, *Grundr.* I § 104; Bechtel, *Phil. Anzeiger*, 1886, p. 20; Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 285.

Preliminary Remarks.—The dichotomy of the Greek language into *Ā* and *η* dialects assumes that at an extremely early period *ā* had become *η* in Ionic. But it may be doubted whether this shifting of pronunciation, though anterior to the disappearance of *r* before final *s*¹, was in all quarters of the Ionic world so old as is generally assumed to be the case. We are able to distinguish in the alphabets of Naxos, Keos and Amorgos between the sign for pan-Hellenic *η* (E) and that for secondary *η* = *ā* (H): a differentiation which makes it certain that the introduction of *η* for *ā* in Ionic did not happen at the stroke of twelve but was the result of a gradual change. That this change was accomplished in Attika before the departure eastward of the Ionians is not so probable as that it was begun while yet the Ionians dwelt in Attika and completed in the course of time upon the islands and the mainland of Asia Minor. Had all

¹ *η* from *ā* is later than the disappearance of *σ* in *āvσωσ* (§ 290). The law whereby an *āvσ-* would become *āvσ-* is later than the expulsion of the sibilant.

\bar{a} 's become η 's when the Ionians reached Ionia, Old-Persian *Māda* would have been represented in Ionic by *Mādoi*, not, as is the case, by *Mḡdoi*. Be this as it may, it is clear that the universal displacement of I.E. \bar{a} by η ¹ antedates the earliest distinctly Ionic literature of which we have cognizance. It is futile to maintain that Ionic Homerids substituted the η which had come into vogue in their day for an Ionic \bar{a} of a still older period of the epos. A much-vexed question is whether in Attic \bar{a} is original after ϵ , ι , υ , ρ , or whether the Ionic η was also Attic at some period of the Attic dialect, and later became \bar{a} . Certain scholars have ventured to compare the instances of Eleian \bar{a} =pan-Hellenic η , despite the fact that the cases are not parallel. And the actual appearance of a 'hyper-Doric' \bar{a} in one dialect is not proof that an Ionic-Attic η became \bar{a} in Attic.

Even if Attic \bar{a} after ϵ , ι , υ , ρ is later than η , it is scarcely to be expected that the older η should be sporadically attested, and improbable that Attic \bar{a} should have been substituted for pan-Hellenic η . The best support for the view that originally all instances of I.E. \bar{a} became η in Attic is to be sought in the fact *ἡγεί(σ)α* became *ἡγιά²*, *σαφέ(σ)α*, *σαφή*. According to Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXXI 289) Attic *θέᾱ* and *-λεᾱ* (in *Ἀναξιλέα*) from *θᾶfā* (in the dialect of Tarentum) and *λάfā*, can be explained solely on the view that in Attic all cases of primary \bar{a} became η . The same scholar adduces Eleian *Φάργον*, *ἐλευθάρος* and Lokrian *πατάρρα* in proof of the ability of ρ to change an open ϵ sound into \bar{a} . These are, however, instances not directly comparable to the case in point. But whatever the date of the change of η to \bar{a} , it happened long enough before the period of our earliest Attic monuments to preclude the possibility of the survival in them of any of the old η 's.

For a further discussion of the interrelation of Attic \bar{a} and Ionic η , see above §§ 61, 72 ff.

172.] Ending of the Vowel Declension (stems in \bar{a})³.

¹ There is no basis for an Ionic \bar{a} top (Et. Gud. 250₃₆).

² *ἡγιά* in inscriptions of the fourth century is an analogue of *σαφή*.

³ Masc. in *-ης*: *Σωσίης* Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 1, Gram. Meerm. 649, Birnb. 677₁, Vat. 695 with itacistic *-ειης*, *Ἐρμείης* Joh. Gr. 239 B (*-ης*), Greg. Kor. 1, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677₁. Fem. in *-ιη*: *ἔστιη* Joh. Gr. 241, *ασιη* Eust. 543₁, *Τρωή* An. Ox. I 408, cf. 407₃₂ and 387₃₀, *ἀρείη* Theogn. II 177₆, *ἀγγελίης* Schol. Γ 206, *ἀνειδείη* An. Ox. IV 419₂₇, *Ἀπολλ. Conj.* 227₂₇ Schneider, *Μηδείης* Hdn. II 751₃₂=Choir. 3245, *ἀληθείη* Aug. 668, Vat. 699, *ὠφελείη* Leid. 52₂, *ἀναηρός* Hdn. II 16₁, 357₃₀, An. Ox. III 296₁, *Δρακο* 79, *Σιδωνίηθεν* Hdn. II 349 = An. Ox. I 387₃₀. Fem. in *-εη*: *κονέη* An. Ox. I 239₃₀, *νηπιέη* Hdn. II 353₁ = An. Ox. I 279₂, An. Par. III 69₃₀, *καθέη* Et. Gud. 227₃₅, *Ἐκτορέη* *Ἀπολλ. Conj.* 233₁ Schn. Fem. in *-ωη*: *Τρωή* An. Ox. I 407₁₂. Fem. in *-ρη*: *Ἥρη* Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Greg. Kor. 10, Aug. 668, Meerm. 650, Vat. 693, 696; *χάρη* Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, *θύρη* Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Leid. 628, An. Ox. I 387₃₂;

1. *Masculines* in *-εις, -ως*, are retained upon all early Ionic inscriptions. *Ἐσρέας* and *Ἀνθαγόρας*, forms assumed to exist upon the lead tablets of Styra (19₁₃₁ and 214) have been shown, § 157, to lack foundation. Cf. 19₃₀₂, 19₁₇₃ in Bechtel, *Αἰρέης* in Rob. I 189 F, *Ἀρτίης* Rob. I 190, No. I, E. *Πυθαγόρας* occurs Samos 215 = Roberts, I 156, in an artist's signature to an Ionic epigram. Since the giver of the *εἰκῶν* was an Epizephyrian Lokrian, Pythagorês may have adopted for his name a form in harmony with the dialect of the dedicator Euthymos¹. The dialect of Rhegion was mixed Doric and Ionic (Thuk. VI 5). Whatever be the true explanation of this form, it deserves notice that this is the earliest example of *-αγόρας* upon an Ionic inscription. In Rob. I 157, we read [Πυ]θαγόρ[ας], restored on the lines of 156. A coin of Samos (400-350) gives the true Ionic form *Πυθαγόρης*, Bechtel, 226 I. On *Πυθαγόρης*, from Salymbria, see Bechtel on No. 261.

-ιας appears in Thasos at the end of the third century (*Κριτίας* 82 A 7); *Ἡγέας* in Keos, 44 B 4; *Ἐλπέας* *ibid.* 44 B 16, an early document perhaps of the fifth century; *Ἀρισταγόρας* Thasos, 82 A 5 (225-200). See § 415.

2. In *feminine* nouns the termination *-η* appears sporadically till after Christ in the inscriptional monuments of the Ionic dialect (cf. below, § 173). The ingression of the Attic forms in the *Â* declension dates from the middle of the fourth century B. C. *Κλενπάτρα* Delos 55, III 34 (cf. VII 27) dates from the third century B. C.; *ἀρῆι* Teos, 158₂₀, *Δημητριά* Chios, 192, *ὕγελιας* Olbia, 129₁₄, are all inscriptions of late date. Upon an archaic vase (Roberts, I 190) we find *Χώρα*, whose *ā* perhaps makes for Attic provenance (see Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 398).

Δωροφέα Roberts, I 29, upon a stone in Naxos, is certainly not an Ionian woman, not only on account of the *ā*, but also on account of the *φ* for *θ*, which is not a substitution known elsewhere as Ionic (*φ = θ* in Aiolic, Boiotian, Epeirotic, Thessalian).

Ἥρας Samos, 220₃₀, and 221₃₇ (about 350), whereas in 226 we find *Ἥρης*. The *η* form is retained upon inscriptions till a late period, though doubtless no longer spoken. Cf. § 430. The

ἀρούρη, γεφύρη An. Par. IV 118₁₂, *ἀγορή* Apoll. *Adv.* p. 191₂₁ Schn.; *γοργύρη* Eust. 1688₃₃, *ἡμέρη* Diog. Laert. VII 56; *ἡμετέρη* Leid. 628; *ἰθύρη* Theog. II 79₁₇; *Ἰρή* An. Ox. IV 412₁₂, Choir. 515₂₂; *Ἐφύρη* An. Ox. I 159₁₃ (also in Thukyd. II 117₈ called Attic, as also *Κύρη*; *ληϊβοτέρη* An. Ox. I 263₂₂; *πάτρα* Tzetz. Ex. II. 85₁₂; *Χήρη* Eust. 589₁₈, 1093₁₇; *ᾠρη* Vat. 696; *Ἄσκηρη, Ὀλύκηρη, Ἀντισάρη* Hdn. II 348₂₆ = Arkad. 113₁₈, cf. An. Ox. IV 412₉, and Choir. 515₆ ff., who has also *Κάρτη, Ἄγρη, Κύρη, Τερψιχόρη*. Even in *μοίρη* An. Ox. I 275₆, *σπέρη* Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, *σφαίρη* An. Par. IV 118₁₂, *Στείρη* Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf.

419.

¹ Dedicators generally have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet; but cf. Roberts, I 230, *bis*, for an exception.

conservative style of the inscriptions has retained *Πυθαγόρης* on coins of the empire (P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.* 1882, 280).

On *-ā* in the poets, see below, § 187 ff. The occurrences of *ā* in proper names in Hdt., where *η* might have been expected, have been enumerated under *Ā* (§ 158).

173.] Note on the chronology of *η* after *ε*, *ι*, and *ρ* in Ionic inscriptions.

It is to be noted that upon inscriptions as late as the third century after Christ, Ionic *η* held its ground sporadically; e. g. Keos, 52 *Ἰουλιητῶν* (in Attic even in the fourth century B. C.); Paros, 66 *Εἰλεθυήμι*; Istros, 135 *Ἰστρίη* (as late as Gordianus Pius); Priene, *Πριηνέων*, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Græques*, 246, No. 127 (time of Hadrian), Head, *H. N.* 508. Coins of Olbia retain *-η* till the period of Caracalla and Alexander Severus¹. *ΠΙΤΩΝ* occurs on coins of Ios from Trajan to Faustina Jun. and Lucilla, Head, *H. N.* 414. A unique form is *Ἄ[π]ατούρη* Latysch. II 28.

The inscriptions before 350 B. C. generally have the Ionic *η*.

This retention of *η*, the inflection of adjectives of material in *-εος*, &c., and the inflection of the *Iota* declension (gen. *-ιος*), are the last heirlooms of the Ionic dialect that were displaced by the Attic *κοινή*.

174.] In the following paragraphs we will attempt to discover to what extent the Ionic dialect has preserved the long vowel of the suffix *-η* (*-iā*), which in Attic and occasionally in Ionic has been displaced by *-iǎ*. An immediate connection, temporal or local, between Ionic and Attic cannot be shown on the ground of this tendency, which obtains in both dialects. Thus, the usual Attic form is *ἀλήθεια*, a form younger than the 'Old-Attic' *ἀληθείᾱ* and the Ionic (Homeric) *ἀληθείη*, since it is the result of a transferring of an abstract noun with the suffix *-iā* into the category of the adjectival flexion, which had *-iǎ* as original feminine ending². The feminine adjective was formed from a consonantal stem by the addition of the suffix *-iǎ* (Skt. *-ī*) as in *ἡδέϊα svādvi*, *ἀλήθεια*. Feminine nouns from the same stems added, not *-iā*,

¹ Ionic forms occasionally appear in the MSS. of the New and of the Old Testament. That *σπείρης* existed in the archetypal MS., is evident from Acts XXI 31 (general reading), XXVII 1 (every uncial and many cursives). In Acts X 1, *σπείρης* is not so well supported (ACEL, -as in BP); *μαχαίρης* Luke XXI 24 (B¹Δ), *μαχαίρη* Luke XXII 49 (B¹DLT^s); *πλημύρης* Luke VI 48 (B¹LΞ^s 33), *Σαπφείρη* Acts V 1 (Tischendorf, -ρα BD), *συνειδύης* Acts V 2 (AB E^s, -as DP); *ἐπιβεθηκίης* 1 Sam. XXV 20, *κουμοίης* Exod. VIII 21, 24, (but *-μνιαν*, read by Tischend. In Acts XXVII 30 *πρώρης* in N^el^cA 13 d; in XXVII 41, is the v. l. *πρώτη* for *πρώρη*?)

² Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 45 call *ἀληθείη* a later form than that in *-ειᾱ*. Joh. Gr. 235 merely cites *ἄφελείη*.

but *-iā* as in *ἀληθειᾶ*. Perhaps the presence of the latter form caused the fem. adj. *ἀλήθεια* to die out. At any rate the confusion between *-iā* and *-iā* in abstract nouns may be dated from the period of the disappearance of the fem. adj. of *ἀληθής*. Cf. also *-ηη* and *-εια* from *-ην* stems, *-ηη* being the substantival, *-iā* the adjectival, ending¹.

The question of the interrelation of *-ειη*, *-ηηη*, *-ηη* is touched on, §§ 145, 215, 232 ff. On Attic *-εια* and *-ια*, see Schanz' Plato II 2, p. vii ff., Moiris, 199₁₅.

175.] Abstract feminines in *-ειη* in Ionic.

See Choirob. Bekk. Anecd. III 1314, Hdn. II 454₂₀, Fritsch, *Zum Vokalismus des herod. Dial.* p. 19, Bredow, 127, 188. Figures without authors refer to Hdt.

ἀδείη IX 42, but *ἄδειαν* II 121 (ζ), in all MSS. *ἀληθείη*, not *ἀληθηήη*, in Hdt.; *ἀληθείη* occurs in Euseb. Mynd. 19, 21, Luk. *Astr.* 1, Hipp. ep. 10₆, 12₁, 17₅₇, Mimnermos 8, Iliad, Ψ 361, Ω 407, and often in the Odyssey. Cf. Gram. Aug. 668, Vat. 699. *ἀναδείη* VI 129, VII 210, &c., Archil. 78₅ (Athen. *-είην*, or *-ειαν*); Theog. 291, 648 (*O -ίη*); Hipp. ep. 17₄₂. Cf. Choirob. 655₃₄, An. Ox. IV 419₂₇, Apoll. *Conj.* 227₂₇ Sehn. *ἀτελείη* I 54, III 67, IX 73; *ἀτε[λ]είην* Kyzikos, 108 B 3. This form has been attributed by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto*, p. 18), to that species of Ionic which he calls Karian². No other example of *ἀτελείη* occurs upon Ionic inscriptions, though it is the regular Ionic form and that which has been supplanted upon other inscriptions by the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, Eryth. 199₆, (394 B.C. one of the earliest cases of the ingression of Atticisms³), 202₃, (350 B.C.); Zeleia, 114 (334 B.C.); Ephesos, 147₁₃, (300 B.C.); Iasos, 105₉ (end of fourth century); Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292 (early Hellenistic period). *ἀτρεκείη* IV 152, Hipp. ep. 16₂, 17₅₂. *ἐπιπειθείη* Sim. Amor. 1₇. *εὐηθείη* III 140; in VII 16 γ, *Ε* has *εὐηθείας*, not adopted by the editors. *εἰμαρείη* IV 113; Greg. Corinth. § 119, *εἰμαρέην δὲ τὴν ἀπόστατον*. Suidas has both *εὐμαρέη* and *εὐμάρεια*. *εὐπετείη* V 20, Demokr. 134. *εὐτελείη* II 92, &c. *κακοθηή* Demokr. *Mor.* 22 (Stob.). *μεγαλοπρεπείη* III 125. *πολυμαθείη* was the reading of Diog. Laert. in Herakl. 16 (Byw. *-ηη*). Cobet's *πολυμαθηήη* is wide of the mark. *πολυτελείη* II 87. *πρεσβυγενείη* VI 51. *προμηθείη* is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 1₂₁. Hdt. has *προμηθίη* I 88, III 36 (*CPd*, *-είη*). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says *τῆς νεωτέρας ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμήθειαν προμηθίαν*. *σιτοδείη* I 22, 94. *ξυμπαθείη* Aret. 153. *ύγείη* II 77, Demokr. *Mor.* 46,

¹ Ionic and Attic *Εὔβοια* is older than *Εὐβοιά*, Hesiod, *W. D.* 651. Cf. *εἰδυίαν*.

² On *βησιλέως*, a supposed example of 'Karian' Ionic, see § 11.

³ *προεδρίην* in the same inscription.

Hippokr. II 14, 26, 32, 634 Litt. (*vulgo ὑγείην*), ep. 2, 10, 17, 20 (*vulgo*, -ειαν in χ), 26, ὑγείη Hippokr. II 244 Litt. (*ὑγίην* 2165, 2276, &c.), II 282 Litt. (*ὑγείην* 2253, &c., ὑγίην 2276). Midway between ὑγείη and ὑγείη stands the itacistic ὑγίῃ in Herodas 4, a form not yet contracted into ὑγίη (cf. Ὑγία C. I. A. III 1832). The gen. is ὑγίης Hrd. 420, 91; the nom. Ὑγία 45 may be retained at the cost of the omission of τε. The evidence of inscriptions is against the primitive character of the form ὑγείᾱ (Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 181), though it appears as early as Eubulos III 248, Philemon IV 22 (l. 11)—in both passages rejected by Meineke. Whether Ὑγεια Paros 67 (cf. Olbia, 12914, also a late inscription) is ὑγείᾱ for Ionic ὑγείη, or ὑγείᾱ < ὑγεία is uncertain, but both forms are clearly itacistic. On ὑγείᾱ for ὑγεία, see Blass, *Aussprache*³, p. 60, who compares late Boiotian Θεισπειῶν for Θεισπειῶν, C. D. I. 816. ὑγεία is a conjecture in Herakl. 104 (*ὑγείαν vulgo*), and often occurs as a *v. l.* in Hippokr. ὑπωρείη II 158 R, ὑπῶρεα IV 23, for ὑπῶρεα from ὄρος, Hipponax ὀρείας 355, Hdt. ὀρεινός. φιλομαθείη Euseb. Mynd. 1. φρενοβλαβείη Luk. 89r. 18.

176.] Forms in -ειᾱ < -εσια.

In the following cases there is good MS. evidence for -εια, which must however be regarded as an Attic intruder. ἀδειαν, Hdt. II 121 (ζ) in all MSS. ἀκράτεια Hippokr. V 620 (166). ἀλήθεια Hippokr. ep. 17_{14, 57}, where Hercher adopts the form with η as in all the other cases cited below from this pseudo-Ionic source. ἀμέλεια Hippokr. II 60 (Litt. ὀμιλίην). ἀνδρογένεια Hippokr. ep. 27₂₂. ἀσθένεια Hippokr. III 224 *vulgo* (Lit. -είην), Aret. 321. ἀσφάλεια Hippokr. II 140, 244 (Lit. -είην), 634 (Lit. -ίην), III 234 (Lit. -είην). ἐγκράτεια Euseb. Mynd. 26. ἐμμέλειαν in all MSS. except d, Hdt. VI 129; Stein and Holder read -ειην. ἐπιμέλειαν in all MSS., Hdt. VI 105; Hippokr. ep. 27₅₇. εὐγένεια occurs in Dem. 127, a fragment otherwise in Ionic form in Stob.; cf. Hippokr. ep. 17₁₂. εὐλάβεια Hippokr. ep. 27₅₃. εὐμεινίη II 45, is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have -εια or -εα. ἥδυνάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17₅₃. Ἡρακλείη Hdt. V 43 (-κλειαν ABCd). κακοπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17₄₂. περιφανείη Stein, -εια, Holder with all MSS. In II 55, both Stein and Holder write Προμένεια, the name of a Dodonian priestess. ἐνυγένεια Hippokr. ep. 26₃. ξυμπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 13₂. ξυνάφεια Aret. 147, 334.

παρώλεια and ἐξώλεια, Bechtel, 263, found in Lykia, belong to the same class as ὑπῶρε(ί)α, but it is not certain that these forms are not Attic.

177.] Feminines in -είη or -ειᾱ derived from -ην- stems.

ἰρείη in Hdt. V 72; ἰρείαι II 53 ABC, II 55 *id.*, the reading

adopted by Holder. *ἰέρεια* is Homeric (Z 300) and original, is found upon a Kician inscription of the fourth century (No. 48), and is the *κοινή* form. Contracted form *ἰερῆ* < *ἰερέῃ*¹ or *ἰέρειᾶ*, Pantikap. 123₁, Ephesos, 150 (late). Cf. *βασίλειη*, *πρέσβη* Hdn. I 275₃, 322₂₁. If *ἰέρεια* is correct, as we should expect, we have in Hdt. the older and the younger form co-existing. *ἰερέῖα* is attested by Hdn. I 531₂, II 708₁₉, Moiris 191 as Attic, and occurs in *Bacch.* 1114. *ἰερέ(ι)ᾶ*, too, is Attic (Meisterhans,² p. 32). See § 300.

βασίλεια appears in numerous passages in Hdt. without a variant, and is the Homeric and original form. The *v. l.* *βασιληῖς* I 211, in *R* is an hyper-Ionism.

On the nom. *ᾶ* = *η*, see § 420.

178.] Feminines in *-οιῆ*, *-υιῆ*, *-οιᾶ*, *-υιᾶ*.

Hdt. usually has *-οιῆ* in fem. abstracts as *προνόιῆ*, *συννοίῆ*, *εὐνοίῆ*, *ὀμοχροίῆ*, *ἀπλοίῆ*, *παλλημοίῆ*. The Attic *-οιᾶ* appears in *εὐνοιαί* III 36 (*-οιῆν* Stein), *εὐνοιαί* II 169, *εὐνοιαί* I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. *-υιῆ* in *μητρυῖῆ*; *Ωρειθυῖῆ* is not certain in VII 189 (*ὠρειθυῖῆν* in *d*, *ὠρείθυιαί* in *R*). The Ionic prose form of Attic *ὄργυιᾶ* is not attested in the nominative. Homer has *ὄργυιῶ* (as *μῦῖα*), Hdt. only oblique cases, and so Nikand. *Theor.* 169 *ὄργυιῆ*, but Aratos, *Phain.* 196 *ὄργυιῆν*. See under *Accent*, § 119.

179.] Proper names in *-αιᾶ*, *-αιῆ*; *-ειᾶ*, *-ειῆ*; *-οιᾶ*, *-οιῆ*.

Νίσαια, *Ἰστίαια* in Hom., but *Ἰστιαίῆ* in Hdt. VIII 23-25, a variation that recurs in the case of *Φώκαια* Hymn Apoll. 35, Hdt. I 142, 152, II 106, 178, VI 17, but *Φωκαίῆ* I 80, 164, 165; *Μηδείῆν* I 2. For a full list of these names, see Bredow, 129 ff.

180.] Adverbs representing petrified case-forms of the *Ἄ* declension have throughout the Ionic *η*, *c. g.* *λίην* Hippon. 20, Anakr. 93 (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 58), *λάῳρη*, *πέρη* (Arrian 3, cf. Hdn. I 508₄), *πέρηθε*, *πρωίην* Hdn. I 490₆, Theogn. II 154₃₃.

181.] In verbal forms of the *-αω* inflection, and in derived forms.

καταρήσασθαι, *πειρήσομαι* (cf. Theog. 126) *θειήσασθαι*, *ἄδρηστος*, Tyr. 12₈, in Hdt. and on a vase, Roberts. I 104. *ἄδρωστος* Smyrna, 153₁₇, an inscription of Attic inclinations. Cf. also *ἡγόρασεν* Eryth. 206 B 48, C 44, *Νικασίωτος* Thasos (Louv.), 20 C 9. *Πολυάρητος* Thasos, 72₃, *ἄρητη* Hippon. 14, but *ἄρατος* Eryth. 206 B 44; *ἀρητήρ* An. Ox. I 21₁₀.

¹ Kallim. Epigr. 41 has *Ἰερέῃ*, Schn. *Ἰρεῖῆ*.

Of all the supposed cases of Ionic η in the modern Pontic dialect, only two $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ = $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$) are regarded as genuine survivals by Hatzidakis, *Nouv. Gramm.* p. 163.

182.] Words containing $\Pi = I$. E. \hat{A} in radical and thematic syllables. A few examples of each class will suffice.

The admission of 'hyper-dialectal' \bar{a} into an Ionic word is out of the question. The Hipponaktian (2) $\pi\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, if connected with $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, must yield to some one of the various conjectures made to bring sense into the fragment. This \bar{a} is out of place save in Theokr., by whose time the hyper-Doric \bar{a} may have gained a footing. Cf. $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ Alkaios, 187. $\text{Zav}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\text{Zav}\acute{\iota}$ Bergk, *P. L. G.* III 710 (82) cannot be vernacular Ionic. $\text{Z}\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ was used by Pherekydes (Eust. 1387²⁸), not $\text{Z}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ as Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI 741 reports. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 51.

η = extra-Ionic \bar{a} , after ρ .

$\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; for which Bergk reads $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$, Archil. 31, though Schneidewin long ago corrected the MS. to $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\rho}\varsigma$. There is no warrant for supposing that the inflection of $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ differed from that of $\nu\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ in the nom.; and on Archil. 168 Bergk reads $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$. $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ should not be derived from $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$ (Curtius, *Et.*⁵, 176, cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV II 375), but is probably an immovable feminine adjective like $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ in $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\eta$, $\eta\acute{\delta}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ in $\eta\acute{\delta}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}$; and of this, $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ are the movable feminine forms. $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ appears to be a solitary example of a ν -stem which has not taken on the $-eia$ inflection. $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$ is of Aiolic source. $\gamma\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ in Homer is scarcely an analogue to $\pi\racute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\upsilon\varsigma$, as Brugmann, *M. U.* III 25, suggests.

$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Hdt. III 106, against the authority of all the MSS., cf. $\Pi\eta\rho\omicron\kappa\rho\iota$. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\mu\alpha\iota$. The base $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$ has the form $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}$ = Ionic $\kappa\rho\eta$. $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$ Hdt., $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ ¹ Anakr. 941, cf. Eust. 1403₃₃, $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ Hesych. Even Pollux, X 108, has $\eta\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\rho\eta\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, cf. Bechtel 103.

$\pi\iota\pi\eta\acute{\rho}\iota\sigma\kappa\omega$ (cf. Kallimachos 85), $\pi\rho\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ Eryth. 204₆; Hdt. $\pi\rho\eta\theta\eta\gamma\alpha\iota$. Solon, however, has $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ 4₂₅ eleg., 36₇ trim.

$\pi\rho\eta\acute{\tau}\tau\omega$ ²: $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\sigma\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in Hdt. $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ Thas. (L.), 8 B 6, 10₄, 11 B 3, 13₁₁, 21₂. $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ Thas. (L.), 3 B 8, cf. Thasos, 75 A 7. $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Eryth. 206 A 11. $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$ Thas. (L.), 10₂, 46. $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\omega}$ Kyme, 20; $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\rho$ Delos, 57; $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\rho\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\tau\omega\nu$, 22₆, near Eretria with non-Ionic $\tau\tau$; $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ Teos, 158₁₇, Chios, 174 A 15, 20; $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\chi}\mu\alpha$ Chios, 174 B 18, 174 C 7 (also Attic, C. I. A. III 3822). In Hdt. and other writers the Attic forms have crept into some MSS. Cf. I 8, V 12, VII 147 (Arrian, 9₁₀, 43₁₀), Protage. *ap. Plut. De Consol.* Theognis has η forms, 70, 80, 73, 1026, 1027, 553, 661, 953, 461, 1031, 1075, but the \bar{a} forms in A or in other MSS. 204, 679, 256, 644, 642, 1051. Some Ionic inscriptions, too, have admitted the

¹ $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ An. Ox. I 238₁₈, Et. M. 538₂₇, Et. Gud. 346₁₄.

² $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\chi}\mu\alpha$ An. Ox. I 238₁₉, Et. M. 538₂₈, Et. Gud. 346₁₅.

Attic forms, Mylasa, 248 A 10 (367-6 B. C.), 248 C 10 (355-4), Ephesos, 147₁₈, about 300 B. C. In literature *πρη-* in all early monuments: Hdt., Dem. *Mor.* 20₂₁, Herodas, V 3, &c.

πρηῦς, *πρηῦνεσθαι* in Hdt., Hippokr., Πρηύλος, name of a Thasiote, Πρηύχος of a Styrian, 19₃₄₇ (cf. Πρε-άνθης Keos, 50, IV 65). *πρηέα* Luk. *Astr.* 29. *πρεμενής* in Attic poets is an Ionism.

ρήδιός (*ρήϊδιος* Apoll. *Adv.* 567 = Schn. 157₄), *ρήστῶνη* in Hdt. and Luk. *Syr.* 20, *Astr.* 21, Hippokr. *ῥαθυμείτω* VI 648, 656, *ῥαστῶναι* III 438, *ῥάων* VIII 268 but very often *ῥήσιος*, *ῥήσιερος*. (Arct. 332). *ῥήσιω* VIII 38. Blass thinks the *σ* is short in the forms (cf. also §§ 208, 274) which are not followed by two short syllables. Cf. Aiolic *βράδιος* = *φράδιος*, Theokr. XXX 27, *βραιδίως*. Osthoff, *Perfect.* 446 ff., explains *ῥάων* = *ῥάσιων* = Lat. *rārior* (**vrāsos*). Cf. § 233.

ῥηχίη, *flood-tide*, in Hdt., can have nothing to do with *ῥήγνυμι* as L. & S. state, since the latter has pan-Hellenic *η*¹. Connect rather *ῥάχης*, *spine*, Hdt. III 54. For the use of names of parts of the body to express natural objects, cf. *arm of the sea*, *shoulder of the mountain*, *πολυδεϊράς* Ὀλυμπος, &c.

τρηῦς. The relation of *τῤῥᾶ* to *ταρα* in *ταραχίη*, *τάραξις* is not perfectly clear, though it is probable that there is a correspondence of types, *κερα* : *κῤῥᾶ* :: *ταρα* : *τῤῥᾶ*. *τρηέα* in Hdt. VII 33, is due to Abicht, the MSS. having the Attic form, which comes to light in Solon, 4₃₅. The genuine Ionic form is found in Tyrtaios, 12₂. Hipponax, 47₂.

The pseudo-Ionists generally adopt the Ionic forms.

In some of the later portions of the Hippocratic corpus Attic *σ* is freely used, as in *κέκραγα*, *κεκράκτης* VI 388.

183.] *Νικήνορος* Thasos (L), 12 C 11, may serve as an example of *η = ā* lengthened from *ǎ* upon the formation of a compound word. See § 165, note, and § 167. On *Λοχᾶγός* in Styra, see above, § 157. *κρήνη* Ion.-Attic, from *κρᾶνᾶ* (Thessal. *Κραννούν*), Doric *κράνᾶ*, perhaps from **κῤῥᾶσνᾶ*. The Attic *η* is to be explained as that of *εἰρήνη* § 217.

184.] Ionic *η* = extra-Ionic *ā*, after vowels.

Ἰήσων in Hdt., but *Ἰάσων* Halik. 240₂₃; *Ἰητῶν* Head, II. N. 414; ΤΡΗ *ibid.* 222.

Ἰστρή Istros, 135; *ἡτρός* Pantik. 119; cf. Luk. π. δ. ἰ. σ. § 16; often in late epigrams, and even in such as are otherwise Doric. Wagner, *Quaest. de epigr.* 27. *ἡτηρ* C. I. It. et Sic., Add. 2310 A.

νεμηῆς Hdt., *νεμηίσκος* Hippokr., *νεμηιέων* Protag., cf. *Νεή-*

¹ *ναυγήη*, *shipwreck* = Attic *ναυᾶγήη* contains the lengthened form of *fāγ*, ablaut of *fāγ* (*κατεγηότα* in Hdt. and Hippokr.).

πολις, Bechtel, 41. The stem *νεᾶ-* varies with *νεο-*; *Νεοπολιτέων* 42, cf. 43 and 44. Cf. *Φαίηλος* Thasos (L.), 7 B 6, from *φαιο-*, as *Κυδρηλος* from *κυδρο-*. Cf. *Ἐρμάφιδος* Th. (L.), 20 C 8, and *Ἐρμόφιδος*.

παιήων, the Homeric form, is still preserved in Archilochos 76. Hdt. has *παιωνίζω*.

Πριηρέων, Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Greeq.*, 296, No. 127, period of Hadrian; PPH, Bechtel, No. 143.

Upon the Attic tribute lists from 456 to 424 B. C. some names of Ionic peoples appear, now in the Ionic, now in the Attic form (*Ἀδλιῆται*, *Ἰῆται*, *Κερδιῆται*, *Ναξιῆται*, *Πριηρῆς*). In other cases *η* always (*Βαργυλιῆται*, *Θραυῆται*). Even the inhabitants of *Ἰάλυσος* appear as *Ἰηλύσιοι*, whereas upon their own documents we find *Ἰαλυσίοι[s]*, Cauer, 177. The name seems to have come to the Athenians through Ionic sources. Cf. Cauer in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 247. In the fourth century the epicure names are more tenacious of their hold in the Attic inscriptions. Cf. Meisterhans, 13.

τιρήη Hdt. VIII 120, but *τιῆρα* I 132, III 12, retained by Stein and Holder. Cf. *Περγαί*, 662 *τιῆρας* (Dind. *τια-*).

τριήκοντα and other forms of *τριη-* in composition. *τριήκοντα* Hippon. 203, Eryth. 20217, cf. Mylasa, 248 A 1, Keos, 4320, Chios, 174 B 23, D 15, Thasos (L.), 9, has an *η* = *ā* that is probably not original, though the *ā* of the I. E. neuter pl. *triā* took its *ā* from the *o* decl. when the plural of the *o* stems ended in *ā*. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 39.

διη- in *διηκοσίων* Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios, 174 D 18. The long vowel is due to the influence of that of *τριηκόσιοι*. See Spitzer, *Lautehre des Arkad.* p. 19.

185.] Syllables of Derivation containing II.

For example, in Herodotos. *Σαρδέης*, *Κρηστωνιῆτης*, *Σπαρτιῆτης*, *Αἰγυῆται*. *Τεγέη*, *Τεγεῆτης* (*Τεγέη* is from *Τεγείη* as *δωρεά* from *ωρεά* in Attic, unless the latter, as Dittenberger thinks, is the younger form), *Βαργυλιητῶν* Bechtel, 252. *Ὀρνεᾶται* Hdt. VII 73 in *ABCd*, for which Stein has the Ionic form; cf. in the same chapter *Παρορνεῆται*. On other names in *-ᾶται* in Hdt., see above, § 158. Arrian 511 has *Τιτηῆνος*.

Ionic *θεῆρηξ*, *θωρηκοφῆροι* in Hdt. and Arrian. *ἦρηξ* = Attic *ἱεράξ*, &c. *στύραξ* is the Herodoteian form (in III 107 one MS. has *στύρηκα*).

Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος Archil. 10, is not in the MSS., but corresponds to *Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα* Iliad, XV 8. Cf. § 140, 1.

186.] In other Forms.

In the aorist of liquid verbs, e. g. *ἔγημεν* Anakr. 86, *τετρήνας* Hippon. 56. Is *τετρήνεται* Hippokr. VII 498 formed from the aorist?

In the forms¹ ἐμίληνα, ἐλίληνα (as also in ἐθέρμηνα, ἐκάθηνα) Hdn. II 79, 81₈ = Choir. 607₂₅, 655₂₂, Et. M. 483₁₄, 626₂₁, 791₁₁ (μιήναι), An. Ox. IV 193₂₉, 419₂₆; ἔκρηνα An. Ox. I 242₃, An. Par. III 318₂₁ (κρήνον Hdn. II 232₁₃ = Theogn. II 91₂₁, An. Ox. I 242₃, An. Par. III 318₂₁, cf. Tzetz. Ex. II. 98₁₄).

187.] Ionic Η in Tyrtaios and Solon.

Since Attic metrical inscriptions (§ 72) pronounce in favour of the adoption of the Attic *a* for *η* in forms which might (on the view that the influence of the epic, and not that of the native dialect was paramount) have been Ionic, the question arises whether in the non-Ionic elegists there may not be preserved instances of the *ā* of the native speech. Though Ionic was the dialect of the Greek literary world prior to the advent of Attic (as Attic was the medium of literary expression until the advent of the κοινή), nevertheless it may have not possessed the power to absolutely repress all ingressions of a non-Ionic idiom. We may ask: How far does the dialect of poets born in Ionia differ, if it differs at all, from the dialect of poets whose birthplace or place of residence was in a canton whose speech had never admitted *η* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, and *ρ*? In other words, are the *ā*'s of Tyrtaios due to his Spartan home, and are the *ā*'s of Solon the result of his Athenian citizenship? Furthermore, we can here but call attention to the fact that the MSS. of the Ionic poets may have suffered, either from the hands of ignorant scribes who knew only the common dialect of their time, or from preconceived notions as to the character of early iambic, trochaic and elegiac poetry. In the case of poets of Ionic birth, whose art is Ionic, the restoration of the genuine Ionic forms in *η* offers but little difficulty. Thus we have an Attic ἀρθίας in Ananios 5 (θεήν 1₂), Ἀραξαγόρας in Anakreon 105, and other cases of like character. § 416. Cases of *ā* in Herodas are very rare (3₂₄, 5₅, 37, 93). These are Attic rather than Doric.

188.] Tyrtaios: The absence of any contemporaneous elegiac poems upon inscriptions, such as guide us in the examination of the Soloneian dialect, renders extremely difficult the question whether or not Tyrtaios admitted any cases of Doric *ā* in his elegies. In the elegies, where, on any view, we should expect to find fewer cases of *ā* than in the *embateria*, we notice αἰσχροῦς δὲ φρυγῆς 12₁₇, ἀπιμία 10₁₀, ἐχθρὰν-ψυχὴν 11₅ and ἀνιάρωτατον 10₄ in MSS. ἄ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ 3₁, is supposed to represent the response of the Delphic oracle to Lykurgos, though

¹ The grammarians often call an aoristic form Ionic on account of an *η* which is, however, also Attic: ἐτέκτηνα An. Ox. I 138₂₄, 411₁ (cf. Attic ἐτεκνηνάμην), ἔφηνα An. Ox. IV 198₂₃, 419₂₆, I 350₁₇, 410₂₂; ἐσίμηνα IV 198₂₃, Choir. 608₆, καθήρατε An. Par. III 508₁₇, ἔγημα An. Ox. IV 193₂₀, &c.

the Pythia used the epic idiom from the earliest period. The $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$ of Plutarch seems more probable than $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$ in 4₄ (accord. to Diod. Sik.).

Elsewhere the Ionic forms prevail: $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$ 10₈, $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ 11₂₁, $\delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\acute{\eta}$ 11₂₅, $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\eta$ 12₇, $\tau\rho\eta\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, accus., 12₂₇, $\Lambda\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 12₈. Since in a few Lakonian elegies of early date (though posterior to Tyrtaios) we find only the Doric forms, I regard $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$, and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as native to the original dialect of Tyrtaios and the η 's as due to the same cause as produced those in Solon.

In the case of the *embateria*, we shall, I think, have to accept as certain an admixture of Lakonian forms. Thus we find $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$ 15₁, $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 15₂ (cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* I 51), $\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 15₃, $\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ 15₄, $\tau\eta$ $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta$ 15₄. Bergk's reading, $\Lambda\gamma\epsilon\tau$, $\bar{\omega}$ $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$, $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\Lambda\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon$, in fragment 16, presents a hopeless mixture of Doric and Ionic, to which no Spartan youth would have listened. $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon$ is an hyper-Dorism, unattested for the period of the early Messenian wars, which occurs in the pseudo-Timaios $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$; and $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\rho\omicron\iota$ should be $\kappa\bar{\omega}\rho\omicron\iota$, if Doric. Hephæstion has $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon$ correctly enough.

189.] Solon: In his trimeters we find $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 36₅, $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\eta$ 36₁₄ (Plut. $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\eta$), $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ 36₇. η in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ 36₈, $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\eta$ 36₁₁.

In the tetrameters: $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\alpha\upsilon$ 33₃, $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\upsilon$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ 33₆, $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ 32₃. η in $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ 32₂.

In the elegies, where the greatest dependence upon epic forms might be anticipated: $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 4₁, $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 4₂, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 4₃, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 4₃, $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 9₂ (*sic* Diod. Sik., Plut.; $-\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ Diog. L.), $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\upsilon$ 11₁ (cf. Diod. Sik.; $-\eta\upsilon$ Plut., Diog. L.); also in $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ 4₅, $\tau\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ 4₅, $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ 4₈, $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ 9₅. Elsewhere η .

η might possibly be defended even in the trimeters and tetrameters on the view that the background, especially of the iambic trimeter, is Ionic, and that the dialogue portions of Attic tragedy in their use of occasional Ionisms (§ 77) followed the norm established by the earliest cultivator of the iambus upon Attic soil. This view must be rejected because the senarii of tragedy adopt the Ionic η only under certain conditions which are foreign to Solonic art. Solon made use of $\bar{\alpha}$, and the Ionic η must have been introduced by scribes prepossessed by the belief that he was entirely dependent upon the Ionic dialect in matters of vocalism. In regard to his use of $\sigma\sigma$ for Attic $\tau\tau$, he is clearly under the influence of Ionic models.

In the elegiac poems there is no positive proof that Solon adopted Attic forms where they differed from Ionic, nor, on the other hand, have we criteria sufficient to establish the uniform appearance of the Ionic forms. The evidence of the contemporary

elegy speaks, however, strongly in favour of the rejection of all cases of the specifically Ionic η . Cf. § 61.

190.] Xenophanes, Theognis and the Later Elegy.

Xenophanes preserves the Ionic η everywhere except in *κρατήρ* 14, for which we should read *κρη-*. On *ἔμπᾶς*, see above, § 161.

The Theognideian collection offers so much that is adventitious that the question as to how far Theognis coloured his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well-nigh insurmountable. The cases of \bar{a} in the chief MSS. are as follows:—

πρᾶγμα 256, 642, 644, 1051 (cf. § 182); *ῥᾶδιον* and connected words, 120, 429, 1220; *μικρά* 607; *Τιμαγόρα* 1059 (by conj.); *ἔχθρά* 270 (in some MSS.); *παιδείας* 1305, cf. 1348; *πατροφίας* 1210, 888; *σμικρᾶ* 323; *μῖᾶ* 664 (some MSS. *μῖῆ*); *λείαν* 1327; *δυστυχίαν* 1188 (*A* has $-\eta$, as frequently where the MSS. divide on this question). Renner wishes to read *νηῦς* 84, 856, and 970 (*A* has *νηυς*)¹. The genitive sing. and dat. plur. are *νηός* 513 and *νηοί* 12. In the second book η seems better supported.

In the later elegy we find \bar{a} in the MSS. in Aischylos (but *κναρέη* 31), Sophokles, Euenos (but *μαρίης* 2, *βλαβερίη* 4), Kritias (but *εὐσεβίης* 22, *ἡμετέρης* 43). All these η forms should be changed to \bar{a} . Forms in η occur in Pigres, Empedokles, Agathon, Plato and Aristotle, though in the last three \bar{a} should be expected. Plato 24 has *πέτρας*, [25] *τάνδε*, though it is surprising to find Dorisms. The genuine Plato no doubt used Attic forms. η is in place in Ion, cf. 2, 41, 3, though the \bar{a} 's elsewhere occur (e.g. 31, 4). Dionysios Chalkos has *εἰρεσίη* 43, 51. A mixture of η and \bar{a} so early as the fifth century is improbable. Even in the case of Ion, his elegies must be either Attic or Ionic.

191.] Ionic H=Attic Ā.

διπλήσιος Apoll. *Conj.* 227₂₃, 233₂₃, Schn., *πεντα-*, *ἑξαπλήσιον*, *πολλαπλήσια* Hdt. The latter form, III 135, where *ABR* have the Attic form; which comes to light in *διπλάσιον* Teos, 158₂₂, an almost completely Atticized inscription. Cf. Gothic *aiu-falþs*.

The genuine Herodoteian *πεντακόσιοι* is amply attested (III 90, IX 29), and occurs in the Chian inscription, 174 D 7 ($\pi[\epsilon]ντακοσίαν$). *πεντᾶκοσιοι* has its *πεντᾶ-* on the lines of *τετρα-*, *ἑπτᾶ-*. The form *πεντη-* in certain MSS. of Hdt. (III 13, VII 186) is doubtless to be explained on the view that the scribe had in his mind's eye the Homeric *πεντηκόσιοι* (γ 7), whose η is due at once to the influence of *πεντήκοιντα* and at the same time to the ictus. Aristarehos and Herodian wrote *πεντᾶκόσιοι* in the Homeric passage.

Instances of $-\eta = \bar{a}$ in suffix syllables are adduced, § 419. Such

¹ *ναῦς* occurs 84, 856, 970, 1361, *ναῦν* 680. Whether this is \bar{a} or $\bar{\alpha}$ is uncertain.

forms as *μοίρη*, *σπέριη* (Greg. Corinth. p. 390), *γεφύριη*, occurring occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., are hyper-Ionisms.

πέριη, *πέριη* (§ 419) are genuine Ionisms.

Ionic *ρηῖς*, *ρηυσί* (= *rāēs*, *rāḗsiti*) are due to case-levelling, the *η* forms being strictly in place only in such cases as the genitive singular where the case termination begins with a vowel.

ἀραπλήσσουσι Hippokr. II 58 cannot be correct Ionic for Attic *ἀραπλάττουσι*.

Kallinos' *Ἡσιονῆας* (5) has been regarded by Fick, *Odysee*, p. 24, as an instance of ictus lengthening, Steph. Byzant. connecting *Ἡσιονία* with *Ἀσία*. *ἦκην*, cited as a parallel instance from Archilochos by Fick, has been differently explained, § 169; and *Ἡσιονῆας* may rest ultimately upon similar ablaut gradations. At least it is premature to assume lengthening *per ictum* in so hazy a word.

τήγανον is called Ionic, Hdn. II 388⁵ = Et. M. 743⁵⁰ (cf. 756²⁷). Both *τᾶγγρον* and *τήγανον* occur in Old Comedy. Athenaios cites a form *ῆγανον* (= *τήγανον*?) from Anakreon 26 (§ 326).

Fick's contention that *ἦμορος* is a living Ionic form for *ἄμορος*, still awaits proof. Evidence in favour of his view may be found in the gloss of Hesychios: *ἦμορίς* *κενή*, *ἐστερημένη*; *Ἀσχυλος Νιόβη*. *ἄμορος* is a strange form in Hipponax 2, a poet whose intellectual character and whose use of language is alien to the retention of such Homeric forms as are Aeolic in colouring. See § 339.

ἡλασκάζω Il. XVIII 281, for *ἀλυσκάζω*, Ionic according to Orion 70₁.

192.] H = E.

See § 139. On *θηέομαι* = *θεάομαι*, see on the verb, § 685; on the interrelation of *ει* and *ηι*, see § 232-239.

ἀνηρίθεντος Chios, 174 B 26, of which the usual form is *ἀνερ*-. See § 167.

193.] Ionic H = I.

No interchange of *η* and *ι* can be maintained on the score of *ψημιθύω* = *ψιμιθύω*, Et. Mag. 103²⁵, nor in view of the name *Σημωνίδης*, attested as that of the iambographic poet by Et. Mag., and adopted by Christ in his *History of Greek Literature*, and by Hiller in the new edition of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*. Elsewhere no trace of this form of the name appears; while *Σιμωνίδης* is genuine Ionic from the evidence of a lead tablet from Styra (19₁₂₃); and it is under this name that the author of the *Mirror of Women* is usually cited by ancient authorities.

194.] Ionic H = Ω.

Μαίητις, often in Hdt. with different suffix¹ than in *Μαίωτις*, the later name. Cf. *Μαίηται* (= *Μαίωται*) Hdt. IV 123. We find *Μαίωτιν* IV 3 in all

¹ A curious variation in suffix formation is presented by *χοληγαγός* for *-ηγός* which is found in *Α* in Hippokr. VI 322. In the fifth century *-αγωγός* was just coming into vogue (Hippokr. *ἀναγωγός*).

MSS., and so Hippokr. Hdt. generally used *-ωτις, -ωτης* (Πελασγιώτιδες, Φθιώτις, Θεσσαλιώτις, Ἰταλιώτης). Ἰσταιώτις is the form in Hdt. as in Strabo, though VIII 23, R has Ἰσταιήτιδος; and all MSS. have Ἰσταιιώτιδος VII 175. cf. I 56. Ἀμπρακιητέων is the accepted form, IX 28, -ιήτας 31, but Ἀμπρακιώται occurs VIII 45, 47. Kirchhoff thinks that *-ητις* is properly Herodoteian and that *-ωτις* was smuggled in from the κοινή. Names in *-ωτις* are generally non-Ionic. We find Ἰταλιώτης IV 15. Hdn. II 231₁₉ *αριῦ* Eust. 468 thinks *-ιητης* in Μασσαλιήτης, Ἀπολλωνιήτης is Ionic.

Archilochos has παιήονα. See §§ 140, 1, 202, 280.

195.] Ionic II = AI.

μηρόνου Archilochos, 48 = Homeric *μαιφόρε* (E 31). A similar balance of η and αι forms appears in Ἀλλημένευς Bechtel, Thes. (L.), 4 B 3, and Ἀλαιμένης. Ionic has no trace of *αἴμις*, a form that comes to light in Aiolie. Archil. 167 ἤμισυ τρίτον = δύο ἤμισυ.

196.] Long Iota.

1. Ionic with other Hellenic dialects has retained a few cases of *ī* which may be assumed to be proethnic, e.g. *ἴκω, -ῖτης*.

2. *ī* on Hellenic soil from *ιφ*(*τίνω*), *ιρι* (*οἰκίριω*), *ισγ* (*ρίγιον*), *ἴλεος* and *ἴλαος* < *σισλη-*, *ἰλύς* from *ἰ-σλύς* = Aiolie *λλ-*, *ἴσος* < *ἲσος* (*ἴσος* does not occur in Ionic poetry). On *ī* from contraction of *ι + ε* in *ἰρός, ἰρέη*, &c., in Herodotos, see under Contraction, § 300, on *ī* < *ι + ι*, § 270. Hdn. I 526₂₇, II 18₂₇ held that the *ι* of trisyllabic nouns in *-ίς* was long in Ionic, short in Attic.

Ionic is on a plane with the non-assimilating dialects (*i. e.* all except Aiolie and Thessalian) in lengthening short iota + *σμ* to *īm* (Ἰμερος Perinthos, 234 B 25). *γίνομαι* < *γιγν-*¹ seems to have been the accepted form of the fifth century, though we lack the evidence of old inscriptions. Oropos, 18₁₇, about 400 B. C., has *γιεσθων* Mylasa, 248 A 15 (367-6 B. C.), *γίνεσθαι* Teos, 158_{1, 2} (first century), *γινώμενοι*. If we may trust the MSS. of the iambographic poets, *γίγνομαι* is the better attested form for their period. *γίνομαι* occurs in Anakr. 87. The substitution of *γίνομαι* for *γίγνομαι* appears to have taken place earlier in Ionic than in Attic, in the inscriptions of which dialect *γίνομαι* does not come to light until 292 B. C. Hdt., Anaxag., Demokr., Xanthos, Pherekydes of Leros (22, 40, 48, 55, 85, 89: cf. 20), Herakl., Hrd. I 27, Arrian 3s, 28₄, have *γίνομαι*. This form when found in later writers who quote Ionic sources is no proof of Ionic colouring, since *γιγν-* is common after Aristotle. *γινώσκω* in Herodotos, Hippo-

¹ Hoffmann *D. M. G.* p. 23 denies that *γίνομαι* arose from *γίγνομαι* and derives it from **γίνφωμαι* (cf. *jinwati*), but takes no note of *γινώσκω*. Both arose from *γιγνν-*. The Kretan *γινώμενον* (*Mus. Ital.* III 69₄₇ Gortyna) represents the halting-place on the road to *γίνν-*.

krates, Demokr., Herakleitos, Melissos, Anaxag., Herodas, is not met with upon Attic inscriptions until the period of Roman supremacy. In Hipp. Littre generally has $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$ *v. l.* II 636. Cf. § 589. Hdt. uses $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\omega$, not $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\mu\iota$ as Arrian, on which see *A. J. P.* VI 449.

In $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$ Arch. 13 ($\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$ 6₁) we have an instance of $-\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$, with which compare Skt. $-\acute{\iota}yas$. The epic poets have $-\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$.

$\acute{\iota}$ occurs in $\xi\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ Arch. 50, $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ Aman. 5₁. Cf. Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\mu\iota$ (Hom. $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\mu\iota$). Whether $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ is to be compared with Attic $\kappa\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$ = Hom. $\kappa\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$, Attic $\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$, $\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$ = Hom. $\mu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$ is doubtful. Cf. Curtius' *Verbum*, I 301.

197.] **Itacism.** It is extremely doubtful whether there is any instance of itacism in inscriptional Ionic of the fifth or previous centuries. In the third edition of his *Aussprache* (p. 58) Blass has withdrawn all the examples he had collected (ed. 2, p. 51) from the inscriptions in proof of an early appearance of ι for $\epsilon\iota$. In the case of Μαρωνητεων ¹ 196₁, not noticed by Blass, we have a form by the side of which exist Μαρωνητειων 196₂ = *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, No. 13, and Μαρωνητητων 196₂, all three forms occurring upon coins before 400. The coin, *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, 15, has Μαρωνητων on the front and Μαρωνητων on the reverse; Μαρωνητων in Bechtel, 196₆, being later than 400 B. C.

Of such forms as show both $\eta\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota$, as in Attic Ἀριστηίδης and Ἀριστείδης , the former is the older; but no instance of a parallel form in $\acute{\iota}$ can be adduced. An Ἀριστοκλίδης Styra, 19₁₆₃, is derived from Ἀρίστοκλος , an Ἀριστοκλείδης Styra, 19₁₂, from Ἀριστοκλής . Greg. Corinth., p. 379, attests the existence of diacresis in Πηλείδης and Πηληϊδης , herein confusing Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic. On the latter form and on Herodoteian patronymics, see § 235, Bredow, p. 190.

There are several forms in the Ionic of literature which point to the later confusion between the $\epsilon\iota$ and $\acute{\iota}$ sounds, such as I have shown, *A. J. P.* VI 419-450, to exist in the text of Homer. Cf. *v. g.* Πολυρείκος Hdt. IV 147, &c., with the spelling of Στρατορείκου Paros, 67, and of Νείκην Olbia, 129₁₁, both of the period of the empire. For the older forms in $\acute{\iota}$, see I. G. A. 79, 515. Πολύνικος occurs on inscriptions from Attika and elsewhere (Ἀνδρονίκου C. I. G. 2252, Samos).

Τείμαρχος Styra, 19₂₁₅, is Lenormant's incorrect reading for Τεμα . Τεμα is, however, attested in Τεμμαγόρια Cauer, 195₂₁ (Rhodes). This form is due to the influence of τέτω , ἔτεισα , Τεισικράτης , &c.

Εἰδομένεος Thasos (L.), 50, about 300 B. C. (cf. Εἰδομένεα C.

¹ See Head, II. N. 216.

I. G. 2184, -εῖ 6418), might be derived from εἶδομαι. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων Olbia. 130₂, (not before 200 B. C.), is certainly itacistic. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων 130₂. Ἀφροδείτης Eryth. 206, C 48, with later εἰ.

On the Homeric Πολυίδος, see *K. Z.* XXV 261, XXVII 275, XXIX 236, *A. J. P.* VI 440. It occurs upon a metrical inscription from Amorgos (No. 35) of the fourth or third century, and in a document from Halikarnassos, 240₄₆, dating from the fifth century according to Dittenberger. Πολυίδειος Thessal. 345₈₄. The form Πολυείδης, if it existed in earlier Ionic, must have ceased to exist in Ionia by the fourth century. The forms in $\bar{\iota}$ seem well attested¹.

For ἔλη Stein writes εἶλη I 73, and εἶλας I 202, εἰλαδόν I 172. Cf. *Kret. ἀρχιλλάν · ἀρχιποίμενα*. In the *Glossary* to Herodotos (Stein, II 465) we find εἰρήν, as also in *Plut. Lyk. 17*; whereas Hesychios has ἱρανες · οἱ εἶρενες, Λάκωνες. Brugmann in *Curtius' Stud.* IV 116, and J. Schmidt, *Vocal.* II 330, claim that the Spartan ἱρήν is derived from ἔρσην, through *ἔρρην and ἱρρην. A preferable explanation is that ἱρήν, like ἱρής and ἔρής, is an independent nominative not connected with ἔρσην, and that εἰρήν is itacistic (Baumack, *K. Z.* XXVII 566).

ἰτέη, in *Hdt.* I 194, proved by the *Εἰτέα* of Attic inscriptions to be itacistic, has forced its way into Ionic and Attic literature. An ἰτέα is attested by *Hdn.* I 522, II 17.

On -ῆη in relation to -ειη, -ῆη, see § 145.

On ἰμάτιον, see § 224, 9.

198.] Relation of $\hat{\iota}$ to EΥ.

The statement that εῦ becomes $\bar{\iota}$ in *ἰθύς, ἰθύνω*, is incorrect. *Hdt.* has εὐθύς I 65, &c., *Arrian*, I₆; but ἰθύν I 185; ἰθέα II 17, &c.; ἰθύτριχες VII 70. On the stones we notice a similar juxtaposition of forms: Εὐθύμαχος Styra, 19₁₃₅², Εἰθυρείους 19₁₃₄, Ἴθυκλέη[s] 19₄₆, Ἰθυνα Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195. See *Bezzenberger* in his *Beiträge*, IV 345. *Wackernagel. K. Z.* XXIX 151, suggests that ἰθν- became εἰθν- in post-Homeric times through influence of εἰθν- (*I. E. ἄδλι*).

199.] $\hat{\Upsilon}$.

1. *I. E.* $\bar{\upsilon}$ is retained.

2. $\bar{\upsilon}$ developed on Greek soil as in other dialects, *e. g.* $\bar{\upsilon}$ from υσν in βύνω, *Hdt.* II 96; from υλοσ in ἐμίστυλα, *Sim. Am.* 241; from υνφ or υνι as in ξυνός (also Arkadian for κοινός). See § 380.

¹ Πολυίδου occurs on a late prose inscription from Kyzikos, *Mith.* X 205, l. 1; Πολυείδης Tanais, *Latsychev* II 441₁₇ is not Ionic.

² Eι- or E(ῶ)θύμαχος 19₃₉, not E(F)θύμαχος, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 121 note, reads. If the reading Εἰθύμαχος is correct, we may compare Εἰθυκαρτίδης Naxos, *B. C. H.* XII 464. See under F.

The \bar{v} of $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$ in Sim. Amorg. 17 ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \delta\rho\sigma.$ $\delta\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\omega\tau\iota$) is suspicious: compare $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ in the *Odyss.* 22, 126 and 333. $\sigma\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Hrd. 368 is singular ($\sigma\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$?). Hom. $\delta\iota\zeta\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$; in Arch. 120, Sim. Am. 7³⁰ (fifth foot) the quantity of v is uncertain. In Aristoph. $\delta\iota\zeta\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

\bar{v} and ω : In Ionic we find $\lambda\mu\nu\mu\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Styra, 19¹⁵⁵, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Sim. Am. 4, Anacr. 48 and $\lambda\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Thasos, 72¹, forms which reproduce the two Homeric adjectives. Hinrichs (*H. E. J. A.* p. 81) asserts the Aiolie character of $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\omega\nu$, though it is not clear why the Aiolians should have possessed a monopoly of this word, or why the \bar{v} should be Aiolie solely.

$\acute{\omega}\rho\eta$ Miletos, 100₆ = Lat. *sūra*, from $^*\sigma\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ or $^*\sigma\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\alpha}$; $\omicron\nu\rho\acute{\eta}$ is not connected.

Ω.

In §§ 200-204 for the purpose of comparison with other dialects, certain forms in ω are adduced which are not the result of a special Ionic change.

200.] Ω for Α.

$\zeta\acute{\omega}$ = $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ is not restricted to Ionic, since we have in Boiotian $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ and in Kretan $\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega$. $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ in tragedy where there is need of epic colouring. $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ seems to have been formed from a perfect with the ablaut ω . Whether we have to deal with a reduction of ω to \omicron in $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ that is specifically Greek, and whether the ω forms are pro-Hellenic, is not certain. In Ionic both the ω and \omicron forms exist, e.g. $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 1¹⁷; cf. $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\zeta\eta$, which Brugmann, *M. U.* I 8, III 6, classes with his *injunctives*. Herakl. $\zeta\acute{\omega}\epsilon\iota\nu$ 86, 92, Hrd. 410. Parallelism of ω and \omicron is not unusual, as witness $\gamma\iota\nu\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, Aiol. $\gamma\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, Attic $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\chi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\eta$; $\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron$ Kallim., $\lambda\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, &c. Homeric $\zeta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is a later formation for older $\zeta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, Brugmann, *Griech.* I, p. 458; $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$, e.g. Herodas I 4, 32 is from $\zeta\acute{\omega}\eta$, as $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ < $\nu\eta\acute{\omega}\nu$, *ibid.* p. 463. Ionic $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$ appears in Attic tragedy. Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 654 ($\delta\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$), Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Greg. Korinth. § 29 mention the absurd notion that the Ionians could say $\acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ instead of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho$ &c. though Greg. sees that the ω is in place only in the vocative or where the article precedes $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. ω for α was held to be found in $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Greg. Kor. § 30; see § 258.

201.] Ionic Ω where Attic has Ε.

$\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$, in Homer, Hdt., Hrd. 220, for $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, though the latter is more frequent (Greg. Kor. 69, Bredow 171). $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$ has been held to contain an ω which is the ablaut of η , i.e. one which does not originally belong in the present; *M. U.* I 45. It is derived from a perf. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\acute{\alpha}$.

202.] Ω = Α̂.

$\theta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha$ and $\theta\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in Hdt., cf. Attic $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. Since $\theta\acute{\omega}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ is = $\theta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, there is no ablaut of $\acute{\alpha}$ to ω . Hdt. has $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, which is also the Attic prose form except in Xenophon, *Symp.* 2, 1. The noun has always $\acute{\alpha}$ in Attic. Theog. 779 $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$, cf. Archil. $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\eta}\omicron\nu\alpha$, 76. See § 280.

The Ionic Attic form is $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Doric $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$; on $\theta\epsilon\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in the Thasiote dialect, see § 286, 1. The ground-form is $^*\theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. See *K. Z.* XXXI 289. The Ionic form for Messenian $\text{Μεθάν}\bar{\alpha}$ is $\text{Μεθών}\eta$.

203.] Ionic Ω = Attic Η.

For Attic *πτήσσω* we have the Homeric *πτώσσω* in Hdt. IX 48; cf. Iliad, IV 372 *πτωσκάζω*. Ionic *πτώσσω* (Eustath. on Δ 371) is either a denominative or a present formed from the base of the perfect.

On the suffix *-ητις*, *-ωτις*, see under Η, § 194.

204.] Ω = Î.

ἄμπωτις Hdt. see § 367. Cf. Aiolic *πώνω* and *πῶ* from perf. **πέπωα*. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXVII 420.

205.] Ionic Ω = ΑΥ.

In a few Ionic words the *a* of *av* seems sporadically, through influence of *v*, to have taken upon itself an *o* colouring, and this *o + v* to have been pronounced as *ω*; cf. Delphic *ῶτόν*, Spartan *ῶτῶ*.

We have thus *διαφωσκούση* Hdt. III 86, but *-av-* probably IX 45 (*v. l.* *-ω-*, and *-α-*), and *ἰπόφανσις* VII 36. *φώσσω* may still be heard at Anchialos on the Black Sea. So also *ω* for *av* in *τρῶμα*, *τρωματίης*, *τρωματίξειν*, *κατατετρωματίσθαι* in Hdt., with similar forms in Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian, *Iul.* 19. In Hdt. IV 180, *η* and *ε* have *τρωνμάτων*, which Stein rightly rejects. *τρῶμα* is found in Lukian, *d. d. S.* 20, in all MSS. except *E.* *θῶμα*¹ occurs in MSS. of Hdt. with such frequency that we may well question whether Dindorf's *θῶμα* and *τρῶμα* are not preferable to Stein's *θῶῦμα* and *τρῶῦμα*. The two chief classes of MSS. here follow different principles as regards *θω-* and *θων-*, the first class having *ω*, the second *ων*; in the others there is wild confusion. In pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης*, § 11, Gompertz finds *θῶμα* in a corrupt reading of *A, M.* In VI 496, we find *θωμάζεται* in *θ*; *θανμάζω* Littré, I 499. The pseudo-Ionists, however, offer slender support to *θῶμα* (Arrian, *Iul.* 34, 40, *θαῦμα* 15, Eusebios, § 3 *θῶματι*); Lukian testifies in every passage to *θῶῦμα*. See § 258.

The *ω* form in *τρῶμα*, recalling the Attic and Ionic *τρώσω*, *τέτρωμαι* &c. might be derived directly from *√τρω*; but this method does not avail us in the case of a *θῶμα* (see § 258). That *θῶμα* is a genuine form is evident from Argolic *Θωμάντας* *B. C. H.* IX 355 = *C. D. I.* 3172 A (Phlius); cf. furthermore *θηβος* (= *θηφος*): *θαῦμα* and *θήγεια* (*θήφεια*): *θαυμαστά*. *τραῦμα* recalls Slav. *trujǎ*, *τρῶμα* (Pind. *τρώμα*) Slav. *traviti*, *τρώω*, *τρώχω*. Bechtel, *Lautlehre*, p. 167, derives *θῶμα* and *τρῶμα*, *θαῦμα* and *τραῦμα* from the ground-forms *θῶῦμα* and *τρῶῦμα*, neither of which has been preserved.

206.] Ionic Ω = Attic ΟΥ.

ῶν is the form of the adverb in the Aiolic, Boiotian, Doric

¹ Bredow 142, Struve *Quaest. de dial. Herod.* III, p. 11 write *τρῶμα*, but *θῶμα* or *θῶῦμα*. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Vat. 698, Aug. 668, Meerm. 654; *κῶμα* Meerm. 651, Vat. 698. *τρώμη* *scilicet* Ionic for *τρώσις* according to Eust. 102, 99I₆₀, 165₃₂₅, who says that in Ionic *τρώω* = *βλάπτω* (130₄₅, 153₂₁₀, 180₃₂).

(late Doric *oñr*) and Ionic¹ dialects. Thessalian *oñv* is only apparently equivalent to Attic *oñr*, which seems to have been engrafted upon Homer upon the authority of Aristarchos, who regarded the poet as an Athenian; unless it may be held that *ou* became *ω* as did *av* in *τρῶμα*. Hdt. has *ῶν*, *οὔκων*, *οὔκῶν*, *ὄσονῶν*, *τοιγαρῶν*, with occasional lapses in the MSS. in the direction of the Attic forms, as is the case in the MSS. of Lukian and Arrian. The letter of Pherekyd. has *ῶν*; the MSS. of Hippokrates, of the letters, and of Euseb. Mynd., have *oñv*. Aretaios has *oñv* in the first four, *ῶν* in the later books. See § 252, note. *oñv* comes to light upon a Vienna papyrus written in Ionic (*Philologus*, XLI 748, l. 3). Herodas has *oñv* six times.

207.] Ionic Ω = OII.

The Homeric and Herodoteian *ὀγδώκοντα* is either a contraction for *ὀγδοη-* (cf. *ὀγδοήκοντα*, Attic inscription, C. I. G. 1030₂, and Solon's *ὀγδωκονταέτη* 20₄) or has *ω* from the influence of *ὀκτώ*. Neither *ὀγδω-* nor *ὀγδοήκοντα* has as yet turned up upon Ionic inscriptions. The Chian *ὀκτακοσίων* 174 C 23 does not adopt the *ω* of Aiolic *ὀκτωκόσιοι* (C. D. I. 281 A 30, Lesbos). Though the Aiolic form records the influence of *ὀκτώ*, yet since that dialect has *ὀγδοήκοντα*, nothing is thereby proved as to the Ionic form. It should be borne in mind that, if the Homeric form is a contraction of *ὀγδοη-*, forms that arise under stress of the verse in Homer are not criteria for the prose form.

Other instances of *ω* for *ση* are: *ἀλλογνώσας*, *ἐννώσας*, *ἐννεώκασι*, *ἐνέρωτο*, in Hdt.; cf. Theognis, 1298 *νωσάμενος*, and *νώσατο* Apoll. Rhod. IV 1409; also *ἔβωσα*, *ἔβώσθην*, *βεβωμένος*, as in Homer, *βώσαιτι*, *ἐπιβώσομαι*. Stein still holds (Pref. to school edition, LI) to the view that we have to go back to a stem formation in *ο* (*νο-*, *βο-*); cf. Leaf on M 337. *ἔβώθειον*, *ἔβώθησαν* from *βοηθείω* (cf. Aiolic *βοῦθείωτι*, *ἐβοῦθήη*) are now expelled from the text of Hdt. Cf. *Βαδρομιῶνος* Lampsakos, C. I. G. 3641 b 8. See under *Contraction* (§ 296).

The Diphthongs in Ionic.

208.] AI.

αι arises in Ionic as in other dialects by epenthesis: *μαίνομαι* Anakr. 89, cf. *μαινώλα* Sappho, 118; by contraction, § 274. For Attic *αἴς*, *αἴθιον*. Ionic has *οαἴς*, *οαίθιον*, cf. Hippokr. VIII 22, 50. Hippokr. has *σφαιαἴζω* VIII 92 (*θ*) and *ραῖον* VIII 124, 274 (*θ*) and often *ραῖθυμῆν*, *ραῖζειν*, cf. § 182.

¹ Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 16, Aug. 668, Apoll. *περὶ συνδ.* p. 228₂₂ Schn. *οὐ παρὰ τὸν οὐν ἢ σύνθεσις* (sc. τοῦ μῶν), *ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ῶν, ὄντα καὶ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ Αἰολικὸν καὶ Δωρικόν.*

209.] Loss of *i* from diphthong AI before a vowel¹. See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 37 ff., Allen, *Versification*, 72. The inscriptions attest the change in the following instances:—

West Ionic. Τερώνασον Terone, 7 (before 420), cf. *Mittheil.* X 367 ff.; ἀειφυλίην Amphipolis, 10₅, 25 (357 B. C.); ἀειναῦτ[αι] Rob. I 172, Chalkis, and according to Plut. 2, 298 C, found in Miletos; Ἀγκάος C. I. G. 7375 (Ἀγκαῖος Head, *H. N.* 518); Ἀκτάων 8431 (vase incr.); Μίνδαον Mende, 17 (500–450), but Μενδαίη after 400; Σπόνδαος Styra, 19₁₄₁; Αἰσκραος 19₁₅₃; Τίμαος 19₃₁₃. About the same number of forms with AI are found in West Ionic, e.g. Ἀθηναίη, *Volci*, Rob. I 191.

Island Ionic. Ἀθηναῖς Delos, 54 (fifth cent.)², Νικᾶν Thasos, 72₈ (300–250), = Νικάην; cf. ἱερῆ < ἱερείη. In l. 10 of the same inscription we have Ἀθηναίης. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 37, suggests that Νικᾶς is not certainly an Ionian, being merely proxenos. But cf. § 165, note. Ἀθηναίη occurs frequently in the Ionic of the islands: Keos 41 (epigram), 51, Paros 64 (cf. Herwerden, *Studia critica in epigrammata Graeca*, p. 103, no. XIX), Thasos 72₁₀; cf. also Roberts, I, p. 64, and No. 165, where an inscription of uncertain provenance has Ἀθηναῖος twice. Roberts reads Ἀθήνη, a rare form in an old inscription, No. 26 (Naxos). It recurs C. I. A. IV B 373², where it is not Attic. We have the contracted form Ἀθηναῖ C. I. A. IV B 373₆₅ (sixth cent.), IV 373, w (about 400). Ἀθηναῖ came into general use in Attic about 350 B. C. The old Ἀθηναίη held its *i* in part because of the early adoption by the Ionians of Ἀθήνη. On the assumption of an Old Attic Ἀθηναίη, cf. § 78.

Asiatic Ionic. ἀεί Iasos, 105₁₀ (end of fourth century, hence not certainly genuine Ionic); Ἀθηναίη Φωκαεῖς Phokaia, 170 (age uncertain), Φωκαέων or -αιέων imperial period, Head, *H. N.* 507, recalling the Attic inscriptional forms Φωκαῖς, Φωκαῖκός; Ἀθηναῖς Erythrai, 206 A 27, 29, B 20 (in the last example we have Ἀθηναῖς Ἀποτροπαίας) after 278 B. C.; Ἀθηναῖς Samos, 216 (before middle of fourth cent.). Ἀθηναῖς is not certainly Ionic, since this document may contain an admixture of Attic³. The above list, so long as it is not augmented by more certain proofs of the appearance of *a(i)*, makes for the conclusion that in Asiatic Ionic intervocalic *a* from *ai* is not frequent. Ἀθηναίη is attested in Halik. 240 A 3, 241, Chios, 173; metrical inser. 265 (unc. loc.); Erythrai, 200, 204₃₂, Priene, 142; αἰεί in Halik. 240 A 6, and so all editors except Ruchl, in 238₇. Φωκαεῖς Eryth. 207 (not much older than 100 B. C.).

¹ Hdn. II 276₂₆ (Et. M. 66₂₅) Ἀλκαος &c.

² Ἀθηναῖα in Attic inscriptions of the sixth and fourth centuries; cf. Alkaios 9, Theokr. 28₁.

³ Ἀθηναῖ in Attic prevails after 362 B. C. in inscriptions.

In the *poets*, whose authority stands second only to that of the inscriptions, we do not find any evidence beyond that presented by *Ἀφλάτω* Anacr. 1, with *ai* short. *γεραιαίως* Tyrnt. 10₂₁ (cf. Tyrnt. frag. 17), is called in question by Bergk, though the *ai* is found in all MSS. *αἰεῖ* appears Tyrnt. 5, Minn. 17, Sol. 13₁, Sim. Keos 87₁. Theognis more than 20 times, Sim. Amorg. 14, 7₆₅; the poetical *αἰέν* Xenoph. 1₂₁, Theog. 631, &c.¹; *αἰῶνος* Anacr. 112₄; *καλέτος* Archil. 86₂ (epod.). *Ἀχαιίης* should be expected, and doubtless is the correct form, Sim. Amorg. 23, for *Ἀχαιίης* (Fick, *B. B.* XI 269), which is due to an Attic scribe. Cf. *Ἀχαιί[α]* C. I. A. II 723₃₅. Herodas has *Ἀθηναίη* four times.

In *Herodotus* the chief difficulty as regards settling the question of the occurrence of *a* for *ai* is presented by *αἰεῖ*. Proper names in *-αιεύς* preserve the *ι* except in *Φωκαεύς*, in seven passages according to Stein, though the same editor adopts *Φωκαιεύς* in thirteen cases. *Φωκαεῖς* Bechtel, No. 170, *Φωκαιεύς* 207, are of doubtful authority², the latter at least being very late. Pherek. 44 has *Ἀθηναίη* as Hdt., &c.

Nouns and adjectives in *-αίη*, *-αικός*, *-αίς*, preserve the *ι*. *Θηβαις* II 28, &c., appears to be correct, since a *Θηβαιεύς* is defensible solely on the ground of analogy.

αἰεῖ is Stein's reading, though the MSS. are uncertain in the extreme. Stein's eclecticism dictates *αἰεῖ*, but *αἰεταῖος* I 93, 145, (cf. *ἀεράοντα* v 109, *αἰεν- AE*). *αἰεῖ* may be West Ionic, but scarcely Asiatic Ionic. *ἐραεῖ*, in Pherekyd. of Leros, has no parallel form with the *ai* diphthong in that author. Herakl. 2, 20 has *αἰεῖ* (but *αἰεῖζωον*, *ἀεραον*), Anaxag. 14, 15 *αἰεῖ* in Simplic. 156₁₂, 164₁₈; so also Melissos 1 &c., where Mullach edits *αἰεῖ*. Authors quoting Dem. *Mor.* have *αἰεῖ* almost invariably, but *αἰεῖ* occurs 88. Hippokr. *αἰεῖ*, e.g. III 182. *αἰετός* is probably the genuine reading in Hdt. despite the variation of the MSS.; *ai* does not become *a* in this word and in *αἰεταῖος*, *ἐραεῖτιον*, &c., in the Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries³, though *αἰεῖ* and *αἰεῖ* contend for mastery in the official Attic documents until 361 B. C., when *αἰεῖ* is declared the victor. It is incorrect that Ionic did not possess *αἰεῖ*. *ελαίη* and congeners, *κλαίω* Theog. 931, 1041, 1132, Archil. 13, 20, and *καίω* do not admit the *ā* form (cf. Theog. 1145). From the stem *καί* we have *αυχρακαίη*, *πυρκαίη* (Hdt., Herakl. 103). On the interrelation of *καίω* and *κάω*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 268; Brug-

¹ *ἀεγναος* Hdt. I 145, as *v. l.*

² Suppho 44 has *Φωκάας*.

³ *αἰετός* is found in Delos, Ditt. *Syll.* 367, 191. *Ἄετιῶνος* Iasos, Bechtel 104₁₆ before 353 B. C.) may have lost *ι*. Is Hom. *Ἡετιῶν* connected (Blass)? Hdn. II 859₁₀ calls the *η* of *Ἡετιῶν* Ionic.

mann, *Gr. Gr.* § 18, 54. *καίω* (with diphthongal *αι*) was also Hellenistic.

210.] Ionic AI = A of other dialects.

ἐταῖρος is the Ionic form. Cf. *ἐταιρηῖος*, *ἐταιρηή* in Hdt., *ἐταιρείη* in Sim. Keos 118. Hippon. 1₃, Arch. 79, epode 85, Sim. Am. 7₄₉, Hdt. have *ἐταῖρος*, so too Theog. 643 and often. *ἔταρος* is epic only, though claimed as Ionic, without any chronological distinction, by Greg. Corinth. p. 457. See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 90. The accent of *ἐταῖρος* is due to the influence of *ἐταῖρα*.

παραιβάτης, an Ionic form, Ψ 132. An Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 5, 1 (500-456), has *παραιβάτης*. Attic cult documents are coloured by Ionisms to a limited extent.

αἰδασμος, Chios, 183 A 30, B 30, is an unexplained form for *αἰδασμος*. Cf. Tarent. *ἄνεγμα* = *αἰνιγμα*.

παλαιστή in *παλαιστιά*, *ἐξαπάλαιστα*, *τριπάλαιστα* Hdt. I 50; Attic inscriptions *παλαιστή σραι* (*παλαιστής wrestler* from *παλαίω*). In later writers *παλαιστή* as in Ionic, with an anaptyctic *ι*; cf. *Τροϊζήν Τροζήν*, *Γεραιστός Γεραστός*. Upon a late inscription from Milesian territory C. I. G. 2860₁₃ we read *παλαστών*.

ἰθαγενής is the Herodoteian form, not *ἰθαι-*, as is found in *P. R.* II 17; cf. Greg. Kor. p. 551.

AI = A(ε).

Φαιένρον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5, *Παμφαίης* Thasos (L.) 19 A 6, *Δανάη* Miletos, 99, from *Δανάη* Ξ 319 in a passage held by some to be an Ionic insertion. The myth of Danaë is referred to nowhere else in the Iliad. Hekataios 358, has *Δανᾶ* < *Δανάη*. Another instance of *αι* for *α* is suggested by Bechtel, *Thas. Insch.* p. 28: *ι 222 ναῖον δ' ὀρφ' ἄγγεα πάντα*, Aristar.; MSS. *νᾶον*. Cf. *ἐννεία*, Zeleia, and other forms, § 220.

211.] Varia.

1. There is no interrelation between *η* and *αι* in *Ἰαθημένης*, Thasos (L.), 4 B 3, compared with *Ἰαθαίμενης*, similar to that existing between *ἡμισυς* and Aiolic *αἰμισέων*, C. D. I. 2139. The *η* of *Ἰαθημένης* is that of *ἀλθήσκω*, *ἀλθήσομαι*; see Bechtel, *ad loc.*

2. *αι* in *ἐξαιθραπέουτος*, Mylasa, 248, is referred by Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandl.* 70) to Avestan *ξōithra-*, *ἐξατράτης* and *ξατράτης* to Old Pers. *khsathra-pēō* (Lagarde, p. 68, Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* III no. 388).

3. Archil. 3, *δαίμων* = *δαήμων*. The latter is derived from *δαήμων*.

4. Hdt. has in compounds formed from *γη* the ending *-γαίος*: *ὑπόγαίος* IV 200, II 148, II 100 (*ε* written over *αι* in *R*);

μεσόγαίος I 145, 175, II 7 (-γείος in *R*) and in many other passages; ἐπίγαίος II 125 (*R* as in II 100); μελάγγαίος II 12 (-γείος *R d z*); θαθύγείος IV 23 (*d z*, -γείος *celesti*), read -γαίος since Bekker. Hippokr. VI 356 has μεσόγαίος (*θ* -γείος). Here the interrelation of *αι* and *ει* is due to the different treatment of the ground-form. See § 421. Blass thinks that -γείος is the only correct form.

212.] EI.

The diphthong EI will here be treated under the divisions—

I. Genuine EI = pan-Hellenic and proethnic EI.

II. Spurious EI (monophthongic) = Attic *ει*, Doric *η*.

Some doubtful cases will be considered at the close (§ 225).

213.] Note on the orthography of Ionic inscriptions. Confusion between E and EI as representatives of the two EI's is of not infrequent occurrence upon Ionic inscriptions antedating the year 400. After that period monophthongic EI was gradually diphthongized.

1. Genuine EI represented (*a*) by EI.

δυνάμει Teos 156 B 31.

Eιδώς Teos, 156 B 21, 25.

EI Halik. 238₃₁.

ΠΕΙθοῦς Thasos, 70.

(*β*) by E rarely.

ποιήσEαν Teos, 156 B 30 (but here *ι* has been dropped).

Eπεν Didyma, Roberts, I 139. Cf. Meisterh.² p. 135.

Ἄριστοκλεῖδ[ης] Styra, 191₂.

Νεοκλεῖδης Styra, 1926₅.

2. Spurious EI represented (*a*) by E.

προσέρδεν Thasos, 68.

φεύγεν Halik. 238₃₇.

ἐπικαλέεν Halik. 238₄₅.

ἄφείλεεν Thasos, 71₁₁ (fourth century).

In Attic the last examples of E for spurious EI date from 350-300.

(*β*) by EI rarely.

Eίχον Halik. 238₃₀.

Instances of the writing of *εἰμί*, &c., will be given § 224, 9. The diphthongization of the *ει* of *εἰμί* may be traced back as far as the sixth century in Attic.

214.] Genuine EI in radical syllables.

E.g. Φειδύρων Styra 1932₆; Φειδίλω Kyme, Rob. I 174; Μείδων Styra, 196₈; Τειχιούσ(σ)ης Miletos, 98, &c.

The following words call for special attention:

1. *τει* in *ἔκτεισι* Zeleia, 113₁₇, *ἐκτείσωσι* 113₃₅, the future and aorist of *τίω* (ῥ) being *τείσω* and *ἔτεισα*¹: *Τείσαρχος* Styra 19₃₁₁; *Τείσανδρος* Smyrna, 153₁₄; *Τεισικράτης* Thasos (L), 17₆, 19 B 3; *Τεισίμαχος* Halik. 240₁₁. Similar forms occur in other dialects (*Diphthong EI*, p. 17, *A. J. P.* VI 443). Names in *Τῖσ-* are ita-cistic, but not so those in *Τῖμ-*. It is better to assume a root *qāi*, whose weak form is *q̄i* in *τιμή*, than to maintain that case-levelling has produced *τῖμ*: nom. *τεῖμᾱ*; gen. *τῖμᾱς*, whence *τῖμή*, through remembrance of the long penult of the nominative (and not with *neben-toniges i*, King-Cookson, p. 234). See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 396.

2. *ἐρεῖκαι*² and connected forms (*ἐρήμειγμα* Hdt. VIII 37)³: *ἐρ]Εικάρτων* Chios, 174 B 4, *ἔρεικου* Anakt. 62₂. The *ει* formation occurs in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theokritos, Kretan, Boiotian, Aiolic, and has been explained by Brugmann, *Ind. Forsch.* I 174, from *ēr* (prep.) + *√εικ*, which is not connected with *ἐρεγκ-*. Cf. Baunack *Inscription von Gortyn* p. 56 ff., Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 590. See § 222, 609.

215.] Genuine EI in other syllables.

On *τουτEI*, *νηπουEI*, *ἄσπονδEI*, &c., cf. § 716.

The *ει* of *Διευτρέφης*, Keos 44 B 12, is from a stem *διφο* and reproduces the old locative. Cf. *Διευτρέφης*, C. I. A. I 40₂₂, 447 III 53; Kypr. *Διφείθεμις* C. D. I. 60₂₁; *Δίει* Dodona 1582, Korkyra, C. I. G. 1869. In Homer, Zenodotos read *διειπετής* for the vulg. *διῖπετής*. Cf. *Δηιπέτης* (perhaps) Styra, 19₁₈₁.

ει in suffixes from *ε(σ)ι* is regularly preserved, never becoming *ηι* (§ 232). Some examples of *-ειη*, *-εῖα* < *-εσια* are given in §§ 175 ff. Others are: *ἄδρανεῖη* Aret. 150, 261. *ἀεικεῖη* Hdt. I 73, &c., as in Homer. *ἀκριβεῖη* Hippokr. ep. 17₃. *ἄσελγείη* Hippokr. ep. 17₃₀, 44; *ἄσθενεῖη* Hdt. IV 135, VIII 51, Hipp. II 78. *ἄσφαλεῖη* Hdt. II 121 (a), III 7, IV 33. *αὐταρκεῖη* Dem. *Mor.* 38 (MSS. *-εια*), 39, Hipp. ep. 17₃₇, 44. *ἐπιμελεῖη* Hippokr. ep. 17₅₇. *εὐλαβεῖη* Hippokr. ep. 12₄, 16₁₀. *εὐπαθεῖη* Hdt. I 135, 191, &c. *νωθεῖη* Aret. 208. *πολυπληθεῖη* Hippokr. II 60. *προσηνεῖη* Hippokr. II 270, Aret. 250.

In many cases we find *-ιη* in place of *-ειη* in nouns derived from sigmatic stems. Most of these occurrences may safely be set down to confusion on the part of the copyists. In some words, however, the *-ιη* is genuine, having been transferred from

¹ Arkad. *τεῖω* is a neologism. Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, § 314, doubtfully suggests that *ἔτεισα* is from **ἔτησα*.

² Greg. Kor. 68.

³ Hdt. has *κατερευχθῆναι*, but Lukian *d. S.* 17, *κατερευχθῆναι* and *Astrol.* 15, *κατερέχθη*. Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273 has *ἐξήνεγκα*: cf. Hdn. II 50₇₂, Et. M. 339₂₂, Eust. 712₁₈, 98₃₃₇, 118₇₁₅.

nouns with vocalic stems in which *-ιη*, not *-ειη*, was the proper termination. To what extent this *-ιη* has found admission into Ionic is difficult to discover. Of the following examples, *ὠφελίη* seems the only certain case.

ἀραιδίη is the reading of *O* in Theog. 648, of *e* in 291; elsewhere *-ειη*, cf. § 175. *ἀσφαλίη* Hippokr. II 634 Littré (*-ειαν A D R¹, &c.*), but *-είη* II 244, III 234. *δυομενίη* Demokr. *Mor.* 20₂₆; *εὐμενίη* Hdt. II 45 is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have *-εια* or *-εα*; *κακοθηλίη* Demokr. *Mor.* 22 (Stob.); *πολυμαθίη* Herakl. 16 according to Bywater, though Diog. Laert. has *-είη*. Cobet's *πολυμαθηίη* is certainly incorrect. *προμηθείη* is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 124. Hdt. has *προμηθίη* I 88, III 36 (*CP d -είη*). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμηθεῖαν προμηθίαν. *ὠφελίη* is the better attested form; cf. Hdt. V 98 (*-είη d r*), VII 139 (*-είη CP d*), Demokr. *Mor.* 184, Hippokr. II 334 Littré (many MSS. *-είη*), Aretaios 238, Eusebios § 4. In Hippokr. II 626, Littré reads *ὠφελείη* (*-ίη A C*). With *ὠφελίη*, cf. *ὠφελία* C. I. A. I 835, in Thukydides, &c. No Attic inscription has *-εια*.

By contraction of *ε + ι*, § 284, *ε + ει*, § 310.

216.] Genuine EI from *ε + anaptyctic ι*.

Ionic examples of this phenomenon are *εἴσχηκα* Smyrna, *Berl. Monatsberichte*, 1875, 554, l. 7; *εἰσχήκατε* Erythai, *Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ.* 1875, p. 99; *παρείσχηται* Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, a 4,—all late inscriptions.

217.] Genuine EI from *EF-*.

εἰρήνη Eryth. 199., 203., &c., perhaps from *Fp̄ana*, *ê-Fîp̄anâ*. The North-West Greek and in part Doric *εἰράνᾱ* appears to be derived from a root *Fp̄ā*. If from *êFp̄îny*, we should expect *ἦρήνα* in Doric, *êp̄îny* in Aiolic, which never occur. I cannot therefore adopt Meister's derivation (*G. D.* II 93) from *êv-Fp̄îny*. Spitzer, *Arkadischer Dialekt*, p. 20, attempts unsuccessfully to explain the dialectal interrelation of *ā* and *η* after *ρ* in this word. See also Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 288. Attic *εἰρήνη*, not *εἰράνη*, since the *ā* of the final syllable has become *η*. Cf. Saussure (*Mém. soc. ling.* VII 91).

218.] Genuine EI from *HI*.

πλείστος from I.E. *plēisto-* < *plēis-* by proethnic contraction of *ê* and *i*. The Ionic dialect offers no trace of *πλήστος*, ARKADIAN § 20. On *πλείον*, &c., see § 219. *χρείος* Hom., Theog. 1196, *χρήσιος* and *χρήσιος* Gortyna (Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyna*, 51), *χρήια* = Kretan *χρήια* Causer, 121₄₁.

219.] E from EI before vowels.

Genuine EI suffers the loss of its second element, as does AI (above, § 209), though not frequently¹.

1. *Inscriptional Forms.*

West Ionic: A Chalkidian vase in Roberts, I 189 F, has *Αινέης*; cf. *Αινείης* in Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. *I. R.* I 77 (Jac.). Κλεώ C. I. G. 8369, Latyschev II p. 305, Herodas 3₃₀; Θάλαα 8412; Σπεώ 8354.

Asiatic Ionic: ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30; δασέαν Miletos, 100₂, 6. Cf. νικηθέη (-EE) Zankle, I. G. A. 518.

Other examples, as Fritsch (*V. II. D.* p. 41) states, are not free from the suspicion of not being pure Ionic. Ποσιδέου Chios, 177₁₇ (about 300 B.C.), Smyrna, 153₃₂ (this name with *ει*, Perinth. 234 B 34, Th. (L.), 10 A 10); Ἡρακλέος Eryth. 206 A 12 (after 278 B.C.); cf. Ἡρακλέων στηλέων Hdt. II 33 (R d, -είων A B); Ἡρακλεώτου 206 A 38, -εώτης 206 B 26 (after 278 B.C.), Eretria, A. J. A. VII 248, no. 11, Halik. 241 (metrical), Ἡρακλεωτῶν Head, *H. N.* 500, Διοκλέους Phanag., Latyschev II 351, Ἡρακλεώτις *ibid.* 289. Meisterhans,² p. 34, quotes Ἡρακλειώτων from C. I. A. I 651, before 403 B.C.; Ἡρακλεώτην II 613₁₅ (298 B.C.). Hdt. has Ἡρακλέος. Cf. Ροδόκλεια Samos, 225, Ἡρακλειόισιν Teos, 156 B 33 (fifth century), Ἡρακλείου Erythrai, 201₁₇ (early fourth century). δωρεάς Ephesos, 147₁₅ (300 B.C.); ἱερατεῖαι Eryth. 206 C 13,—the only instance of this form, while there are ten of ἱερητεῖαι. ἱερῆ Pantikar. 123 (third cent.), Ephesos, 150 (late), from ἱερε(ί)η; cf. Hdt. ἱερέη I 175, V 72. ἐξώλαα, πανώλαα Bechtel, 263 (Lykian), may be Ionic or Attic.

Nouns in *ειο*=*ηιο* and nouns and adj. from sigmatic and *ηυ* stems generally retain *ει* in all branches of Ionic.

The form *δασέαν* in Miletos 100₂, an inscription dating, according to Rayet, from the fifth century, is as complete a parallel to *δασέα* in Hdt. as might be desired; and the more interesting, in view of possibility of the Milesian dialect having been that of early Ionic prose, though of course an isolated form proves nothing. See § 18. Greg. Korinth. p. 440, says τῆς θηλείας τὸ ἰ ἐξαιροῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης πτώσεως τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, quoting Hdt. for θηλέων and θηλέη. Following are the forms adduced from Hdt., with the evidence from other quarters of Ionic. Cf. § 419, 506.

¹ χρύσεος, ἀργύρεος, χάλκεος, Ἐκτόρεος, Νεστόρεος are usually cited by the grammarians, e.g. Joh. Gr. 240 B, 241, Greg. K. 433, Meerm. 650, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677₄₂, Hdn. II 426₂₅, 861₄, An. Ox. I 292₂₂, II 127₁₇ (Theogn.), I 443₈, I 356₁₃, Apoll. Conj. 233₉, Schn.; κήλεος Hdn. II 61₄, 861₄, Schol. Ven. A on Θ 217; παρδάλεος An. Ox. I 356₁₂, Et. M. 652₃₅ (also παρδαλῆ and λεοντῆ, <ει = ειη; μαρμάρεος An. Ox. I 273₂₆, Eust. 3937. See also Hdn. II 276₂₆, 909₇, 861₄, Et. Gud. 379₅₅, 406₂₅, 452₁₇, Eust. 28₃₁, cf. 640₃, Tzetz. Ex. II. 95₂₁, An. Par. III 69₁₉.

2. TABLE OF FEMININES OF ADJ. IN -VS.

MS. OF HERODOTUS.	HOMER.	LYRIC POETS.	OTHER IONIC PROSE WRITERS.	INSCRIPTIONS.
βαθεία	-εία only O 606, Π 766, Φ 213 cf. Fock <i>Uoos</i> 84, 86, 380	βαθείων Sim. Am. 706 cf. Sim. Κεως 37 ²	βαθέων Arrian 27, 33 βαθείαι Hippokr. III 200	
βαρεία	βαρεία	βαρεία Sim. Keos 114 ₅		
βραχεία		βραχεία Sim. Am. 775 ¹	βραχέη Aret. 28 βραχεία Demokr. 47	
δασεία	δασεία	δασέων Hipp. 19; δασέων 19;	δασείαι Hippokr. V 634 δασείαι II 12 -εως II 92	δασέων Milt. 150, 15 δασέων Ζηλεύα 114 E 4
εύρεα	εύρεα	εύρεων Sim. K. 846	εύρη Eusob. Mynid. 63 εύρεαι Hippokr. III 200, 208	
ήμίσεια				
θήλεια	θήλεια, θήλεις		θηλέων Luk. Syr. 15, 51 θήλεις 54 (θήλεις 27 MSS.) Arrian 14	
ιδεία	ιδεία		ιδείη Demokr. (εὐθεία Herakl.)	
ὀξεία	ὀξεῖα ² . Α 272 ὀξείαι not probable		ὀξέων Hippokr. II 226 (γ. l. -ει).	
πλατεία adj., also name of the island.			πλατείας Ktesias πλατείων Arrian 16 (MSS.)	
ταχεία	ταχεία	πλατεία Bacchyl. 37 ταχέων Theog. 715		
τρηχεία	τρηχεία	Τρηχέων Hipp. 47 ² τρηχείων Sim. Keos 89, cf. 163	τρηχέη, Hipp. II 92 τρηχεία Arr. 21: τρηχεία Herod. τρηχέων Vita Homeri 18	τρηχέων Καίβ. 237 Σμύρνα II. of I. cent. B.C.]
δριμέα	δριμέα		δριμέα Aret. 204	

¹ Sim. has also παχείων 31 B, Archil. 184 παχεία.

² Hesiod's ὀξεία (neutr. pl.) is due to the influence of the fem.
³ The η is a late spelling for εἰ.

It is noteworthy that the iambographers refrain entirely from the use of the shortened forms. Doubtful support is however given to the Herodoteian adj. in *-έα* by the Homeric *Ῥέα, βαθέα, ὠκέα*¹. There is but a single occurrence of this formation in the elegy (*ταχεῶν*). It is inadvisable to refer this adj. form to the influence of the occasional Attic writing *εα* (for the first time in an *-v-* adj. upon an inscription 345 B. C.). In Thukyd. *ἡμισέας*, Xenophon *πλατέα*, Plato *ἡμισέας*, Philemo *θρασέα γυνή* are attested. Theokr. has *εῖρέα*, and *ἀδέα*, a form occurring in Epicharmos and Alkman, Archimedes *ἡμίσεια*. The Attic forms in literature and inscriptions are too sporadic to have produced so complete a disturbance of the MSS. of Hdt. as that indicated § 506. Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 184, *K. Z.* XXX 405.

3. *πλέον* (§ 543) and related forms are here classed together.

(1) *ι*-less forms: *πλέον, πλέονι, πλέονα, πλέω, πλεόνων, πλέους, πλεόνως* (and *πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, πλεῦνα, πλεῦνες, πλεύνων, πλεῦνας*²), in Hdt., according to Stein, *πλέον* Solon 32₄, Phok. 4, Anax. 6 (Mullach, Simpl. *ει*); *πλέω* Demokr. *Mor.* 92, Anax. 13; *πλέον* Herakl. 112 (Cobet, *πλείων* vulg.); *πλέον* and *πλέον* Melissos, § 14; *πλέονες* Demokr. 115, *πλέονας* Theog. 605; *πλέονεσσι* 800; *-πλεος* Hdt., cf. Archil. 58₄; *πλέον* Oropos, 18₄, Keos, 43₉; *πλέονος* Keos, 43₅, Demokr. *Mor.* 21; *πλέω* Miletos, 100₂; *πλέω* Anakr. 94₁ (eleg.); *πλέον* *Syr. dea* 46.

(2) Forms with *ι*: *πλείων* Sim. Amorg. 2₂, and Theog. 606; *πλείωνων* Demokr. 20₁₃, *πλείονα* Theog. 702, *πλείω* 907 (*πλείων* *Ο*). Hdt. has *πλείων* I 192, *πλείους* I 167, II 120, 121 (*δ*) in all MSS. Bredow and Stein unite in expelling these forms from the text, a procedure followed by Holder except in I 167. Hippokrates and Aretaios have both *πλείων* and *πλέον*. Codex *A* of Hippokrates has the *ι*-less form sometimes where the other MSS. have *ει*. *πλείων* lost its *iota* before any other form, according to Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 144, because the *ε* bore the accent, while in other forms *ι* was tonic (*πλείων*).

4. *Ἀμαλθείης*, Anakr. 8 (for Bergk's *Ἀμαλθείης*), seems warranted in the light of Phokyl. *Ἀμαλθείης* 7₂. *σίοντα* Anakr. 49 is probably = *trisháti*, and not to be written *σείοντα* (Fick) = *trishati*. Alkaios has *σείων* 22 (with *ει* reinstated from the aorist as in Gortynian *ἐνσείη*), and *σέων* 26.

δθρέην ὄθόν is quoted by Hdn. II 558₁₇, from an Ionic (?) poet.

5. In the case of *-εσ-* stems, we have *-εος* = *-ειος* in the following cases in Hdt. which are all open to doubt.

τέλεος, τελέω, generally, but *τέλειον* IX 110, Demokr. *Mor.* 218.

¹ Tzetz. Ex. II. 61₁₅. See Leaf on Π 766, O 606 and Ψ 198.

² Greg. Kor. 60, Eust. 775₄₈.

and Eryth. 204²³, τελείοις (about 354 B.C.); in Homer and Demokritos τελεώτατος, in Demokrates 2 τελεότης; cf. Kret. ἀτέλεα Cauer, 119²².¹ ἐπιτηδέος Greg. Korinth. 65. Fritsch, *I. H. D.* 43, prefers to derive the adj. from ἐπιτηδεύω, but denies in any case the correctness of the ending -εος, which is the reading of the MSS. in a large number of instances. See § 554. ὑπώρα, cf. πανώλεα, ἐξώλεα 263 (Lykia). In citing the fragments of Hekat. Steph. Byz. uses the full form, *c. g.* 186. ἐπέτειος is now written by Stein. ἀφνεός Theog. 188, 559. Ἡράκλειος Hdt. IV 43, 152, 181, VIII 132. Ἡράκλειος is the best attested form in Hdt. See above, under 1. μονογενέην Arrian, 8₆.

6. -εος in adjectives from other stems.

βόεος (Arrian 14₉ βόειος), χήνεος, οἶεος, αἴγεος² may have existed side by side with the -εος forms (ἡμίονεος, μήλειος). Ἀμασπέα and Ὑπερβόρειος need not be rejected with Fritsch, *I. H. D.* 44 (Fick, *Wiss.*, 551 ff.), though Hellanikos has Ὑπερβόρειοι. ἀεελφεός in Hdt., Lokrian, I. G. A. 321 A 7, 29, and in the letters of Hippokr. 17²⁹, 27²⁰, 34²⁵.

7. Mimmermos³ (I 1₆) κείαται has like Attic κείωνται C. I. A. II 57³¹⁰, a later εἰ⁴. In Hdt. and Hippokr. κέεται, ἐκέετο, κέεσθαι, with ε from ε(ι) regularly. Δεάλκος Thasos 83₆ seems to have lost *iota*. Cf. Δειάλκος Thasos, 81 B 14.

8. Expulsion of *i* from -ειη.

Iota does not disappear in stems in -εσ-: αεικείη, ἀληθείη, &c. (above, § 175). εὐμαρέη seems to be supported, Hdt. II 35, by all the MSS., by Greg. Korinth. § 119, and by Suidas (εὐμαρέη ἀπόπατος παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ), but cannot stand against the overwhelming mass of counter-testimony.

9. Δεκελέων Hdt. IX 73, as Δεκελέεως C. I. A. II 733, B 6, from Δεκελειεύς, II 66C, 4. See Bekk. Anecd. II, p. 601. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δεκελειάθειν = Δεκελειῆθειν, Hdt. IX 73. Hdt. has also Μαντινέη IV 161 (or Μαντίνης), Μαρέη II 18, Μαλέη, Θυρέη and Θυρέαι.

Upon the expulsion of *i*, contraction resulted in *ιερῆ*, Pantikap., 123, Ephesos, 150; cf. Ionic *ιρείη* in Hdt.; *ιέρεια* Keos 48 (fourth cent.), as Z 300. The intermediate step between *ιερῆ* and *ιερῆ* is represented by Kallimachos' *Ἰερῆ*, epigr. 41¹. In Attic we may have *ιέρειᾶ* and *ιερᾶ* (*Orestes* 261) by suffix exchange. Is Πανακῆ, Hrd. 4₅, from Πανακείη = Πανάκεια?

10. The explanation of the form *Ἐρμῆς* is as yet too uncertain for it to be classed here. Apparently it is = *Ἐρμει(ι)ης* = *Ἐρμείας*.

¹ *τέλεος* in fifth and fourth centuries in Attic inscriptions; *τέλειος*, second century B.C.

² Homeric *αἴγεος*, except *ι* 196.

³ Cf. A 659 *κέαται*, and *κατακείαται* Ω 527.

⁴ Gram. Par. p. 680 cites *ιέρεια* as Ionic, Tzetz. Ek. II. 61₁₅ *ιερῆ*.

'Ερμῆς in Homer is rare (but often in hymns). Herodotos has gen. 'Ερμῆω; cf. 'Ερμῆώ Chios, 180, where -ιεω seems an analogical formation.

220. EI from E + glide ι (before a vowel) occurs before ο, ω, cv, α; as yet there are no examples before ε and η in Ionic.

δειόμερον Oropos, 18₃₆ (about 400 B.C.); cf. δέλω[ν]τα[ι] C. I. A. II 119₁₄, about 340 B.C.; προσδέιηται C. I. A. II 167, 43, 48, 33+325 B.C.¹ Attic inscriptions of the fifth century have ε; and so elsewhere in Ionic: δέηται Olynthos, 8 B 4; δέημι Zeleia, 113₃₉ (δέι Teos 158₈, late). Mimm. 2₁₃, ἐπιδευέται has been unjustly expelled by Fick, *B. B.* XI 253, in favour of an assumed ἐπιδείεται. δεύω is an Aiolie form (C. D. I. 214₃₇, 250₆, 281 A 19, B 26), and ἐπιδευέται may be classed with other Aiolisms preserved by Ionic elegists. Traces of this form appear even in MSS. of Hdt. IV 130 (ἐπιδευέες, where ἐπιδεέες, *i. e.* -εἶς is correct).

ἐννεία Zeleia, 113₃₀, shortly after Granikos.

ἐλάν Zeleia, 113_{20, 39}; cf. C. I. A. II add. nov. 14 b, 11 (387 B.C.), II add. 115 b 30, 47 (after 350 B.C.); add. 573 b 13, 18 (after 350 B.C.¹, and in Epeirotic.

εῖως Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402₁₂.

πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 113₁₉.

Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12, would seem to be the same as Θεόφρων 206 C 11. θείων=θεόν, Priene, 141, an inscription in Ionic orthography, but not in Ionic dialect.

-εἶος, genitive of -ην- stems, called later Ionic (and Lesbian) by Herodian, II 67₄ ('Αχιλλεῖος, βασιλείος). No examples occur in Ionic literature or inscriptions. Hdt. βασιλείος, and so 'Αχιλλεῖος, Olbia, C. I. G. 2076 (late).

On -κλείους in the genitive, see list in § 529. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 36, and Dittenberger, *Syll.* p. 780, for other forms².

221.] An ει that is never represented by η in other dialects, and which is nevertheless not strictly a genuine diphthong, appears to exist in κρείας by a probable conjecture of Hermann, Ananios, 53. κρέας is found in Hippon. 77, Sim. Amorg. 24³. As in λειαίνω Solon, 4₃₅, ἀποπνείω Tyrnt. 10₂₄, this ει is a mere graphical representation of εν < εφ, and appeared originally only when a long syllable was necessary, a fact not comprehended by later transcribers. Cf. also δειδιότες Theog. 764, δειῶνι 1179 (δέδοικα 780), where δειδ=δεδφ.

¹ Cf. also εδειήθη Lokris 'Αθην. I 489.

² The oldest certain example of ε(ι) upon an inscription is Attic Νηλείως 'Εφ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161 (418 B.C.).

³ The ι of κρείας must not be confused with that of Hom. κρείων, which is that of the suffix (Skt. *kravya*). On κρείων see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 325.

In *εἰαρινός* Theog. 1276, Sim. K. 73; *εἶαρος* Lukian, *S.* 49, Alkm. 26 (*Ἐαρίνης* (?), Styra, 19₁₈₁, Ananios, *ἔαρ*, tetr. 51, Hdt. *ἔαρ*¹, Theog. *ἡρος* 777), the *ει* may be due to the development of the glide *iota*, the ground-form being **ἡαρινός*, cf. *vēr* from *vēzr*, Old Norse *vār*, but is more probably an accommodation to the necessities of the hexameter (*εἰαρινῆ* B 471, *εἰαρινοῖσω* B 89). *ἡρος* seems to be from *ἔαρος* rather than from **ἡαρος*. Cf. § 281.

Hom. *εἰλάτινος* (*ἐλάτινος* Olynth. 8 B 3) is purely metrical, as is *εἰνάλιος* (Greg. Kor. 387) with *εἰν* < *ἐνι-*, and *εἰλήλουθα*².

In the cases where this intervocalic *iota* appears, we must, I think, distinguish two distinct classes.

1. Cases of *ει* in poetry, where the *ει* is a mere graphical expression, not made use of by the earlier poets at least, to represent *ευ* = *εφ*; e.g. Hom. *λείουσι*, *εἰοικυῖαι*, (*εἰδέειλος* ?), *ἀποπειροῦτ'* (Tyrtaios X 24, Greg. Kor. 453), *πλείοτος* (An. Ox. I 131₄).

2. Cases of the pure glide *iota*, as in *εἰάν*, *ἐννεία* (or even in *Ἀχιλλείος*, *βασιλείος* Hdn. II 67₄₁ = Choir. 209₂₁, see § 25), where *F* has nothing whatever to do with the appearance of the *ι*, though in some of the words in question *F*, as a matter of fact, did once exist; but at the period from which the forms date, cannot have left any trace of its former appearance.

At the present stage of our knowledge, I hold it best to keep the two classes apart, though thereby not wishing to deny that in certain special instances one class may overlap into the other. In the case of *ἐρείομεν* A 62, it is difficult to determine whether the *ει* is = *ευ* (as in *λείουσι*) or is a false transcription of *ἐρήομεν*. *Λειώκριτος* and *Λειώδης* = *Ληο-*, *Ληω-* are from the misunderstood *E*, rather than due to the glide *ι* in *Λεω-*. Aristarchos wrote *ει* before a vowel except (1) in verbal endings as *ῆη*, which seemed to be a 'distracted' *ῆι*, (2) where the *κοινή* had no parallel form in *ε*, as in *περιστήωσι*, *κίματες*, or where it had a parallel in *η* as *τεθνηώς* (*τεθνηκώς*), and (3) in nouns where an *ει* would have thrown the declension out of gear. See *B. P. W.* 1891, p. 38. In Homer monophthongal *ει* before vowels is gene-

¹ *ῆρι* in Hdt. must be corrected. The form in Lukian cannot stand, unless it can be proved that he here imitates an epic, not an Herodoteian, form. Hippokr. and Aretaios have no trace of *εἶαρ*, their MSS. fluctuating between *ῆρ* and *ἔαρ*. The Gram. Par. p. 680 holds that *εἶαρ* (*sic*) is Ionic. See also Eust. 1851₄₂. Unfortunately the Boiot. *φΕΙαρινο* I. G. A. 250, and *φΕΙαρινος Sitznigher. d. preuss. Akad.* 1885, 1035, no. 46, do not decide whether the *ει* is = *η* or = *ε* + the glide *iota*.

² Held by the grammarians to be the Ionic form: Gram. Par. p. 680, (XVIII, XIX), An. Bachm. II 368₃₁, Drakon 159₆₁, cf. 161₁₀, interlin. Schol. Ven. A on A 202. In Eust. 734₂₁, An. Par. III 49₂₈ Herakleides says that the form shows peculiarities of four different dialects (!), the *ει* being Ionic. Since *ει* before liquids and nasals was regarded as Ionic, the schol. Apoll. Rhod. B 404 does not hesitate to call the addition of *ι* in *σειείων* Ionic.

rally capable of being resolved into $\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\alpha$, or is to be written η . The substitution of $\epsilon\iota$ for η in the above mentioned Homeric forms, and in *e.g.* $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$, $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ cannot well have occurred before the period when the parasitic ι (§ 220) was current.

Homeric $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, Ionic according to An. Par. III 150₁₆ (cf. Schol. Ven. A on E 256), have been attacked by Nauck who proposed to read $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\iota$, &c. Schmidt (*Neutra*, p. 326) suggests that the original reading was EEOΣΙ and that the α of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega$ became ϵ before \omicron in primitive Greek. Cf. § 136, 687.

Some verbal forms with $\epsilon\iota$, which is probably an incorrect transcription of E, are claimed as Ionic by the grammarians, *e.g.* $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, on which see Osthoff, *Perfect*, p. 50. So too in the case of other forms with an $\epsilon\iota$ in the syllable of reduplication, where the $\epsilon\iota$ is for η as in $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$, cf. Skt. *dācati*.

The $\epsilon\iota$ of the Homeric $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$, *i.e.* $\eta\omicron\varsigma$, was regarded as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B. G. K. 442, Apoll. Adv. p. 149₂₂ Sehn.

222.] $\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$, in Hdt. are forms which stand in no conceivable relation to $\eta\gamma\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu$, &c. Lukian follows well in the wake of Hdt., but Hippokrates and Aretaios have throughout the Attic forms. See § 214, 2.

223.] Itacism.

See above, § 197, for instances of $\epsilon\iota$ for ι , and cf. §§ 145, 175.

224.] Monophthongal EI.

1. A few sample and some of the most important, forms under each head will illustrate this characteristic feature of Ionic. On 5-12, see § 338, 382, and Sohmsen and Waekernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX. When Homer has forms in ϵ parallel to those in $\epsilon\iota$, there is a presumption in favour of the former being Aiolic.

2. Spurious EI from $\epsilon\nu\phi$.

$\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$ ¹: $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$ Styra, 19₅₄, 76, 277; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$ 19₂₇₉; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\iota\omega\nu$ 19₄₀₂; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ 19₇₄; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ 19₇₃; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$ 19₇₅, 278; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ Amorgos, 228; $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ Perinthos, 234 B 28, $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ Styra, 19₃₃₀; $\text{Τ}\mu\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ 19₃₁₈; $\text{Π}\acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ 19₂₈₉; $\Theta\epsilon\nu\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ Smyrna, 15₃₂₉, &c. Hdt. has $\text{π}\acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ VI 57, though Eustathios, quoting Hdt., uses the form $\text{π}\acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$. In the poets we have $\epsilon\iota$ forms, Sim. Amorg. 7₁₉, 21, 107; Archil. eleg. 7, 19₂; Anakr. 57 (not $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$ as Bergk reads); Theog. 521, &c. Lukian has $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$, though cases of $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$ occur. Arrian, 26, 28, has $\xi\epsilon\nu$ -; and so too Aretaios and the *Vita Homeri*. Even the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) has $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\varsigma$ side by side with Aiolic forms. In other pseudo-Ionic sources, though there is great fluctuation, the weight that Herodotos' un-

¹ Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Korinth. 387, 442, Apoll. D. *Pron.* 3 A; cf. An. Ox. I 300₃₀.

impeachable ξείνος carries may pardon the adoption of this form.

Attic ξείνος in some relatively pure inscriptions: Oropos 18₉; Miletos, 100; Eryth. 199₁; later documents, Thasos, 72₃; Eryth. 206 B 12; Ephesos, 147₁₁; Phanag. 165. So ξεινείη, Demokr. *Mon.* 38. Theog. ξεινής 518 is to be regarded as an epic reminiscence. Is Anacr. ξείνοισι 84 Æolic? ξένος in Attic must be derived directly from ξείφος, not through ξέννος. Solon has ξείνος 23₂. On ξείνος in tragedy, see § 77.

κενός¹ = Attic κενός (κενότερος, cf. μαν(φ)ότερος). Homer and Melissos have κενεός.

στειρός² = Attic στένος (στενότερος). Arrian has στειρός three times, στενός an equal number. Aretaios seems to have the vulgar form; cf. Hippokrates, III 208, στενο- or στενώτεραι. With Sim. Amorg. (14) στεννυγρή (not un-Ionic), cf. Messenian Στερύχλαρος.

είνεκεν perhaps = εἶμ + Fεκα (Osthoff, *Perfect*, 334, Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 13) in Hdt. and Demokr. 87 (cf. on *Prepositions*, § 715). εἴνεκα³: Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₈, Anacr. 45, Theog. 46, 730, &c., Demokr. 184. οὔνεκα, Theog. 488, 854, Xenoph. 2₁₉, Solon, tr. 37. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 109 ff. *Vita Homeri* has the Attic ἔνεκα, &c.

εἴρατος, εἰνακόσιοι, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 132, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* p. 379, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 101 (Greg. Kor. 453, Eust. 388₃₅).

3. Spurious EI from ερφ.

δειρή, Hdt. and Theog. 266, but δερη Anacr. 80. On the accent, see § 119. Attic δειράς is from δερσ-.

πειάσα, Arch. tetr. 55, Solon, eleg. 16, Theog. 140, 1078, 1172. Skt. *pārva*. On Ionic and Attic ἄπειρος, see *K. Z.* XXXI 443.

εἶρωμαι (Greg. Kor. § 73, Max. Plan. in *Anecd. Bachm.* II 552) appears to be a present formed from the aorist stem with prosthetic vowel (ἐ-ρωτέσθαι)⁴. εἶρωτώω⁵ in Hom., Theog. 519, Hdt. III 14, Hrd. 37₈; ἐρωτώμενον I 86, is rejected by Stein in favour of εἶρωτεύμενον; Thasos, 72₁₂, ἐπερωτήσαι is Attic (300-250 B.C.); cf. C. I. A. II 601₈. Attic inser. have also ἐπερέσθαι.

¹ J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 442, Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

² Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

³ Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. 452, poetic according to Eust. 388₃₅, An. Ox. I 130₂₁, Bekk. An. II 968₁₉, Apoll. *Conj.* p. 238₂₂ Schn.

⁴ See my *Imperfectum* EI. p. 64, and also G. Meyer, *Gramm.*², p. 425. Or εἶρωμαι as well as Homeric ἐρέω, ἐρέωμαι, &c. and also Attic ἔρωμαι, are based upon the transference of *ἔρυνμι, *ἔρυνμαι, to the Ω conjugation (ἐρέφω, ἐρφομαι; Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 64.). Monro *H. G.* § 80 with Curtius refers ἐρέλομεν to ἔρηνμι. See above § 221.

⁵ Eust. 388₃₅.

εἰρύομαι¹, Hdt. See Leaf on A 216 (εἰρύω *decur*, √*ῥειν*; εἰρύομαι *protect*, √*σερφ*). Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235, holds to the view that εἰρύομαι is from **ῥεῦσαι*.

εἶριον (Hom., Hdt., Hippokr.), εἶρος δ 135, ι 426 from *ῥεῖρ*, cf. *vervea*. Hom. and Aiolic εἶριον (Apoll. *Adv.* p. 149₂₂ Schn.).

4. Spurious EI from ελ*F*.

εἰλίσσω, Hdt. probably from √*FελF*. Homer has both εἰλίσσω and ἐλίσσω. Hdt. II 148 has ἐλιγμοί. Is εἴλω from *Fέλνω*?

5. Spurious EI from -*ενσ*- or -*ενς*.

The *sigma* may represent either I.E. *s* in a final syllable, or secondary (dialectal) *σ* = *τ*₂.

On εἶς, εἴσω, and the orthography in inscriptions, see § 715. εἰσί = ἐντί, λυθείς < λυθέντς, χαρίεις < χαρίφεντς, ἀ[πο]κτΕνε(ι) Τεος, Rob. I 142 B 11. μείς, T 117, Hdt. II 82, Anacr. 6 (Hesiod and Pind.), gen. μηγός Halik. 238₄, Οροπος, 18₆. κέσαι Ψ 337, < κέντσαι, for κείσαι, with the *v* of κεντέω.

πείσομαι did not arise directly from *πένθομαι, nor πείσμα from *πένθμα but from πενσ- a new formation, the *v* having disappeared in aboriginal Greek before *θμ* without compensatory lengthening.

6. Spurious EI from ερ*s*.

κείρας, Paros 67. διέρσης, διέρσαι, pseudo-Hipp. IV 108, διέρσας IV 296 are certainly not original or genuine Ionic.

7. Spurious EI from ελ*s*.

ἀγγέλαι, ἀποστέλαι. For σκήλειε Ψ 191 read σκειλ-.

8. Spurious EI from εμ*s*.

ἐνείματο, &c.

9. Spurious EI from εσ*μ*.

εἶμα[τ]ί[ο] [ι*s*] Keos, 43₂, with the *ει* of εἶμα. Cf. Andania. Cauer, 47₁₆, 19, 20, 21, εἶματισμός *ibid.* 15. Hdt. has ἱμάτιον. Brugmann, *M. U.* II 223 (cf. Osthoff IV 133), separates ἱμάτιον from εἶμα, thereby implying that itacism does not here exist. That G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 115, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 73, are incorrect in maintaining the itacistic character of the *ει*, is clear from the old Ionic form cited above and from Attic ἱμάτιον, C. I. A. II 755, 8, 9 (349-344 B.C.), &c. We have double forms in εἶμάτιον and ἱμάτιον. ἱμάτιον arose from *ῥισμάτιον*, the weak form of *ῥεσμάτιον* (cf. § 144), the *ι* being the 'minimum' vowel. Cf. Fick, *K. Z.* XXII 116, Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt. Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. εἶμασιν, not ἱμασιν of the MSS. in Sim. Am. 21, is correct.

Medial εσ*μ* is preserved by analogy in Ionic as in other dialects.

The orthography of the word εἶμα fluctuates between EMI and

¹ εἰρύσασθαι Hdn. II 503₉, Et. M. 304₁₀; εἰρύσατο An. Ox. I 157₁₉.

EIMI. All inscriptions, not otherwise dated, are earlier than 400 B. C.

With E.

Kyme, 3 = Rob. I 177.

Kyme, Rob. I 173, 185.

Naxos, 25 = Rob. I 27.

Chalkidian, Rob. I 175, 186.

Arkesine (Amorg.), 29 = Rob.

I 158 D.

Prokon. 103₂ = Rob. I 42.

Samos, 214 = Rob. I 155.

Naukr. Rob. I 132 A, E, G,

and often upon the Naukr.

inser., Asiatic Ionic, Naukr.

Bechtel, 259.

Kameiros, 256, Rob. I 164.

With EI.

Miletos, 98 = Rob. I 138.

Theodos. 125, written IEMI
(after 400).

Olbia, Rob. I 163 A.

Naukr. Rob. I 132 C.

For a similar fluctuation in other dialects, cf. my *Diphthong* EI, p. 60. EIμί in Attic is as old as 570 B. C. (Rob. I 42₁), this proving that ει = ē had a tendency toward diphthongization at an early period. In a few other words the same phenomenon may be observed. On the monophthongization of the diphthong ει, see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 15, Lewis, *Paper of the American School*, IV 263.

10. Spurious EI from εσν.

ἐπέινυσθαι, Hdt. IV 64 (A B) according to Stein. Holder follows *PR*'s ἐπέινυσθαι. Cf. καταείνυσαν, Ψ 135 (elsewhere six cases of ἐννυμι). εἴνυμι is not a direct descendant of ἐννυμι which is derived from a later *ἔσνυμι, brought into life through the influence of ἔσσω, ἔσται, &c.

κλεινός < κλεφεινός: κλενογένης, I. G. A. 396 (Keos). *Αργεννον near Erythrai is perhaps due to the Aiolic element in the neighbouring Chios. *Αργεννον occurs in Troas and Lesbos, ἀργεννός being an Aiolic word, Hinrichs (*H. E. V. A.* p. 56). Other traces of Aiolism are Πελιναῖον, name of a mountain in the north of Chios. χρυσοφαείνον Anakr. 25, and Φαιέννον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5; AIOVIC, § 97, and IONIC, § 17.

The orthography of εἶναι in Ionic inscriptions shows the fluctuation in the representation of the closed ē sound. It is held by Brugmann, *Gram.* § 146, that εἶναι is not derived directly from *ἔσναι but that it owes its ει, as Arkadian ἦναι its η, to the influence of εἶμεν, ἦμεν. It is not probable that the adulterine ει (η) was borrowed from εἶμεν (ἦμεν) at a time so remote as to precede the adoption of -ναι in Ionic-Attic and Arkadian, which, it is claimed, was abstracted from -φεναι, -μεναι. Neither dialect has any trace of -μεν. The possibility of εἶναι having originated from *ἔσεναι is very slight.

With E.

Halik. 238_{22, 24, 42} (fifth cent.).
Erythrai, 199_{5, 10, 11} (after 394).

Keos, 43₁, ἐξεῖναι (fifth cent.).

With EI.

Halik. 238_{27, 29, 36}.
Thasos, 71_{5, 6} (fourth cent.) 72₉,
(300-250).
Oropos, 18₃₂ (about 400).
Amphip. 10₁₂ (about 350).
Eretr. 15₁₄ (fifth cent.).
εῖν, Olynth. 8 A 3, B 5, 7 (betw. 389
and 383).
ἐξεῖν, Orop. 18₃₁.

11. Spurious EI from εσλ.

χεῖλοι = Aiol. χέλλιοι, Lak. χηλίοι.
χεῖλος < χέσλος Sim. Am. 27. See Windisch, *K. Z.* XXVII
169.

12. Spurious EI from ενι.

According to Brugmann, *Gr.* § 54, Homeric εῖν is = ἐνι + vowel.
We find ἐνάλιος in Archil. 74₈ (tetr.), εἰνάλιος in Theogn. 576.

The ει of ἀμείνων is due to compensatory lengthening (*i.e.* ει is a spurious diphthong) ἀμειννο- being Aiolic. ἀμεινότερος occurs in Mimn. 14₉, Ἀμεινοκράτης, Mykonos 92₁₄, ἀμεινον (?), Rob. I 159 a, Amorgos.

13. Spurious EI from ελι.

ὀφέλλω, *increase*. The ει of ὀφείλω would seem to be genuine, despite the pair ὀφέλλω: ὀφείλω (with different significations), because of ὀφειλέτω, Chios, Rob. I 149 A 14, ὀφειλόρων, *ibid.* l. 17, Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 4, and ὀφειλεν Thasos, 71_{6, 11}. EI is also attested, C. I. A. 40₁₄, I 58, 324 A 52. We have however E in C. I. A. I 32 A 3, 8, B 22, *ib.* 41₃. See Johansson, *D. F. C.* p. 212. ὀφέλλω, *sweep*, in Hippon. 51₃. ὀφέλλειεν Π 651, β 334 is an Aiolism. Cf. L. Meyer, B. B. VII 311.

14. Spurious EI from ερι.

φέρω *say* < φεριώ. Ionic εἰρέθην Hdt. IV 77, 156, &c. < ἐφερέθην, Attic ἐρρήθην < ἐ-φρή-θην. πέπειρα Anakr. 8₇, πέπειρος Hippokr.

Ναστείρης Styra, 19₂₆₄, Homeric στείρα or στείρη A 482, β 428, and nowhere else (*Diphthong* EI, p. 65). Theogn. 757 ὑπερέχοι with ὑπεῖρ, as in Hom., formed from ὑπερι before an initial vowel. ὑπερέχους Hdt. V 92 (η), adopted by Stein, is alien to the form usually accepted by the historian, and can be defended solely by those who hold to the assumption of a phonetic ποικιλία in the Herodoteian dialect.

15. Spurious EI from contraction of ε + ε, see § 262.

κείνος, written κερος, Teos, 156 A 4, 5, 11, 13, 156 B 28, 39, but with EI, 156 B 7: ἐκεῖνος, upon inscriptions tinged with Atticism, Teos, 158₁₅, Mylasa, 248 A 11, 16, B 15, C 19. See § 564. Prellwitz rightly holds that the ει is a monophthong,

and divides (ἐ)-κεῖ + ερος : his proposed etymology, *B. B.* XV 155 ; see also Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 94.

With the variation between Ionic κείρος, Aiolic κῆρος, Wackernagel compares (*B. P. W.* 1891, p. 6) Νηλεὺς in Homer and Νείλεως in Hdt.

225.] EI of doubtful origin.

Σειλήνη Paros, 66, a late inscription with εἰ not in accord with the common Attic-Ionic form (Sappho σελάνα ; Doric σελάνα ; Archim. σελήνα?).

Εἰλειθυίει Delos, 56₅₀, Paros, 66 (Εἰλειθυίη). See Baunaek's *Studien*, I 69. Εἰθύμαχος Styra, 19₂₃. See § 198.

Τειρεσίας. Cf. τείρεα Σ 485 < τέρας (cf. γέρεα Miletos, 1007).

226.] OI.

On οἰ < ofi, οσι, see § 298, from ε + οἰ § 311, from ο + οἰ § 314, ο + εἰ § 315, from ωἰ § 241.

This seems to have been pronounced as a genuine diphthong. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 37, has refuted the view that in Styra οἰ was pronounced as ü, and that the dialect of Styra was herein influenced by the Boiotian change of οἰ to υ, i. e. ü. Μέτυκος, 19₇₀, may or may not be correct ; but in the fifth century, the period of this leaden tablet, Boiotian οἰ had not abandoned the old diphthongal pronunciation of οἰ. Cf. Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 57.

227.] Antevocalic OI = O.

See above for A(I), E(I) in Ionic.

A. *In inscriptions.*

Roman figures refer to centuries.

WEST IONIC.

A. Εἰλοείς Styra, 19₃₈ (V) ; B. ἐποίει Eretria, 14 (V) ; ἐποίησε Adesp. 21 (VI) ; ἐποιοσάτην 265 (Euboian or Island Ionic) (V).

ISLAND IONIC.

A. ἐποίει Delos, 57 (II) ; ποε(ῖ) Thasos, 72₄ (300-250) ; B. ἐπ[ο]ίησεν Naxos, 26 (B. C. 500) ; [π]οίειν Keos, 43₂₁ (end of V) ; Εὐκοίης Keos, 44 B 9¹ (IV ?) ; Ποιασίων Keos, 47₂ (IV) ; Ποιάσσαν Keos, 47₁₀ (IV) ; θαρατοποῖός Delos, 55, 3 (270) ; ἐχσεποίησεν Paros, 58 (VI) ; ποιήμα Paros, 60 (metr.) (V) ; εὐνοίας Thasos, 72₆ (III).

ASIATIC IONIC.

A. ἐξεπύισ' Abdera, 162 (metrical) (V) ; ποιήσασθαι Eryth. 199₁₃ (394) ; ἐποίει Samos, 222 (pre-Rom.).

¹ Cf. κοῖται *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 119.

B. a. Before η, ει.

ἐποιήτε Miletos, 94 (VI); ἐποίηεν Miletos, 95 (VI); ἱεροποιή Miletos, 100₆ (400); ποιεῖ[r] Didyma, Rob. I 139 (V?); [π]εποιή-
 κατων Iasos, 105₁ (end IV); ποιήσεα Teos, 156 B 30 (470);
 ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39 (470); ποιήσας Teos, 158₁₁ (II or I),
 ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12 (V); ποιήη Chios, 174 C 9 (V); ποιήται
 Chios, 174 C 11 (V); ἐποίησεν [Chios?] Rob. I, p. 64 (V);
 ἐποίησεν Eryth. 207 (II); ποιήσεν Sam. 221₂₁ (322); ἐποίη-
 σεν Sam. Rob. I 157 (V); ρεωποιήσαντες Sam. 222 (pre-Rom.); ποιη-
 σεν Halik. 241 (metr.) (?); ποιήσαντες Myl. 248 A 12 (367/66);
 ἐποίησαντο Myl. 248 A 13 (367/66); ποιήσαντος Myl. 248 B 6
 (361/60); ἐποίησαντο Myl. 248 B 12 (361/60); ποιήσασθαι
 Myl. 248 C 9 (355/54); ποιησαμένη Myl. 248 C 16 (355/54);
 ἐποίησεν Adesp. 264 (VI); οἴη, *village*, Chios, 183 A 46 (350);
 Οἴη Eryth. 201₂₇ (IV); αἰδοίην Adesp. 264 (metr.) (VI).

β. Before ο.

τειχοποιού Kyzikos, 111₆ (IV); ποιοῖ Teos, 156 A 2 (470);
 ποιούντων Teos, 158₁₈ (late); ἱεροποιού Eryth. 206, ABC 12
 times (278); Ἐνδοῖος Adesp. 264 (VI).

γ. Before α, αι.

ρεωποιίας Ephes. 147₁₅ (300); ρεωποιίας Halik. 240₆ (470-400);
 εὐνοῖαι Ephes. 147₈ (300); εὐνοῖαν Samos, 221₈ (322).

ποιέω is the word most frequently affected by the change, and
 in it the *iota* never disappears in any dialect before ο, but
 only before η, ει. In the MSS. of Hdt. and of other Ionic
 prosaists, ποιέω is the only form found.

Cf. πόης Theokr. 29₂₁; ἐπόησε Theokr. 29₂₁, Aiolie, C. D. I.
 218₀; ποιήσασθαι Aiolie, 281 A 19, B 24; πόη = ποιή, 238₆;
 ποιήσω 281 B 54; ποιέμενος 305₈; Arkad. ποέντω 122₂; other
 examples, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 155.

The optative sign in -οῖατο is never lost.

B. Lyric Poets.

Anakr. ἀδοῖάστως 95 (eleg.), ἐποίηθη 51₃ (ἐποίηθεν χ 298,
 ποιῶμαι Mimn. 5₂), but ποιήσεις 60, πεποίημαι 97 (eleg.). Herodas
 2₃₄ ἠλόησεν, but ἀλοήση 251; πῶεις 69, but ἐπόει 4₂₂, elsewhere οἰ
 retained.

C. Herodotos, &c. Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.*, p. 45 ff.

Εὐβοεὺς VII 156, VIII 4, 19, 20; Εὐβοῖς III 89.

Εὐβοϊκός III 89, &c. In fact, Εὐβοιεὺς is found in no Attic
 prosaist, and Εὐβοῖς only in poetry: *Trach.* 237, 401; Εὐβοῖς
Trach. 74, Eurip. *Herakleidae*, 83.

εὐνοίη and προνοίη.

ποιή, as in Homer ποιῶδης. Attic ποία is poetical, elsewhere πόα, as Sappho, 543. On the accent, see § 122.

ροίή, Homer ροιά, Attic ρόα, but ροιά in Aristotle (Greg. Corinth. p. 220, quotes ροιά as Doric). On the accent, see § 122. στωί, according to Stein, III 52 (R has στωί); στωία in *Ekkles.* 684, 686 may be taken from the *sermo familiaris*, though στωά is the only form found in inscriptions. στωά is Doric (Ditt. *Syll.* 369₂₅)¹. Why Hdt. should use ποιή and ροίή, but στωή, is not clear. Hence I doubt Stein's reading.

φλοιός IV 67, also Homer and Attic.

χλόη Archil. 108, Hdt. IV 34 (Stein); χλοι- regularly in χλοιούσθαι Galen, *Lex. Hippokr.*, χλοιῶδης Hippokr. Attic has always χλώη, hence in X|λοι[ης] C. I. A. II 722 B 18, if correctly restored, we assume that the ι is the glide *iota*.

όμοχροίη has MS. authority, I 74, where Stein prefers -οίη. Diog. Apoll. 6 χροίης, Attic χροά (Aristoph. χροιά).

φθόη is a medical expression adopted by Plato, perhaps from Hippokrates. Wackernagel's (*K. Z.* XXV 268) objection to the hiatus is well founded if we compare Skt. *kshayá* and apply Fick's law as to the interrelation of ι and γοδ: when the accent falls originally, as here, upon the final syllable, ι not γοδ should appear. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* VIII 168, Bechtel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1885, No. 6, and on ροίή, χροίή under Accent, § 122. Evidently in some of these words contamination of the original forms has given rise to those now found in our texts.

δοή for δουή, Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XL1 746).

228.] OI (Varia).

(1) There appears to be no certain instance in Ionic of οι for ο before a vowel (as in ὀγδοίης, &c.). καταβοίης, however, occurs upon the very ancient papyrus (*Philol.* XL1 746) which is chiefly Ionic. For ἐπίπλοον, Hipp. has ἐπίπλοιον VIII 122 (C, θ), but the latter form contains suffixal -ιο-. κοίλη Mimn. 126 is a conjecture. It has not been shown that a κοίλος arose in the manner assumed for γελοιός ὀμοίος (Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 41). A preferable solution is that κοφίλος (κοφ = *cav-us*) = κομίλος was represented graphically by κοίλος, cf. § 221. This οι = ου is probably not Aiolie, hence in Alkaios 155 read κοίλαι.

(2) [1] ροιζήμιος Iasos, 104₂, before 353 B.C., disproves the statement of G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 112, that this form (with anaptyctic ι before ζ) does not appear before the imperial period. Cf. Τροζάνιος I. G. A. 70₁₃, Schneider, *Dial. Megarica*, 39, Müllersiefen, *Dial. Lacon.* 88.

(3) δεσπόνησω Kyzikos, Rob. I 148 = δεσποίναις, if correct, is

¹ Also C. I. G., 2483₂₂, Astypalaia.

a unique form. The converse appears in Φιλοδέσποιτος (*Papers of the American School*, III, No. 218). Cf. § 151.

(4) οι appears for εοι in the Herodoteian οἶκας, οἰκός, with absence of reduplication, as in οἰκοδόμηται I 181, Herakleian Tables, I 137.

(5) The ancients regarded ἠοῖος as Ionic in contradistinction to ἠῶος and ἔῶος: Eust. 727^{51, 53}, 1142⁵⁴, 150⁴⁴.

(6) πρήξιω Chios 174 Δ 16-17 for πρήξουσιν, subj. with short modal vowel, is an Aiolism as regards the ending.

(7) For -οῖα in the fem. part. = υῖα, see § 605.

(8) οι < ωι, see § 241.

229.] ΥΙ.

The second mora of the diphthong υι may disappear before a following vowel.

ύος Paros, 67 (late), Ηύος 266, of uncertain provenance. Cf. υῖός Δ 473, λ 270; δῦη υ 286. ἀφύη, often used by the comic poets, may be an Ionic loan-form (G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, p. 36). Cf. μυσόβαι B. C. II. VI 32, 33.

υῖός is found, Amorg. 35 epigr.; Priene, 141 (in Ionic alphabet); 265, uncertain locality; Delos, 57. On υῖός, ὕός in metrical inscriptions, cf. Allen, *Versification*, p. 71 ff., on ὑ(ι)ός in Attic, Meisterhans, p. 47.

Diphthongs κατ' ἐπικράτειαν.

230.] ΑΙ.

αι = pre-Hellenic *āi*, gave way to ηι at the earliest period of Ionic that can be reconstructed by us.

231.] ΗΙ.

Whether ΗΙ is really a δίφθογγος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν in such forms as βασιλῆος is not perfectly certain (Blass, *Ausspr.* 22, Johansson, B. B. XV 182). Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252, writes βασιλῆος, and holds that ηι became η between the time of Hippoxax and Herodotos¹. Between βασιλῆος (or βασιλῆος, cf. Attic βασιλείος) and βασιλῆος there is a far greater difference than between ἀνρήιος and ἀνρήιος,—the important difference of the accent position. While MS. testimony possesses slight, and even inscriptions but little more value (the ordinary ΗΙ, *e. g.* in such a form as ΚΑΗΙΩ, being indifferent to the question at issue), the evidence in favour of the existence of the long vowel and of diacresis in certain Ionic prose authors is drawn (1) from the cases of ηῖ in the poets; (2) from the Attic ΤΗΙΟΙ, Τῆῖοι or Τῆῖοι, C. I. A. I

¹ In Hdt. the correct form is ἠῖε, not ἤιε.

234₁₅ (446 B. C.) and ΤΕΙΟΙ=Τήϊοι, C. I. A. 229₁₁ (451 B. C.), forms whose ηῖ, even if not Attic, is certainly Ionic; cf. ΤΗΘΙΟΣ Naukratis 700¹ (cf. *K. Z.* XXVII 264); (3) from Κυπrian μράϊιο(r) (?), Meister. *G. D.* II 144; (4) from Boiot. μαντεία, = Delph. μαντήϊα, cf. *Aiol.* or Thess. μαντήϊον, C. D. I. 1558. In any event Hippokrates certainly made use of ηῖ much less often than Hdt. See below, § 286.

232.] Medial III before vowels.

(1) In this category fall chiefly the derivatives in -ήϊον, -ηήϊ = Attic -είον, -είη, from stems in -ην. In dealing with the much-vexed problem of the interrelation of these terminations it must be borne in mind that originally an -ην- stem yielded -ηη or -ηιο-, except in the case of such feminines as had adjectival motion (§ 174); while sigmatic stems produced -ειη and -ειο-. This original mark of distinction has been obliterated to a great extent in all the dialects, and especially in Ionic. The retention of the traditional accentuation in this treatise does not imply that in all cases, notably in that of the pseudo-Ionists, ηι was pronounced with ι as a distinct phonetic power. The conduct of ηι upon Attic inscriptions shows that at an early period ι was a vanishing sound. ηι must sometimes have been written when it was not diphthongal, e. g. μουσηϊον Herodas 1₂₁.

All the forms of the ην stems have been collected by Fritsch, *I. H. D.*, pp. 9 ff.; e. g. Hdt. ἀριστήϊον, ἀρχήϊον, ἰερήϊον (Greg. Kor. 3), μαντήϊη (μαντείας Tyrt. 4₂), μαντήϊον Pherek. 60 (Herakl. II -είον), πολιτηήϊ, πρυτανήϊον, as Prokon. 103 (fifth century), στρατηήϊ (and στρατυήϊ), ταριχηήϊ, χαλκήϊον, &c.

Also from -ην- stems adjectives and nouns in -ηϊος, -ηϊον, -ηήϊ, = Attic -ειος, -ειον, -εία. βασιλήϊος Theog. 1191, Hdt., Hekat. 175, Charon 2, βασιληήϊ Hdt., Herakl. 79; and the following forms in Hdt.: δουλήϊος², ἐξοδήϊη (Stein -δήϊ), κηρυκήϊον, Ὀδυσσήςϊος, ἀρήϊος, ἐρμητηήϊ, as in Diog. Apoll. I. Mimn. has Νηληήϊον 91; θεραπεήϊη Hippokr. VI 492, 586, VII 172, 180, IX 268, v. l. -είη, nō v. l. VII 246, but θεραπεήϊη V 686, II 14, 110, III 72.

In the pseudo-Ionic prosaists we find the -ημ- forms are not so prevalent as in Hdt. and are largely artificial: θεραπεήϊη Lukian, *Syr.* 31, Aretaios often; θεραπεήϊη occurs only in the letters of Hippokr. 157, 167, 172₂₀, &c. -ημ- forms occur as follows: μαντημ- Luk. *Syr.* 36, *Astr.* 8, 23, 24; πολιτηήϊ Hipp. ep. 17₃₂; βασιλημ- Luk. *Syr.* 18, 25, *Astr.* 12, Arr. *Ind.* 3, 8, 39, Hipp. ep. 17₂₄, 41; ἀρήϊος Arr. *Ind.* 7, 11, 12, Euseb. 2; παιδηήϊος

¹ Coins of Teos have ΤΗΙ Head II. N. 511, and so ΤΗΘΙΟΣ Naukr. I 209, II p. 68 (a late metrical inser.).

² Cf. Anakr. 114, epigram. δουληήν. Hdt. has also δουλίος VII 8 (γ); cf. πολεμήϊος and πολέμϊος, ξεινήϊος and ξεινίος.

Euseb. 2; ἱρήιος Luk. *Syr.* 42, 58, 57, cf. Arr. *Ind.* 18. The following have no variant in -ηι-: μοιχείη, δυναστείη, γοητείη, προφητείη, φαρμακείη, πρεσβείη, ἐρμηνείη. στρατήη is the only example in the *Vita Homeri*.

Fritsch's thoroughgoing examination (*V. H. D.* pp. 8-30) shows that here and there the Attic forms have forced themselves into the MSS. of Hdt.; and in the inscriptions we meet with the following forms in *ει* where we might expect an Ionic -ηι-:—ἀρχέιον Iasos, 105₁₂ (end of third cent.); πολιτεία Zeleia, 114 ABC (late), Samos, 221₂₇ (322 B. C.); πρυτανείον Kyzikos, 108 B (first cent.); καπηλείον Iasos, 104₄₁; πορεία Samos, 221₂₁ (322 B. C.).

All these forms occur in inscriptions so late that they may be ascribed to Attic influence.

(2) Furthermore, -ηιο- occurs (Attic -εῖο-) where there is no -ην- stem involved. Herodotos has ἀνδρήιος (Protag.), ἀνδρηίη, (cf. Arrian 17₄) but ἀνδρειότερος I 79, ἀνδρειότατος I 123, IV 93, IX 37, γυναικίος (where Homer has, λ 437, γυναικείας. Phokyl. 3₂ γυναικείων (cf. Fick, *B. B.* XI 272), Archil. γυναικείων. 9₁₀; Rutherford's γυναικίωσ, *Hrd.* 6₁, is incorrect). Hdt. has also ἀχρήιος (Hom.), ἐργαλίηον, ἔταιρήιος, -ηίη (Sim. K. 118 -εῖη), Καδμήιος but Καδμείη I 166, and Καδμείωι often. Hdt. μνημίωι (Arr. 10), οἰκίος, -όω, -ότης, cf. Demokr. 94, 124, 168, σημήιον, Diog. Apoll. 5 is not found in Simplicius. σημήιον is hesitatingly adopted by Littré in Hippokr. Demokr. 6 ἐμφυχίηον.

(3) -ηιο- = Attic -εῖο- from non -ην- stems: Hdt. has ἀθρωπήιος (Hippokr. VI 468, *v. l.* -ίνην; and -εῖος, as Herakl. 91, 96), βορήιος (Phoenix *arrad* Athen. 49₅ E), Εὐρωπήιος, κηλωνίωι. (κηλωνεύω is late), Φοιβήιος, φοινικίος¹ (φοινικία Teos 156 B 38, 470 B. C.), ἀγγαρήιον, λαισήιον, Ἀλήιον, Λιμενήιον. Hipponax, 57, has τροπήιον from τροπέω, an Ionic verb.

(4) Non -ην- stems yield -ηιο- in the later Ionists in the following cases:—

οἰκίος Luk. *Syr.* 22, 53, 54, 57, Arrian, *Ind.* 20 (elsewhere -ει-); ἀθρωπήιος Luk. *Aslr.* 27, ἐμφυχίωι Luk. *V. A.* 6. From consonantal stems we have ἀνδρήιος Luk. *Syr.* 15, 26, 27, Euseb. Mynd. 56 (Hippokrates has -ει- always); γυναικίος Luk. *Syr.* 15, 27, 51, Arrian, *Ind.* 8, Aret. 60, 61, 62, 285 (Hippokrates -ει-, and also Euseb. Mynd. 54); σημήιον Luk. *Syr.* 15, 17, 49, *Aslr.* 4, 7; Arrian, *Ind.* 28. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic σημείωι rather than the Ionic -ηιον. We have here a line of distinction drawn with tolerable distinctness between the medical writers and Herodotos, Lukian, and Arrian. Arrian, *Ind.* 10, has μνημίωι. θήρεια 17, 24, and Αἰθιοπέω 6.

¹ Hesychios has, however, Φοινικία: Ἄνδοι καὶ Ἰωνες τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ Φοινικός τινος . . . ; *μνημιε* in Hdt. is φοινίκεος.

The grammarians call -ηιος Ionic: ἀρήιος, Ὀδυσσῆιος An. Ox. I 36₃₀, Πηληιάδεω An. Ox. I 346₂₇; μνηστήιον, σημήιον, βασιλήιον An. Ox. II 123₃₃ (Theogn.), ξυνήιον Et. Gud. 416₂₈, Schol. Ven. A on A 124, An. Par. III 124₆; οἰκῆιος is called Doric by Hdn. II 558₂₃, though he reserves -ήιος for Ionic; cf. I 361₅.

(5) The inscriptions have ηι in πρυτανήιον Prokon. 103 (600 B.C., the Attic copy has -εῖον), φοινικῆία Teos, 156 B 38, ἱερῆιον Oropos. 18₁ (see § 234); ἡμιμνήιον and σποροδήιον Paros, 62; Σαραπήια Naxos, 28¹; Τήμιος Naukr. I 62, No. 700. Ποσειδῆιον C. I. A. I 283₁₇, is probably Ionic as the Attic form is Ποσειδεών usually, cf. Ποσειδήιον Maroneia 196₅, and Ποσειδηών Anakr. 6. Ποσειδήιον and Φοιβήιον in Hdt., other names of festivals having -ιο-.

On inscriptions we find εἰ where ηι might have occurred: Ἄνδρείων Eryth. 206, B 48, 56 (278 B.C.). οἰκειότητος Ephesos, 147₄ (300 B.C.). οἰκείου Lykia, 263 (perhaps an Attic form). Εὐφροειεῖου, Θαλεῖου Eryth. 206 B 46. Λυκείου Eryth. 206 A 20 (Steph. Byz. Λυκῆιον). ἱερητεῖαι Eryth. 206 A 44, B 1, 45, 60, C 7; ἱερητεῶν A 14, 36, ἱερατεῖαι C 13; Priene, 144₇, ἱερατεῖας. ὄρκυεῖων Halik. 240₄₁ (fifth cent.). See under (1) above.

(6) -ηιο- in Ionic has, as Fritsch has shown, in the class ἀνδρήιος and ἀνθρωπήιος extended by analogy its sphere beyond that of the -ην- stems. In no case is there any justification for the adoption of -ηι- even in such -εῖ- stems as yield abstract nouns, e.g. ἀληθινή, which has been foisted upon Herodotos by the Aldine edition. Even the *Aströl.* of Lukian has ἀληθείης (§ 1). The few instances which occur of ηι = εἰ are of late date. Ἄργηιος, Ditt. *Syll.* 421₅ (400-350), which is certainly on the stone, may be an error as it dates from a period when there was a fluctuation in the orthography. Sim. Amorg. 27 has Ἄργελη, Hdt. VI 52 Ἄργείην.

For examples of forms in -εῖη, see § 175 ff.

Ξενοκρατία is not to be classed with Delphic Καλλικράτεια, &c., where the η is a late graphical expression for εἰ, as often, e.g. ἐπιμέληαν *Mittl.* X 314, No. 2, l. 9 (Odessos), πολιτίαν *Mittl.* XI 83, l. 3 (Amorgos). It is scarcely probable that a stem in -ησιο- should manifest itself so late as the first century B.C. when it is not beyond peradventure proved in the case of older forms.

If it can be shown that there are stems in -ησιο-, which have as yet not been shown to exist, such apparent anomalies as Διολic κυπρογένεια, and Boiot. names in -γενεῖος, -μειδεῖος, may be cleared up. See Johansson, *B. B.*, XV 181. Ξενοκρατία Eryth. 208 is an hyper-Ionic form, and not to be regarded

¹ In Doric inscriptions πρυτανήιον, ἀνδρήιον, πρειγήια (πρεσβεία) οἰκῆιος, μαντήιον.

as an example of -ησία. That *you* should lengthen a preceding vowel, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.*² § 67, still holds, is of course out of the question.

ἀγγήιον without variant, Hdt. II 121 β, δ, IV 2, Lukian, *Syr.* 20, 48. This is the sole support for this supposed Ionic form. Keos 4310, with ἀγγεῖα, is not free from the suspicion of being Attic, though this form is undoubtedly Ionic too. Cf. ἀγγεῖον and κενεαγγεῖη in Hippokr. and Aretaios.

κρήιον in Hesychios is probably Doric, not Ionic as was held by Curtius *Et.*⁵ 155.

(7) Feminines derived from masculines in -εως have εἰ, not ηἰ. In Keos, 48. ἰέρεια; Pantikapaion, 123, ἰερῆ; Ephesos, 150, ἰερῆ. In Herodotos, the MSS. have generally ἰρεῖη, but occasionally the shibboleth of the Ionic ηἰ is disclosed (II 53, 54, 55). Cf. also βασίλεια, not -ηῖη. So ἀϊδρεῖη not -ηῖη Hdt. VI 69.

233.] Medial ΗΙ before consonants.

1. Masculine patronymics¹.

In but one case in Hdt. VIII 132 Βασιληίδεω, which must be an error. Cf. [B]ασιλειίδης Chios, 1790, the same form on a Chian coin, *Denkmäler der Wiener Akad.* IX 322 (400-350). If Σελληίδεω in Archil. 104 is correct, it is the only instance in the lyric poets, and Σκηθηίδης Teos, C. I. G. 3064₂₈ (late), the only instance in the inscriptions. In all other cases -ειδης, on which see § 235.

2. Feminine patronymics².

Hdt. Νηρηίδων II 50; Νηρηῖσι VII 191 (cf. Νηριείδων Eryth. 206 B 27); Βοιβηίδα VII 129, not to be written ηἰ, a poetical form introduced by the grammarians. Doubtless -ἡιόης and -ἡῖς (-ῖς) are here correct. Upon Attic inscriptions of the fourth century we sometimes meet with the spelling -εῖς, -εῖδος.

3. Dat. Plur. of Ἄ (η) stems.

-ησι (-ησι) was the regular Ionic form in the fifth century in Hdt. and in the inscriptions. The last Ionic -ησι of which we have any knowledge dates from 394 B. C. (Erythrai, 199). After this, αῖς is the normal ending. See under *Declension*.

4. In compound names (two stems).

Δηθάμαντ- Αἰγιάε, 28 A; Δηλιέων Smyrna, 1531, (cf. Bechtel, *ad loc.*); Δηίλλεος Thas. (L) 7, B 9; Δηιθράσης Th. (L) 3 A 8; Δηιπέτης Styra 19181, perhaps; Δηίαλκος Thas. (L) 90, (cf. Δείαλκος Thasos 81 B 14, Δείαλκος 836; § 236). Ἀλεξιδήμιος Naukr. 667, 838; Ἀρηιθούς Th. (L) 14 B 2, 16 B 7; Ἀρηιφίλου³ Anakr. 106, as Ἀρηιφάτους Herakl. 102.

5. Greg. Korinth. p. 377, quotes κληισθέρες as Ionic. Μαρωμητιέων Maroneia, 196, though from the same period (before

¹ Πηληίδης Greg. Kor. 379, together with Πηλειάδης and -ηιάδης (p. 488); the Et. Gud. 466, has Πηλειάδης Πηληιάδης, -ηιάδης Eust. 1237, Πηλειάδεω Joh. Gr. 239 B, Πηλειδέω and Πηλειάδεω Meerm. 655.

² Νηίδες, Νηρηίδες Eust. 62231, 19548.

³ An. Ox. I 2821, I 3630.

400) we have *Μαρωνειπέων* 196,¹ cf. § 197. *ηι*, as augment, is preserved *e.g.* *ἡρημέτους* Samos, 221₃₅.

6. *ὀρήιστος* Phoinix in Athen. 49,⁵ E, Anaxag. 10, Herakl. 114, *κλήισκεται* Hippokr. IX 84, cf. *θιήσκω μιμήσκω* according to the grammarians. *θιήσκω* occurs in Attic inscriptions and *κικλήσκω* in MSS.

234.] Medial HI becomes II.

ιερήιον Oropos, 18_{33, 36}, about 400 B. C. Greg. Korinth. p. 379, mentions *ιερήιον* as Ionic. Also Aiolic and Delphic.

A remarkable form is *λητουργεῖν*, on a Teian document in *Κοινή*, Ditt. *Syll.* 126₇₂ (306-301 B. C.).

235.] Medial III passes into EI.

1. before vowels.

Here belong the forms mentioned under § 232 from inscriptions, from the lyric poets *γυναικεῖον*, Archil. and Phokyl., unless Fick's defence of the form as it stands (= *γύναιον*) holds good. Or shall we read *γυναικῆον*? [*ā*]γγεῖα Keos, 43₁₀, while Hdt. has *ἀγγεῖα* IV 2; Homer, *ι* 222 *ἀγγεα*. Fritsch holds that *ἀγγεῖον* alone is correct, which is probable (cf. *ἄγγος*).

2. before consonants.

In all masculine patronymics, except those mentioned § 233. Hdt., as Attic writers, uses *-εῖδης* with but the single exception of *Βασιληίδεω*: *Αἰεΐδαι*² IV 149; *Ἀριστείδης* VIII 79-82; *Ἀτρεΐδαι* VII 20; *Νηλεΐδαι* V 65; *Περσεΐδαι* I 125; *Ἀλκείδης* VI 61. *Εὐθυνεΐδης* Styra 19₁₀₄, *Νικολεΐδης* 19₂₇₂, *Περίλεΐδη(ς)* 19₂₈₃ are transcribed *-εῖδης* on account of the extreme rarity of *-ηΐδης*. *Πιθειδης* Keos, 44 A 10, *Ἀρι(σ)τεΐδης* Thasos, 77 A 9, *Ἀριστεΐδεις* B 14, are all too late to be of moment, though they apparently support the general conduct of the patronymic in Ionic prose. As Attic inscriptions of the fourth century have *-ηΐδης*, the older form existing parallel to the younger *-εῖδης* (to say nothing of the fifth century with its *ΕΙΔΕΣ*), so in Ionic we might assume the contemporaneous existence of both forms. In this case *Βασιληίδεω* would be correct despite the numerical weight of evidence against *-ηΐδης* in Hdt., though the weakening of *ηι* to *ει* in the majority of the instances is surprising. The Ionic dialect is usually tenacious of *ηι* and *ηφι* < *ἔνι* generally becomes *ηι*. He who with Fritsch holds that *Βασιληίδεω* represents the only correct form of the patronymic ending must have the heart to expel every case of *-εῖδης* from the text of Hdt., even though *-εῖδης* can be shown to have existed before the fifth

¹ Cf. Hdn. II 86₇₂.

² In a fragment (99) attributed to Anakreon we read *Αἰεΐδεω*.

century. If -εἶδος is Homeric Ionic, it may well be Herodoteian Ionic. The cases (§ 232, 1) in which Attic forms have forced themselves into the text of Hdt. belong to a different sphere and are numerically insignificant in contrast with the almost total extinction of -ηἶδος in the MSS. of Hdt. See also §§ 238, 239, 286.

236.] Medial ΗΙ becomes Ε.

The month Ποσειδεῶν from -δηῶν, C. I. G. 2309₄, Delos, 366₄₂₇, Kyzikos (Attic?). With Δεῖαλος Thasos 8₃, cf. Δηῖαλος § 233, 4. Δεῖαλος Thasos 81 B 14 is not to be explained with Bechtel according to § 237.

237.] Medial ΗΙ becomes ΕΙ.

This *metathesis quantitatis* was first proposed by Fick (*B. B.* XI 267) on the score of Anakreon's four syllable Θρηκίη (96) by the side of Θρηκίη (49, 75), Hipponax' Θρηκίων 42 (ἐπ' ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρηκίων πάλων). Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 13, goes so far as to claim for Ionic and Attic that, wherever εἰ appears for ηἰ, ηἰ passed through the stage εἰ. On any view -εἰ < ηἰ is found chiefly in Eretrian Ionic, since in Asiatic Ionic -ηἰ lost its *iota* and did not become εἰ. From prose inscriptions we can scarcely expect proof, and even if we accept Θρεῖκίων, we are not compelled to extend this *metathesis quantitatis* over all the territory claimed by Bechtel. The parallelism of later λειτουργεῖν and τεῖ does not disprove the *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* rule, or necessitate the hypothesis that in Ionic-Attic there was a middle stage εἰ. See § 232. The form Θρηκίον occurs in an hexameter, Hdn. I 118₆, Θρέισσα Hrd. I₂₀₀.

238.] Final ΗΙ is retained.

1. In the dative singular.

ρηί, perhaps from *ρηῖ* from the analogy of *ρηός*, &c. (Alkman has *ρηῖ* according to Blass, *Hermes*, XIII 25). On Πρω[ρ]ηῖ see § 510.

2. In the subjunctive (Island and Asiatic Ionic, but not generally in West Ionic). See § 239.

The *ι ἀνεκφώνητον* is but rarely misplaced; *e.g.* εἶη (opt.), Teos, 158_{15, 30} (second cent.). Cf. the similar form on an old papyrus, Blass, *Ausspr.*³ 48, and the confusion between εἶη and εἶη, H 340, Σ 88. εἶη occurs on the papyrus that has *θείη*.

239.] Final ΗΙ becomes ΕΙ.

1. In the dative singular of *Ἄ(η)* and -*ην*- stems.

For the forms from Euboian Ionic, see § 433, 3. The Herodoteian βασιλεῖ, or βασιλεῖ, is due to the analogy of other cases. Ἄρει, found Sim. Amorg. I₁₃, may be read Ἄρηη; Ἄρει in Homer will readily yield to Ἄρεῖ, or Ἄρηη (Φ 112, 431, B 479). Smyth. *Diphthong EI*, pp. 36, 42.

2. In the subjunctive. Here we have to distinguish between (1) εἰ, an original form with short modal vowel (Schulze, *Hermes*, XX 491 ff.).

κατάξει Teos, 156 B 37,
 ἐκκόψει(ι) Teos, 156 B 38,
 ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39,
 ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12,
 ἀποκρύψει Ephesos, 145₁, s,
 ἐπάρει Ephesos, 145₂,

) of the fifth century.

Cf. παραμύφεται Mimn. 3, and also in Kretan (Baumack, in his *Studien*, I 3; Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1888, p. 402).

(2) $\epsilon\iota < \eta\iota$ in later inscriptions.

ἀναψηφίσει Amph. 10₁₉ (middle of the fourth century).

παρέλθει Orop. 18₃,

ἀδικεῖ Orop. 18₉,

ἐκτίρει Orop. 18₁₂,

ἀδικηθεῖ Orop. 18₁₄,

συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18₂₀,

παρεῖ Orop. 18₂₆ = παρηῖ < παρέηι;

cf. εἶ 18₃₁ = ἦ,

ἐμβάλλει Orop. 18₄₀,

} between 411-402 or
387-377.

This $\epsilon\iota < \eta\iota$ is restricted in Ionic to the division of the West¹, and in so far presents a proof of the progression of West Ionic and Attic along the same phonetic lines². In Attika the change of $\eta\iota$ to $\epsilon\iota$ occurs about 376 B. C., the sound being represented either by $\epsilon\iota$ (βοιλεῖ) or by ϵ (αἰτέ). $\eta\iota$ has here become a closed ϵ . There are no examples of this later $\epsilon\iota$ from other portions of Ionic territory, and even in West Ionic the change has not been thoroughgoing (Olynthos, 8 A 6, B 17 ἦη; B 14 δοκηῖ). In the Kyklades and in Asiatic Ionic we have $-\eta\iota$ in the verb and nouns, except where ι has fallen off. The change of $-\eta\iota$ to $-\epsilon\iota$ precedes in Amphipolis that of $-\omega\iota$ to $-\omicron\iota$. In Olynthos, 8 A 6, Bechtel reads π]ολέμοι whereas we have κοινῶι in 8 B 4 (as well as $-\eta\iota$).

240.] Final $\eta\iota$ from $\eta\iota$.

Rarely, and then not in West Ionic, in the dative: Μάνη Kyzikos, 108 (sixth century); τῇ βοιληῖ Eryth. 199₁ (after 394 B. C.); Μαλευίῃ Eryth. 201₁ (fourth century); τῇ Ζελεία, 113₁₅ (after 334); δημοσίῃ Mylasa, 248 C 15 (355/4); θύῃ Chios, Paspates 9.

241.] $\omicron\iota$.

πρόρης in Hesyehios has been regarded as an example of an Ionic change of medial $\omega\iota$ to $\omicron\iota$. Final $\omega\iota$ becomes $\omicron\iota$ only in the

¹ $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ δὲ δεῖ Teos, Ditt. *Syll.* 1267, (306-301), is Attic.

² The editor of the Oropian inscription No. 18 in *Hermes* XXI 91 regards as due to Boiotian influence the shortening of diphthongs whose prior member is a long vowel. Both this and the use of $\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$ seem to be Attic rather than Boiotian in colouring.

inscriptions of Western Ionic. See § 461 for examples. The *ι* of nom. -*ωι* in the declension of nouns in -*ώ*, -*οῦς* has been lost at a very early date in Ionic as elsewhere. On *ω + ι*, see § 299. *λάβωισιν* Chios 174 B 16 is an Aiolism. In an Eretrian inscription (Εφρημ. 1888, 83 ff. l. 180 C, ΣΟΙτραργο has been read Σοιτραῖτο(ν) = Σοιτ-*γνώισκειν* Hrd. 521 is a slip rather than an analogue of *μιμνήσκω*, Aiolic *μιμναῖσκαω*.

242.] AY.

Hipponax 2 has *καύης* or *καύήξ*, whereas in ο 479 we find *κήξ*, though ACKQSV have here *κήῦξ*, cf. Lobeck's *Paralip.* 101 ff. Kretschmer's attempt (*K. Z.* XXXI 354) at explaining the interrelation of the two forms is unsatisfactory. *δεδαυμένων* is found only in Sim. Am. 30. The above mentioned forms and Homeric *κήξ* may be referred to *κωκύω*. According to Schol. V on Il. XV 421 *δανλός* was New Ionic for Homeric *δᾶλός*; *δᾶλός* is from **δαφ-ελός* (cf. *δᾶνός*), *δανλός* from **δαφ-λός*. *δαφελός* was Lakonian (Hesychios s. v. *δαφελός*). In Ionic and Attic before sonant vowels, *αυσ-*, *ευσ-*, *ουσ-* became *α*, *ε*, *ο*, e. g. *ἀκούη*. *ἀκούω* contains an *ου* reinstated from the fut., aor. &c.

243.] AY = AO in inscriptions.

Ἀδοκλήος Latyschev, II 140, Pantikar., *ἀδοί* Priene, 144; *ἀδός* Chios, 184; *ἀδόν* Samos, 221₁₄; *ἀδ[τῶ]ι* Eryth. 202₁₁¹, 263 (Asiatic); *ἀδοίς* Samos, 221₂₁, 27, 28, Eryth. 203₂ (*ταῦτα* l. 8); *ἀδοῦς* Samos, 221₂₃, Leros, 1077; *ταῦτα* Leros, 107₁₂, Chios, 184, Eryth. 202₁₀, 18, Samos, 221₁₄, Halik. 240₇ (the only example of the change in the dialect of Halikarnassos); *ἄστωρ* Samos, 221₂₀, 263 (Asiatic); *Γλαῶκος* Eryth. 209₁; also Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 290 Erythrai; *Ταορέας* Eryth. 209₂; *Καοκασίωνος* Chios, 183 A 33; but *Κα]υκασίων* Chios, 177₉ and *Καυκασέ[α]*s *B. P. W.*, 1889, p. 1195; cf. Eryth. 206 A 19; *Ναῶλοχον* Priene, 141, an inscription not in Ionic dialect but in Ionic orthography; *Ναῶκλος* Paus. VII 3, 6 may be compared; Styra, 19₂₆₄, has *Ναυστέρης*; Olynth. 8 B 2 *ναυπηγησίμων*. In *ναυμαχίη*, *ναυπηγησίμος*, &c., we find *ᾶ* not *η*.

The graphical substitution of *ο* for *υ* is practically confined to Ionic territory. Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγρ. Ἄττ.* *ἐπιτύμβιοι*, 2597 (*Ἀδοκμά[τ]ης*), offers the only example from extra-Ionic territory. So far no evidence for this *αο* has been found in any portion of Ionic except that of the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands.

This method of writing, however, does not of itself necessitate the conclusion that Ionic *αυ* was of different colour from Attic *αυ*. Perhaps the Naxian AFYTO represents nothing more than an attempt at showing the pronunciation of *αυ* in a clearer manner

¹ About 350 B.C. No. 199, Eryth. (394 B.C.) has *αὐτῶι* twice.

than by ΑΥ, Blass, *Aussprache*³, pp. 74 ff. The suggestion that ΑΥΤΟ was meant, and ΑΥΥΤΟ was a correction of the engraver (αὐτῶν) is excluded by the Old-Attic αὐτῶν (Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 103). See under *ῥ*. This αϕ for αν before a consonant is chiefly the property of Kretan, and sporadically of Lokrian and Korinthian.

244.] ΑΥ = Ω.

See §§ 205, 258, for τρῶμα, διφώσκω, &c. The substitution of ο for υ is more frequent in Ionic than that of υ for ο. At present but one example of the latter orthography is known to us in Ionic: Μύλαυρος, Styra, 19₁₃₃ = μυλωρός < -αυρος. Cf. πυλαυρός = πλωρός in Hesychios and the other examples quoted, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 120. Hdt. III 72 has πυλουρός with the *v. l.* πλωρός. The grammarians went so far as to hold that αν became ων in a supposititious form ὠντός. Greg. Korinth. p. 419.

On ΟΥ from ΑΥ, see under ΟΥ, § 256.

245.] Α from ΑΥ.

In late inscriptions υ is sometimes not written before a consonant. In Kaibel's *Epigraphica* I find ταῦνομα τῶν 311 Smyrna; ἀτῶν 321 near Sardis; ἑατοῖς 340, valley of the Makestos; ἀτῆς Sterrett, *Papers of the Amer. School*, III 235, ἀτῆς Latyshev, II, p. 305 (199¹).

246.] ΕΥ.

On Δεύυτος, see § 138, on Δείνυτος, § 137.

EO for original EΥ is not specifically Ionic, though this orthography was more extensively adopted by the Ionians than by any other Greek people. EO is here invariably diphthongal.

1. Inscriptions of the fifth century¹.

βασιλεῖς Chios, 174 C 10; Κεφαλεῖς Adesp. 266, see Bechtel *ad loc.*

2. Inscriptions of the fourth century.

φεόγειν Amphip. 10₂₂; φεογέτω Amphip. 10₂₄; φεόγο[υτιν] Chios, 185₁₅; κοπρέων Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195; Εὐνομίδης Miletos, 102₁; Εὐέλθων Ephesos, 151₃, Mionnet, VI 122; Εὐπατρίω(ς) Ephesos, 151₁; Εὐχώματος Ephesos, 151₅; εὐροῖαν Samos, 221₈; εὐργέτην Eryth. 202₅²; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom., Le Bas, *Leg. Arch. Inscri.* III 1, No. 86, *Head, H. N.* 491; Λεοκαῖος Klazom. 169₂₁, *Head, H. N.* 491. Cf. Λεοκοῖς Priene, 141, Ionic orthography as in Ναόλαχον; Θέοττις Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XIV 153, No. 3. Cf. Θεῦτ[ις], *l. l.* No. 4 = Bechtel, 194 (both fourth century). Λεόκωνος (and Λεύκωνος) Latyshev, II 296.

¹ εὐδοξε *I. G. A.* 390 Amorgos, an obscure inscription, placed by some as early as the first half of the seventh century.

² Bechtel's [εὐργ]έτην Eryth. 199₂, is doubtful on account of ἀντῶν *l. l.* 5, 12.

3. Inscriptions of third century.

Ἐδαγόρης Thasos, 83₃; cf. 83₄.

4. Of uncertain date.

Ἐδρύδα(μος) Eryth. 209₃; Σινωπέος Sinope, 116.

On coins Ἐδσεβίης Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 324 Miletos, cf. 290, ἱερέος Chios, Pasp. 9₁₁, Ἐπαθίδης *ib.* 39.

Ἐπάμονος (Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 104), held by Boeckh (*C. I. G.* 2121) to be Phanagorean, cannot well be Ionic on account of *-παμων = κτήμων*, despite *πολυπάμονος* Δ 433, which must give place to *πολυπάμμονος* of many MSS.¹ That *eo = ev* is not confined to Ionic is clear from the following list: *Εβωλος* Knidos, *C. D. I.* 3550; *ἄνεο* Sunium, *C. I. A.*, III 73₁₂ (period of the empire), the only instance in Attic; *Ὀρφεός* *C. I. G.* 7049; *Ξεοῆρον* *C. I. G.* 3423, *ῥις κνέσσα* Kos in *J. H. S.* IX 334 ll. 57, 61, *Ἐδρυνόμο[ν]*, Herakleia, the Megarian colony, *C. D. I.* 3083; cf. *ε[ν]ο[ρ]κέοσι*, Krete in *Mus. It.* III 563 ff. l. 38 (Itanos). See Hausoullier, *B. C. H.*, III 51. Bechtel proposes to refer *Ἐπάμονος* to Knidos.

This *eo* is sporadic merely, and does not indicate that the pronunciation of *ev* (*i. e.* I. E. *e + u*) was different in the localities where these *eo* forms were at home from that prevalent among all Ionic speaking Greeks. The following list shows the retention of *ev* in words that in the above list had *eo*.

φεύγον[το]ς 13₆, Chalkis (?), found at Olympia; *φεύγων* 13₈; *φεύγειν* Iasos, 104₅; *Ἐδαγόρης* Thasos, 83₄; *Ἐυθύδαμος* Klazom. Head, *II. N.* 491; *Ἐ(π)ορία* Pantik. 121; *Λεύκων* Theod. (?) 127; *Λευκ[ά]ριος* Styra, 19₁₂₄; *Λεύκαρος* 19₃₈₉; *Λεύκωνος* Phanag. 164; *Λευκαίος* Klazom. Head, *II. N.* 491 (4th cent.); *[ε]νώνυμον* Eph. 145₅; *Ἐκράτου* Teos 159₃.

There are no indications of *eo* for *ev* in the literary monuments.

On *ev* for original *eo*, see also under *Contraction*, § 287; on *-ev* in the genitive singular, § 426.

247.] *ev*o represents the diphthong *ev* in *Πιθενος* = *Πιθεύς*, Ephesos, *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16, with an *v* between *eo* that recalls the *F* of Naxian *αφντοῦ*, Attic *αφντάρ*, cf. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. *ev*o stands for *eo = ev* in *Δεουνῶς*, Maroneia, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer's collection, referred to by Bechtel on 196. *ev*o = *ev* also in *Ἀριστοκλεοῦς* Thasos, 72₁. *Ἐννοσθέριεοῦς* Samos, 217. Analogous is *av* in *Παουλλίνα* *C. I. G.* 6665, *G. Meyer, Gr.* § 120. Cf. § 529, Baumeak's *Studien*, I 72, *B. B.* II 269.

An hyper-Ionic *ev*, due to a supposed fondness of the dialect for this sound, takes the place of *ov* in MSS. of Hdt. (§ 690), and in such forms as *χασκεύση* Herodas 4₄₂ (§ 44).

β takes the place of *v* in the late *κατεσκέβασεν* Kyzikos, *C. I. G.* 3693. Cf. the same form *C. I. G.* 2015 (Gallipoli), and

¹ On *Πολυπημονίδαο* ω 305, see Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* 70, note. See §§ 169, 344.

such forms as Boiot. *εὔδομον* C. D. I. 491₁₇, *εὔδομέκοντα* 3206₄₇ (Korkyra).

248.] Loss of Υ in $E\Upsilon$.

Before vowels *v.* like *i*, may be expelled. Scanty evidence of this phenomenon is furnished by the Ionic poets, Hipponax using *ευ* as a short syllable in *εῦωνον* 22 B (cf. *Ἐωνυμῆς* Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγρ.* Ἀπτ. ἐπιτύμβιοι 501₃), *θηρεύει* 22 A, according to the scholiast on Hephaestion (p. 156, Gaisf. ²=p. 106, Westph.), who says that Hipponax often treated *αι* and *οι* as short. Herodas 3₂₁ has *ικετεύω*. The shortening of *ευ* is very rare; cf. Pind. *P.* VIII 35 *ιχνεύων*.

Inscriptions offer us but doubtful evidence:—

Ἐαλκίδης Styra, 191₅₃, may be due to carelessness, as Blass suggests; at least we have *Ἐαλκείδης* Thasos, 77 B 10, and *Ἐαλκίδεω* Th. (L.) 3 A 10.

πρυτανέ(ο)ντος Priene, 144₁₀, Ross' conjecture for *-εωντος* of the transcribers. Johansson, *D. I. C.*, p. 61, retains *-εωντος*, which he explains as *=-ηντος*, comparing Lesbian *ἀδικήω*. This is, however, entirely unwarranted and has in fact been partially withdrawn by the same scholar, *B. B.* XV 171.

[*βασιλ*] *έοντος* C. I. G. 2107 *c*, Pantikapaion, is not free from suspicion, since Ionic verbs in *-εω* retain the *v*¹: *e.g.* *βασιλεύοντος* Pantik. 118, Mylasa, 248 ABC; *ἐξαιθραπέοντος* 248 A 2; *ἀε, ἀπεισθαι* Oropos, 18₂₁: [*κιξ*] *αλειύω* Tenos, 156 B 19; *μνημονεύοντος* Halik. 238₁₂. There is no confusion here between *-εω* and *-εω* verbs such as is discussed by Bredow, p. 81.

249.] $E\Upsilon$ for $A\Upsilon$.

πέτευρον Oropos, 18₄₂, deserves notice as it has been called the Ionic form, found also Theokr. XIII 13. *πέταυρον*, expelled from Nikander on the authority of π , occurs now only in the Septuagint. *πέτευρον* < *πετ + ηυρον* = *πετ + ἄυρον*, *πέταυρον* < *πετ + ἄυρον*.

εῦληρον = Doric *αῦληρον*, < *a-Fλη-*, cf. Hesych. *ἀβληρά*. Cf. Bekk. An. I 464₂, Bachm. An. I 164₂₀.

250.] Genuine $O\Upsilon$.

The diphthongal *ov* is generally represented upon inscriptions by $O\Upsilon$ or in a few cases by $\Omega\Upsilon$ ($\Omega\Upsilon$ = *οὐ*, and $\Omega\Upsilon\Delta E$ = *οὐδέ*, Thasos, 68). $O\Upsilon$ in *TOYTO*, Halik. 238_{21, 23, 32, 35}, *TOYTOC*, Amphipolis, 10₂₀. *TOTO* = *τοῦτο* 175 = Roberts, I 150 (Chios), and Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 14, as occasionally in pre-Eukleidean Attic documents². *ΑΡΟΔΗΙ* Tenos, 156 B 17 = *ἀρούρηι* (?)

¹ *κατεσκέασε* Magnesia (Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς εὐαγγ. σχολ. Σμυρν. 1878, p. 46), is late. Cf. similar examples from Kyme (C. D. I. 311₄₂), Korkyra (C. I. G. 1838 B 6), Tenos (C. I. G. 2344₂); *κατασκευάσθηται* Delphi (W-F), 263₃.

² Cf. *K. Z.* XXIX 140.

is a vexatious spelling, compared with Kyprian *a·ro·u·ra·* where the diphthong is genuine, and due to the ground-form *āro-ur-a*. The suffix *-ur-* is the weak form of *-far-*. On a Thessalian inscription, C. D. I. 371, we find *ἀρορ[as]*, and in one MS. of *Acharnians*, 762, *ἀρωραῖοι* (Rav. *ἀρουραῖοι*), where the *ov* would seem to be adulterine. Misteli (*K. Z.* XVII 178) suggested that **āropfā* is the ground form. Cf. Archil. 148.

Genuine *ov* (*i. e. o + u*) is retained in Ionic as in other dialects. It occurs in ablaut forms, such as *σπονδή* and probably in *βροῦκος· ἀκρίδων εἶδος· Ἴωνες* (cf. *βρεῦκος· ἡ μικρὰ ἀκρίς*), since an Ionic *ū* is not, despite its pronunciation, represented in Hesychios by *ov*. *ov* also occurs where *v* has been joined to *o* as in *το(δ)-v-το* (particle *v*). On genuine *ov* from contraction, see §§ 295, 312, 317.

ōa Hippokr. II 500 and in Theophrastos, from *ὄον sorb-ajpdr.* contains a genuine diphthong despite *ὄά* Plato, *Sympr.* 190 D (so the MSS.). *ōa* was found in the text of Hipp. by Galen.

251.] Spurious OΥ.

The monophthongal *ov* is generally written O; *e. g.* :—

ὄρκον Halik. 238₂₆, = *ὄρκοῦν*; *τορμοκράτεος* Prokon. 103₂ = *τοῦ Ἐρμο-*; *βουλευοῖ* Teos, 156 B 24 BOAH Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 401₂₁ and *Δι]ονύσο* l. 17, an inser. that has also OΥ l. 21, 23; *τιμΟχέοντες* Teos, 156 B 29; *ΤειχιΟσης* Miletos, 98.

Sporadically OΥ appears :—

TOΥ Amphipolis, 101₁₃, only case in older Ionic of this writing of *τοῦ*.

βαρβαρOΥΣ Teos, 156 B 26; in every other case of the accus. pl. OΣ.

Spurious *ov* by contraction of *o + o*, see § 266.

252.] Spurious OΥ before nasals¹.

μῶνος < **μονφο-s*, Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 65, Demokr. 70, 107, Archil. epod. 89₁, Sim. Amorg. 7₂₄, 14₃, Anakr. 84₂, Kall. 1₂₁, Solon, troch. tet. 33₆ (§ 52); *μουνόκερα* Archil. 181; *μούνναρχος* Theog. 52, Sim. Keos, 87, but 88 *μόνος*, as Solon, 24₃, 9₃. In Herodas we find *μῶνος* 2₈₀, 3₄, 6₁₆, 7₈; *μόνος* only once (6₇₀). Aischylos and Euripides have the Ionic form occasionally in dialogue parts (§ 77). *μῶνος* survives in late inscriptional poetry; *e. g. Papers of the American School*, III 341₆ (Pisidia). Lukian, Abydenos, Aretaios, and other later Ionic writers have *ov*. Arrian varies between *μῶνος* and *μόνος*, but the prevalence of the former in Aretaios and Hippokrates is so striking that there can be no question but that *μῶνος* was accepted by all the pseudo-Ionists,

¹ Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. p. 390, 453, Et. M. 607₃₅, An. Ox. I 296₁₇, An. Bachm. II 64₃₄ (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61₂₃ and on Hsd. W. D. 12.

except the author of the *Vita Homeri*. Attic Μοῦν- in Μοῦνυχία, Μοῦνυχίων, see § 75.

γοῦναιος γοῦν-; Hdt., Theog. 978, Tyr. 10₁; Archil. tetr. 75 γοῦνομαίω; Lukian, *d. d. S.* 22 γοῦνω; Arrian, 36 γόρατα. Hippokr. and Aretaios have the *ou* form, which is found in Hom., Hrd. 50, 70, cf. Greg. Kor. 489. *χλούρης*, of the wild boar, *Il.* IX 539, and in Hipponax, 61, where it is generally translated 'robber,' is from *χλοσν-*, cf. Skt. *ghṛṣṭi*, 'boar.'

The etymology of *δῶν* is uncertain. It is found Hipponax, 61, though there probably an Atticism. Sim. Amorg. 7₁₅ has the genuine Ionic form. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) suggests that *δῶν* was extracted from *μῶν*. *μῶν* is not found in Ionic, save Hipponax, 52. See § 206.

The principle that the exigencies of the Homeric verse cannot force any Greek form¹ upon the ordinary dialect life of the people is fatal to a genuine Ionic *οὔνομα*², despite the fact that Lukian, &c., read it in their copies of Hdt., and that it is supposed to have been used by Pherekydes of Syros. Steph. Byz. attributes it to Hekat. (frag. 185), while Herodian reports *ἄνομα* (frag. 328). In Herakl. 60, 65, 66 *ἄνομα* is the best MS. reading, yet Bywater writes *οὔνομα* in all three passages, despite *ἀνομάζεται* 36. In 65, Clemens has *ἄνομα* almost side by side with *μοῦνον*, while *οὔνομα* is found in Eusebios cod. *D.* Hellanikos, frag. 150, has *ἄνομα*. Stein writes *οὔνομα* in Hdt. although the MSS. are in a constant flux, and *ἀνομαίω*, *ἀνομάζω*. *ἄνομα* is the genuine Ionic prose form, found Oropos, 18₃, and so also in *Ἄνομάστου* Kyme (Roberts, I 174), *ἄνομα* is found in poetry. Theog. 246, Tyr. 12₃₁; *ἀνομαστός* Theog. 23, *Ἄνομάκριτε* 503, cf. Hdt. VI 127, VII 6. *οὔνομα* receives poor support from Sim. Amorg. 7₈₇, *κοῦνομάκλυτον*, a form alien to the genius of the folk-dialect (misread from KON?). In Hippokrates, II 190, VI 392, VIII 186 (*θ*). Lukian, *d. d. S.*, *de Astr.* (*Vil. Auct.* 5, *οὔ-* poorly supported), Arrian, Aretaios, *οὔνομα* prevails over *ἄνομα*; in the *Vita Homeri*, *ἄνομα* over *οὔνομα*. *ἀνομαίω* is the accepted form in later Ionic prose, while *ἀνομαστί* varies with *οὔνομαστί*. The Homeric form and the possibility of misunderstanding *τοὔνομα* brought into the texts of the Ionic prose writers all the instances of *οὔνομα*.

253.] Spurious ΟΥ before ρ³.

¹ *ἔνεκα* was not completely enfranchised until the imperial period.

² Joh. Gr. 240 B, Birnbaum 677₉, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

³ *τὸ οὔρος* interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 157, Joh. G. 240 B, Greg. K. 390, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Bachm. An. II 64₃₁ (Max. Plan.), *οὔρος*, *boundary*, Birnb. 677₅₀, Eust. 23₂₈, 488₇, 177₄₆, 187₁₂₉₋₁₁, cf. 128₂₁₅ (149₁₅, 194₂₆, 112₁₅₂ *οὔρος* is called Aiolie or Ionic through the grammarians muddling it with the *eu* of *εὐκηλος*, see An. Ox. III 398₂₀), *οὔροπόγιον* Eust. 187₁₁₅; *κοῦρος*, *κούρη* Et. M. 607₇₆, Eust. 23₂₇, 488₅, 1535₅₉, G. K. 387, An. Ox. I 242₂₁, I 296₁₇, Bekk. An. III 1096, Bachm. An. II 64₃₅ (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 124₅, schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlin. schol.).

I. -ορφ-.

οὔρος¹, *mountain*, Simonides of Amorgos 141; Theognis 881 οὔρεος, &c.; Hekat. 172, 173 οὔρεα, οὔρεσιν. In Hdt. and Homer we find both οὔρος and ὄρος. The latter is the sole reading of the MSS. in about nineteen passages in Hdt. In other places where the word occurs, *ABR* have ὄρος, *CPD* οὔρος: whence Stein concludes, in opposition to Dindorf and Bredow, that ὄρος is the genuine reading in Herodotos. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Lukian has οὔρος, *d. d. S.* 8, 28; Arrian has οὔρος but once (§ 11), ὄρος fourteen times. Hippokr. II 58, 70, 72, &c. and Aretaios have the ο form, as the *Vita Homeri*; ὄρος in Hekat. 44. 227, 344, Tyrnt. 57. Archil. tetr. 74₀, epod. 115 (hexameter peritotyll.), Anakr. 2₅, Theog. 1292. The Hipponaktian (355) ὄρειάς is suspicious, and was attacked by Renner (p. 179), whose πέτρας γέραιος has not met with favour. The form ὄρειοι is certain, Arrian, 17. Ὀροβυί[της] or Ὀροβιέ[ύς] Chalkis, Roberts, I 172. an inscription not adopted by Bechtel. Οὐράλιος is an uncertain conjecture of Roehl, No. 394 = Bechtel, No. 42. From Homer we obtain no information as to the character of the ον, since all the forms in ον are found under the ictus (23 times).

οὔρος, *boundary*, Hom., Chios, 174 A 6, 8, 10, οὔροφύλακες 174 A 15, 19 with Ο; ὄμουρος Halik. 240₆₁; οὔρος, not ὄρος, Samos, 216; and if I. G. A. 406 is Ionic, then HOPOΣ must be read Ποὔρος. In Herodotos οὔρος, ὄμουρέειν, οὔρίζειν (a form found only² in MSS. of Hdt.), &c., Herakl. 30, Demokr. *Mor.* 8, 9, οὔρος. The MSS. of Hippokrates have ὄρος very frequently. In Arrian 2 ὄρος, 40 οὔρος, Euseb. Mynd. 13 οὔρος. Solon, trim. 36₄, has the Attic form. Upon a term-stone from Thera, οὔρορ Cauer, 147, οὔροι Dittenb. *Syll.* 377, Kretan οὔρεια Cauer, 121 B 9, οὔρέωντι C 41.

δοῦρ- is not found in MSS. of Hdt. except I 79, where Stein reads δόρατα, cf. VII 89, 224, IX 62, δόρασι VII 41. δούρατα is here correct. Tyrnt. II 20, 37, Archil. eleg. 35, Anakr. 21₉ have the ον form, which alone is genuine Ionic (Greg. Kor. 489). Cf. Δουρίης Adesp. 21 (Western Ionic) of the sixth century. δορί Archil. eleg. 21, 2, recalls epic δόρυ, though Hom. has δοῦρι, etc.

κοῦρος, κούρη, Hom. κούρη is also found on Knidian documents, C. D. I. 3538-41, 3543-44. On κούρη in Attic, see § 75 (2). φούρη Naxos, 23 (but Κόρηι Paros, 65 (late); Κόρης Eryth.

¹ Οὔρειος, οὔρεσιβάτης in the tragedians make for an Ionic οὔρ-. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 358, goes so far as to hold that in ᾤρος (Dor.) and ὄρος, ω and ο are ablaut vowels, and that by qualitative assimilation of open pan-Hellenic ω and closed ο, a closed ω (=ον) resulted in οὔροι. The etymology of the word is uncertain, and is here only tentatively regarded as based upon ορφ; cf. Johansson *K. Z.* XXX 419.

² The Hesychian gloss οὔρισαι δρίσαι. παρασκευάσαι has been referred by some to οὔρίζειν from ὄρος 'favourable wind' in tragedy.

206 B 22, almost an Attic inscription); Διοσκουρίδης Halik. 240₂; Διοσκουρίσσι Naukr. 665, cf. 675, 682, 833-836; Διοσκουρίσσι [σ] 257 (unc. loc.); but Διοσκούρων Eryth. 206 A 7 (Attic); Διοσκουρίδης Thasos (L.), 11 C 11; Διοσκουρίδου Pantikap., Lat. II 239, Thasos (L.), 20 B 3. In the poets we find *κουρ-*, Tyrnt. 10, 15, 16 (Doric!); Anakr. 69, 76; Hrd. 1₂₂, 300, 401, 471, Bergk. *P. L. G.* III 710; Διόσκουρος Hippocras, 120, and so in Hdt., who has also *κουρίδιος*. Aret. 18 has *κούρησι*.

κóρος. Attic, Hdt. only IV 33, 34. Archil. 120, in the iobacchies, uses *κόρης*.

In Attic we find Διόσκουροι (Thuk. III 75, IV 110), see § 77, 78; in Seleukeia, Διοσκουρίδου Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 573. For *κωρίδες* Sim. Am. 15 we expect the *ου* form, which Athen. III 106 D strangely enough declares to have been used by Sophron and Epicharmos. The *ω* form is attested in Epich. 67 (Lorenz, p. 244). Epicharmos may have used Ionic words (Phot. 183₉), but not Ionic vocalism. On *Ἐπίκουρος* Styra, 19₃₅, Samos, 221₂, cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 17, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXX 600.

2. -ορσ. *οὔρον* Hdt., *οὔρα* Hipp. II 682, and often.

οὔρη tail, illustrates Waekernagel's theory (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) that the Greek accent was partly expiratory in character, *ὄρρος* becoming *ὄρρος*, *ὄρσή* becoming *οὔρη*.

254.] Spurious ΟΥ before λ¹.

I. ολφ.

οὔλαι Hdt., *τρίχουλος* Archil. 196 = *οὔλότριχες*, Hom., Hdt. (Syraκ. *δλβαχόιον*), < *Φολφ*. The accent is troublesome on account of the probability of λφ, when preceding the accent, becoming λλ. Hdn. II 110₂ cites *οὔλας* from γ 441. Schmidt, *Ventra*, p. 48 note, thinks the old-time explanation of *οὔλαι* as *ὄλαι κριθαί* may explain the accent in Hdn.

Hom., Xenoph. *ἀποφθεγ.* 2, *ὄλος*², *entire*, < *ελφο-* is, it is claimed, not represented by the same form in later Ionic. If there is no form except *ὄλος*, the parallelism between Hom. Ionic *ου* by compensatory lengthening = Doric *ω* = Attic *ο* would not be complete. In Herakl. (59) some MSS. have *οὔλα*, which Bywater reads. We look in vain to Herodotos, who does not use the word in any form. Herodas has *ὄλος* only. Theognis 73 is the first occurrence of *ὄλος* and here the initial *ο* is not specifically Ionic. Hippokrates certainly has *ὄλος*, *e. g.* II 612. Greg. Kor. 80 says that *οὔλειν* was used instead of *ὕγαινειν*; cf. Hesych. *s. v.* *οὔλε* (*ω* 402).

If *κολεόν* in Hekat. (Hdn. I 61₁₂) is Ionic (as it is Attic), *κοιλεόν* Γ 272 is not from *κοιλεόν*, but due to metrical lengthening.

¹ Μούλιος from *μολεῖν* (!) Eust. 80₄₃₇, 88₂₂₃, 185₂₁₀; *οὔληνη* (!) Eust. 46₁₆, *ὄλ-* being called Doric.

² Joh. Gr. 241 B, Vat. 694.

Proper names in Πουλυ- have come to light in Megarian, Thessalian, and Attic as well as in Ionic. Hdt. has πολλός¹, a form that is found in Arch. 81, 101 epod., 103 epod., Herodas, Anakr. 11, 43₃, 93, in a metrical inscription from Abdera, 162, in Demokr. *e.g.* 185, &c. πολλός in Theog. 509 need not be Megarian, but is to be classed with such Ionisms as πολυέπιδος ε 432, Hymn Apoll. 77.

Πουλυδάμας Smyrna, 153₇, Eretria, 16 B 5, -χάρου Eretria, B. C. II. II 277, Πουλύωνο[s] Chios, 187, Πουλυάναξ Thasos (L.), 8 B 1, Πούλυος Thasos, 78 B 11. There are no names in Πουλυ- in Hdt.

Cf. also in other dialects:—

Πουλυτίων in the Hermokopidai process (Thuk.), Megara, Πουλίαις C. D. I. 3025₅₀, Πουλυχάρης C. D. I. 3029₂₃, Πουλυδομας C. D. I. 3021₂₆, Πουλυ- 3025₄₀.

There are no names in Πολλο-, but those in Πολυ- are abundant. Πολυάρκης Styra, 19₂₈₇, and perhaps 19₄₀₆, Πο[λυ]αρ[κί]δης Naukr. I 195, Πολύδωρος Styra, 19₂₈₈, Π[ο]λυξείω[ι]δης Styra, 19₄₀₇, Πολυξείδης 19₂₈₃, framed from Πολύξενος, Πολύθροος Thasos, 75 B 11, Θεος, 158₂₇, Πολυάρητος Abdera, 163₁₂, Maroneia, 196₁₅, Thasos, 72₃, Πολύνικος Maroneia, Head, II. N. 216, Πολυδάμας Thasos, 76₈, Πολυαίνετος Thasos, 81 B 11, Thas. (L.), 3 A 7, 6 A 9, 15 C 10, Πολύοκτος Eretria 16 B 37, 49; also Thessal. 345₇₅, Πολύχαρμος Smyrna, 153₁₁, Πόλυος Smyrna, 153₂, Πολυπειθής Erythrai, 206 A 28, Πολυΐδος Halik. 240₁₆, Πολύφατος Thasos (L.), 6 D 9, Πολυάλης Thasos (L.), 10 A 11, Πολύτιμος Thasos (L.), 21₅, Πουλυ- Thasos (L.), 16 A 17, B 3, Πόλυ[β]ος Volci, Roberts, I 188 H.

Bechtel holds that the names in Πουλυ-, in whatever dialect found, are due to the influence of the εpos. This, even if true, would not render nugatory our contention that the Homeric verse cannot impose its forms upon the dialects. Proper names have their own peculiar history. But that Πουλυ- is a genuine prose form², from contamination of πολυ- and Πουλυ- (Πουλυ- originating in the oblique cases, *e.g.* πολυ-ός) is evident from the Attic πολυέπιδος, Πουλυπόδειρον, Πουλυτίων in comedy.

In Hdt. πολλός is not supported by MS. testimony of such a character as to demand its insertion. It is but sparingly attested in the late Ionists. Lukian and Arrian follow Hdt., while the medical writers use now Πουλυ-, now πολυ-. πολυ occurs in the letters of Hippokrates (XVII 16 in c); elsewhere πολός and πολέ should probably be read (Lindemann, p. 12 ff.). Cf. § 479.

It is no contradiction of the laws of phonetic development that Πουλυ- and πολυ- (*e.g.* πολυκρότη Anakr. 90₂) should be co-

¹ Greg. Kor. 12 quoting Homer only.

² Ionic according to An. Bachm. II 64₃₅ (Max. Plan.).

existent at one and the same time in a single dialect. As in Ionic, so too in Megarian (Baunack, *Stud.* I 229) both forms are permissible. A πωλ- is, however, foreign to Ionic, despite πώλυ-πω in Sim. Amorg. 29. Perhaps Sim. of Keos is the Simonides referred to by Athenaios, VII 318 F. In Hippokr. VI 214 the eldest MS. (θ) has πώλυπος, and so in VII 50, 52 (with variations in -o- and -ov-) of the exerescence in the nose. In VII 222 πολύποδας (θ), VI 550 πολύποδες (θ), VII 276 (the animal).

2. -ολυ.

ούλη, *scar*, Lat. *volnus*.

ούλος, *crisp*, < Φολνο-?

βούλομαι, probably from βολνο-, from βωλυ-? Forms with O are: βΟληται Oropos 18₂₁; ΚριτοβΟλης Kyme, 2; Θευβούλου and Βουλοθέμιος Naxos, 28 with ΟΥ (late).

The *ov* of Οἰλυμπος¹ appears to be due to the metre alone in Homer and Theog. 1136. In Herodotus 'Ολ- is to be written, a form attested by Xenoph. 23, Theog. 1347, Solon, tr. 362, Sim. Amorg. 721, Arch. tetr. 742, Hipponax, tr. 30 A, Anakr. 24; 'Ολυμπίω (dat.) Miletos, 101 (late), and 'Ολυμπιδώρος, Smyrna, 153₂₇ (before 350 B.C.).

Likewise due to the ictus is the *ov* of ούλόμενος Hom., Tyr. 72, Theog. 156, 1062. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. II 64₃₅ (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II, 61₂₁.

255.] Other cases of ΟΥ.

Editors of Hdt. rightly reject ούδων, *ways*, I 123, which is found in R. Samos, 220_{30, 36}, has οδου (346/5 B.C.). ούδόν, *threshold*, I 90, is from δδφός and is the form proper to Ionic prose and poetry, cf. *Od.* ρ 196, *Hrd.* 172, 338.

ρούσος² Herakl. 104, Hdt., *Minn.* 6, Solon, 24₁₀, Theog. 274. *Hrd.* 4, 17. Pindar, &c., is not from *ρογκιος = *ροσσος, as Curtius held in his *Studion.* X 328. I formerly derived the word from σροστίος, = Old Norse snauðr, *stripped, poor, bereft*, sneyðiligr, *destitute* (Germ. *schnüde*), but now am inclined, in view of the co-existence of ρασέω and ρούσος, to set up with Aufrecht, *K. Z.* I 120, as a ground-form *ροσφο-, which would yield ρούσος or ρασέω in accordance with the accentual principle mentioned, § 164, whereby ρούσος³ would depend upon *ρούσφος, ρασέω upon *ροσφός. ρούσ[ov] must be read in Teos 156 B 1, where Rob. 142 B 1 has ρούσ[ov]. That *ov* is not due to metrical necessity is clear from *Minn.* 6. Lukian (π. δ. ι. σ. § 16) says that ρούσος was a part

¹ Οἰλυμπος Vat. 694, Anecd. Bachm. II 64₃₅ (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II, 61₂₃, called poetic merely Choir. 516₁₀.

² ρούσος is found twenty-one times without variation in the MSS. of Hdt.; ρόσος comes to light about ten times. ρούσος is called Ionic by J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. p. 390, Gram. Meerm. 652, Et. M. 607₂₆, An. Ox. I 296₁₆, Apoll. Adv. p. 149₂₁, Schn., Anecd. Bachm. II 64₃₁ (Max. Plan.); poetic Bekk. An. II 69₄₂₁ and Choir. 516₅.

³ Schulze (*Quaest. Hom.* p. 35) thinks the proper Homeric form is ρόσος, for which ρούσος is an error of transcription.

of the medical language of his day. A list of the occurrences of *ροῦσος* upon late epigrams will be found in Wagner, *Quaest. de epigramm.* 27, to which add Lat. II 167, II p. 303, *B. C. H.* VIII 502, No. XI, from Phrygia, *Papers of Am. School at Athens*, III 341₃. Lukian adopts the form seven times in the *Syria dea*, Arrian has it chap. 15, Herakleitos, epist. V, Pherekyd. and Hippokr. epist.; and so too Aretaios. Hdt. always uses *ροσέω*, if MS. authority means anything, sometimes in conjunction with *ροῦσος* (III 33, 149). Hippokrates, Lukian, and Aretaios agree in adopting *ροσέω*. cf. Lindemann, 6. The MSS. of these authors (cf. also Demokr. 67) fluctuate constantly between *ρόσημα* and *ρούσημα*, to the former of which preference is generally given. Sim. Amorg. 1₁₂ has *ρόσοι*, which was changed by Ahrens and Renner (see especially the latter in Curtius' *Stud.* I 178). In Hymn XV 1 we find *ρόσων*. The author of the *Vita Homeri* used the *o* form only.

Συρακούσιος appears to exist in Ionic side by side with *Συρακόσιος*. That the latter is not a fictitious form is evident from its occurrence in Latyshev, II 300 (fourth century, from Pantikapaion), in C. D. I. 1200, incorrectly supposed to be Arkadian, and in inscriptions from Agrigentum, Cauer², 199_{3, 13}, &c. *-κουσα* is from *-κουτια*, *-κοσα* from *-κοτια*, instead of *-κατια*, by influence of the former termination.

μοῦσα (An. Ox. I 278₁₅) from *μοιτια*; on *οῦς*, see §§ 266, 292, 545. *ῶς* is Doric, *ᾶτα* Tarantine; Sim. K. 37₁₄ has *οῦας*. *οῦς* is from *ῶος*, *ῶς* from *ῶφαι*.

256.] Interrelation of OY and AY.

εουῶν Panionion, 144 (=C. I. G. 2909), an inscription but indifferently written.

ἐντοῦθα Oropos, 18₁₇, whereas Sim. Amorg. 23 has *ἐνταῦθα*, Hdt. *ἐνθαῦτα*. This and the preceding example present no slight difficulties, since in no Greek dialect is there a well-attested instance of an interchange of *av* and *ou*. These forms if genuine at all may be rescued on the view that they show the influence of other pronominal forms (*οὔτος*, *ἐν τούτῳ*).

In the Attic *Οὐλιᾶται* C. I. A. I 231₇=*Αὐλιᾶται*, C. I. A. I 226₁₃, this recourse to the influence of analogy being out of the question, we find that we must accept a change of *a* to *o* under the influence of a following *v*. This change is unique, recalling only indirectly *ω* for *av*. See § 244.

257.] HY.

In the dialect life of Greece wherever *ηv* appears before a consonant it is not an original diphthong¹. So in Ionic *γρηῖς*, *ρηῖς*

¹ In a pre-dialectal period *ēu*, *ōu*, *āu*, having become *ēu*, &c., before consonants, their history is the same as that of I.E., *eu*, &c.

with η from the oblique cases ($\eta\eta\phi$ -ός $\gamma\eta\eta\phi$ -ός); so too in $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\varsigma$, whence $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\nu}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, a Thasiote name (and $\Pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$ Keos, 50, IV 65), from root $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}i$. $\eta\nu$ in the augment (e.g. $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\xi\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ Solon, II 2) is not proethnic $\epsilon\nu$ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. In Attica $\eta\nu$ as augment of $\epsilon\nu$ -verbs held its ground until the second half of the fourth century. Hipponax, 63₂, has $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\nu\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$, but Hdt. often avoids $\eta\nu$.

258.] ΩΥ.

Like $\eta\nu$, $\omega\nu$ is not an original diphthong in the dialects. $\omega\nu$ originates in Ionic chiefly by crasis, as in $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$ (E 396 $\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$)¹, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$, $\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$ + $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$. All the Ionic forms in the other cases are based on the genitive. Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$, $\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$, are from analogy to $\acute{\epsilon}\mu(\epsilon)$ + $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\sigma(\epsilon)$ + $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Whether $\kappa\omicron\nu$ in $\kappa\omicron\Upsilon\kappa$, on a papyrus, cited Blass, *Aussprache*³, 43, is for $\kappa\omega\nu$, as in Sappho's $\kappa\omega\nu\kappa$ I₂₄, $\kappa\omega\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, Epicharmos, 19₂, may well be doubted. The same Ionic papyrus has KEN, i.e. κ' + $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, and Sappho's $\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ by the side of $\delta\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ shows the possibility of elision, i.e. $\kappa'(a)$ + $\omicron\nu$. Nor would I agree to Blass' explanation of $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ Priene, 144 = C. I. G. 2909 (Mykale), from $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$. A form $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is utterly unknown on Ionic inscriptions. The a of $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ became \omicron either through assimilation to the following ν , as ϵ became \omicron in Kretan $\psi\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$, or $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is due to the influence of $\omicron\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, &c. See § 256.

To a limited extent outside of crasis, $\omega\nu$ appears in Ionic. The cases are however all suspicious. Herodoteian MSS. have $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ ², $\theta\omega\nu\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\tau\rho\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ IV 180, in one MS.; Dem. *Mor.* 20₈ $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$, 20₁₄ $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu$; Luk. *Astr.* 3, *Syr.* 7, 8, 10, 30, has $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$, $\theta\omega\nu\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ 13, 32, 36, $\theta\omega\nu\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$ *V. A.* 6, and the *Vita Homeri*, $\theta\omega\nu\kappa$. Arrian, *Iud.* 15 $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$, but $\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ 40, as Euseb. § 3. The epistles of Hippokr. as the genuine works (cf. Galen, XVIII A 443) have generally the Attic form. $\tau\rho\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is found in the majority of the MSS. *Syr.* 20, while Arrian, *Iud.* 19 has $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ ³. Greg. Corinth. p. 420, in quoting $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ as Ionic for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, seems to regard $\omega\nu$ and $\omicron\nu$ as interchangeable. Aretaios abounds in forms which indicate that the grammarians were ignorant of the true interrelation of $\omega\nu$ and $\omicron\nu$. See §§ 205, 244.

Lindemann (*de dial. Ion. rec.* p. 30) suggests that the $\omega\nu$ of $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is due to the influence of $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$ &c. Perhaps $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ may be explained as the ablaut form of $\theta\eta\phi$ -ος (Hesych. $\theta\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$), cf. $\theta\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha$ = Ionic $\theta\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha$, § 685; and

¹ This thorn in the flesh of Aristarchos with his views as to the power of δ in Homer, forced the Alexandrian to the assertion that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ was an Homeric form for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

² Struve (*Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* III, 1830) first treated the occurrences of $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$. He compared the $\omega\nu$ of the Ionic pronoun (Attic $\acute{\alpha}\nu$) with the $\omega\nu$ of $\theta\omega\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ ($\theta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$). See § 565. Cf. Birnb. 678₁₈, $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ Eust. 482₃₉.

³ $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ Eucl. *Syr.* cf. 102₂₂, 991₆₀, 1653₇₂. Ionic $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ = Attic $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$, § 25, note.

was thus the incentive to the formation of a *τρωῦμα*. This suggestion must, however, fall to the ground in case an original *ων* became *ω* and had *αν* as its ablaut.

Outside of Ionic the diphthong *ων* is due solely to crasis, and in Ionic we must abandon *θωῦμα* and *τρωῦμα*.

259.] Vowel Contact.

I. Contact of like vowels.

II. Contact of unlike vowels.

III. Contact of vowels and diphthongs, diphthongs and diphthongs.

Under these heads will be treated actual contraction, poetical synizesis, diaeresis, and crasis.

Both medial combination of vowels and diphthongs and sentence phonetics are thus included.

Under the head of a short or long vowel + *η*, *ω*, are included *η*, *ω*. Examples of the crasis of *ι* and *υ* diphthongs are placed under the head of *α*, *ε*, *ο* + the vowel in question (*e.g.* *οι* + *ε* under *O + E*). In citing inscriptions I have generally selected only those of considerable antiquity. Fuller information as to such contractions as occur in the inflection of nouns and verbs is to be found under the head of *Declension* and *Conjugation*.

260.] It is almost a canon of current belief that the Ionic dialect, in its impatience of all contraction¹, occupies a position entirely unique. New Ionic has been regarded as more pronounced in its hostility to the closed forms than even Homer himself. The MSS. of Herodotos and of the other early Ionists have been made the corner-stone of this belief from the time of the *editio princeps* of Herodotos to the present day, and in justification thereof the pseudo-Ionists have been called upon to give their testimony. In the history of no dialect is there a parallel to the retention, for such a period as that from the time of Homer to that of Herodotos, of vowels brought into contact by the disappearance of the spirants *yoδ*, *sigma*, and *vau*.

The Homeric language is, on the one hand, not an appellate court to determine the genuine reading of the text of the Halikarnassian historian. Where Homer discloses strata of various periods, the stratum of latest date is apt to recur in the fifth century. On the other hand the evidence of Lukian and Arrian, and the other pseudo-Ionists, is conclusive only for the text of Herodotos current in their day.

In but few cases do the Ionic lyric poets and the inscriptions desert us in the endeavour to discover the principles regulating vowel contraction. These trustworthy witnesses tell us that with but few, and these clearly marked, exceptions, vowels of

¹ Ἴωνες διαρετικώτατοι Apoll. Pron. 121 A.

like nature are fused (*δοκεῖ, δοκεῖν, ἐποίει, βασιλείς*¹), while dissimilar vowels are either contracted or kept open. Cases of synizesis in the lyric poets, such as *πορφυρέη, ποιέει*, are manifestly nothing more than accommodations to the theory that the Ionians preferred open vowels. The test to which we put the prose monuments by no means disproves the statement that the Ionic dialect dislikes contraction. In a majority of cases inscriptions and poets agree with Herodotos. When disagreement occurs (chiefly in reference to combinations whose first member is ε), the text of Herodotos refuses to adopt the forms preserved in the iambic poets and current in his time, and either accepts or extends the system of Homer—a system that in the main was obsolete in the fifth century. In many cases dissimilar vowels are either kept apart in the Ionic orthography even when they may be contracted, or contraction has actually ensued. Orthography is here as elsewhere no exact test of pronunciation, and scope must be left for minor dialectal variations. When the first vowel is not original contraction may not have resulted in certain cases.

The artificiality of the Herodoteian system is patent if we reproduce the results of Merzdorf's careful investigations in the eighth volume of Curtius' *Studien*.

Subject to no change :

αεῖ

αεε

οιεε

οιεει

ιεα

υεα

ιεω

υεω

οεω

Subject to change :

εεε becomes εε

ιεε ,, ιει

υεε ,, υει

ηεε ,, ηει

οεε ,, οει

οεει ,, οει

ιεει ,, ιει

εεα ,, εα

εεαι ,, εαι

(ιεεαι ,, ιη)

εεο ,, εο

εεω ,, εω

οιεη ,, οιη

οιεοι ,, οιοι.

It is impossible to conceive of a system more perverse. We ask in vain, if *οεει, ιεει, οιη, οιοι* grated upon Ionic ears, how could *οιεει* be regarded as vocalic harmony?

Diaeresis is relatively more frequent in the Ionic lyrics than

¹ To preserve inflectional endings, like vowels may not coalesce, e. g. *ἥρωος*. The only case of open *η* in inscriptions is that of names in *-κλέης* in Western Ionic.

in Attic poetry. Whether the MSS. of Hdt. represent in regard to diaeresis the usage of the language of his time is impossible to discover. ΘΡΗΙΚΗ is either *Θρηίκη* or *Θρηήκη*. Open -εῖ in the dative cannot be supported. As regards crasis, no rule can be formulated. Even when the *scriptio plena* occurs in the inscriptions, we dare draw no conclusions as to ordinary Ionic pronunciation. As might be expected, the forms of the article present the majority of instances in the inscriptions. On *Amorg.*, see § 322; on *Elision*, § 323.

The ancients adduce as proof of the love of the Ionic dialect for *διάλυσις* such examples as the following:—*ἄκη πόλις*, *Πέλοπος νῆσος*, *ἄγριον ἔλαιον*, *ἄγριον αἶγα*, *σὺς ἀγρίον*, *ζῶα γράφειν*, *ἐὺ* in *ἐντρέφω*, *ἐϋπλήσασα* (cf. *An. Par.* III 310₁), *ἦια* for *ἦειν*, *Οἰδιπόδαι* from *Οἰδιπόδου* (Tzetz. on *Hsd.* W. D. 162). *Tmesis* is Ionic, *Joh. Gr.* 241, *Tzetz. Ex. Il.* 83₂₅, *hyperbaton* is Ionic, *ibid.* 124₁.

I. Contact of Like Vowels.

261.] A + A.

1. *āfā* = *ā* in *ἄτη* (except *Archil.* 73, where *ἄάτη* is possible); *ἄάτη* is generally permissible in Homer and occurs in *Kallim.*; *ἄτηρός* *Theog.* 433, 634, *ἄτη* *Solon* 4₃₆, 13₁₃, 68, 75. Open in *ἀγλαά* *Hom.*, *Anakr.* 94₃ (eleg.).

2. *āsā* = *ā*; *κρεῦ* *Sim. Amorg.* 24, and *Hdt.* (*Schmidt, Neutra*, p. 321 ff.); otherwise -as stems have -εα in *Hdt.* *καρᾶδοκέω* in *Hdt.* with *καρᾶ* from **καρᾶσα*.

3. In the verbal forms *ιστᾶσι*, *ἔστᾶσι*.

4. *Hdt.* *τᾶλλα*, *τᾶγάλματα*, &c. (*Bredow*, 201). *τᾶλλα* we find in an almost Attic inscription, *Teos*, 158₁₃; *τὰ ἄλλα* *Eryth.* 204₁₈; and *τὰ ἀγάλματα* *Miletos*, 93.

5. *Crasis* of *AI + a* = Ionic *ā*; *κᾶνεπίφραστοι* *Sim. Am.* 1₂₁; *κᾶποθυμή* *Sim. Amorg.* 7₃₅; *κᾶσκερίσκα* *Hippon.* 18; *κᾶγαριθμιος* *Arch. tetr.* 63; *κᾶλαλητῶ* *Anakr.* 63₈; *κᾶγαθός* *Sol. tr.* 36₁₆, *Iasos*, 105₂, as in *Hdt.* I 30, *κᾶγαθοῖσιν* *Sim. Am.* 1₁₀; *κᾶτιμος* *Chios*, 174 A 14; *κᾶπόλλωνι* *Thas.* 68, *κᾶπόλλων* *Hipp. tr.* 31, *κᾶπέλουσεν* 33, *κᾶλειφα* 58, *κᾶραθουσίον* 82, *κᾶριπρεπίης* *Sim. Am.* 7₈₃. *Crasis* with *καί* is almost always omitted in inscriptions: *καὶ ἀγαθοί* *Samos*, 221₅; *καὶ ἄρσεν* *Thasos*, 68; *καὶ Ἀναξίλεως* *Miletos*, 93.

262.] E + E.

1. *εφε*.

(a) uncontracted; in the MSS. of *Hdt.* we find *ρέεθρον*, as in *Pomer* (*εὐρέετης*, *εὐρρεός κτ'*), though there is no reason to doubt that *ρέιθρον* was the genuine Ionic form of his day. *Hippokr.* has *ὄξέες*, *πρηέες*, &c.

εε < ηφε < ὄνε is kept open in the MSS. of Hdt. (βασιλέες, γέες¹), but is closed in the inscriptions in the forms of the -ην-declension (see under Π + Ε). ἠχέεργα Archil. 748; τελέεργ² Tyrft. 42; χαιτέεσσ³ Sim. Amorg. 707²; Περικλέες Arch. 91, 16; Ἡράκλεες 119₂ (hymn).

(3) contracted in Κλειτός Th. (L.) 20 C 9, &c., late inscriptions. κλειτός, in Theog. 777, Mimn. 17; Κλειτώνυμος Thas. (L.) 8 A 9. κλειτός is from *κλέεω as αἰρετός from αἰρέω (cf. Κλεῖσιππος, and κλειτ- in Argolic, Arkadian and Oinoian, I. G. A. 16). Contraction also results in ἀναχέισθων Anakr. 42, εἶθισθε Hrd. 712⁶.

2. εσε contracted to ει, e.g. in εἶχον, εἶων, and in like augmented forms. In the ες declension the inscriptions have without exception -εις, the prosaists -εες; in the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. do not contract εε, save when an ι precedes. Unfortunately there is no evidence from the stone-records to test this principle of the MSS. which seems to lack foundation. In Ionic on the expulsion of intervocalic *sigma* and *yod*, no *metathesis quantitatis* took place.

3. εε becomes ει in Ionic. Examples of -εε-, such as Hdt. I 39 φοβέεαι, III 34 ἐπαιρέεαι, I 41 ἀπολαμπρυνέεαι, IV 9 εἰφραρέεαι, IV 163 ἀποθαρέεαι, and other similar monstrosities in the imperative act., imperfect active and middle, present indicative and inf. mid., occurring only in the texts of the prosaists, are to be found under the sections on the verb³. All these forms are probably figments of grammatical doctrine. In nouns, pronouns and adj. εε yields ει invariably: πόλεις, τρεῖς, ἡμεῖς (ἡμέες is pseudo-Ionic), (ἐ)κείνος (see § 224, 15).

Whether the infinitive ending is φεν, σεν, or λεν, the result of the combination of this ending with the final ε of the stem is always -ειν (e.g. ἐκχεῖν Keos 4322, ἐπιτιθεῖν, &c.); also in θεῖναι, &c.

4. Contraction does not ensue in the case of iteratives, but there is no basis for the belief that in the fifth century εε in the pluperfect (ἐώθεε, &c.) had not been contracted. See § 597.

263.] E + H (see Fritsch, *F. II. D.* p. 31 ff.).

1. εφη.

(α) contracted in νήρι < νεήρι, Anakr. 14₃ (Et. M. 448₂), Drakon

¹ Cf. -έες for -ῆς in Attic Ἀλαίees, &c.

² Fick, *B. B.* XI 266, 271, writes εη < ηε in all these cases. This *metathesis quantitatis* is however not a necessary, only a possible, change in Ionic. Forms in ηε are usual, see § 264. Ἀλέεργος Mimn. 9₂ may be correct. Hdn. II 921, calls ἠχέεις, βρωμέεις instances of poetic shortening.

³ ἐπέεετο, ἐχάεετο, οἰκέεαι, Πυθέεω, in Hdt. are forms due to grammatical theories, and do not represent any actual dialect. The only rule deducible from the study of the MSS. of Hdt. as regards the imperfect active is that after a consonant and οι, εε was written; after vowels, ει. Oftentimes good MSS. have the contracted form, e.g. in II 1 the *Romanus* has ποιέισθαι.

46₁₃); *νήνις* on an Athenian lekythos, C. I. G. 7629. *νή* = Attic *νῆα*, Hdn. II 912₃ quoted from *Σαμίων ὄροι*, and *νής* Aristoph. frag. Kock I 395₉. Sim. K. 84₆, Hippon. tr. 49₄ have *κληιδών*, a form found also in Hdt. IX 91, 101, properly without the *iota*; epic *κληιδών* and *κληιδών*.

On *-κλής* and *κλήης*, see § 526. Western Ionic has the open, Island and Asiatic Ionic, the closed forms.

(*b*) uncontracted in *δέηται* Olynth. 8 B 4, *Νεήπολις* Neapolis 4₁, parallel form to *Νεο-*; *κενεή* Aret. 146, *κενεής* 170. Adj. in *-αλέη* generally remain open, but in Arch. 89₅, Anakr. 43₅ the forms with synizesis occur. Attic *κερδαλέα* to differentiate the word from *κερδαλέη*, *φῶν*. *ἀδελφῆμι* Roberts, I 158 B (Amorgos-Arkesine), is not in itself an obstacle to the validity of the Herodoteian *ἀδελφεή*, though we have *ἀδελφή* Mykonos, 92₂₂ (Attic?), and Halik. 240 D 34, feminine to the masc. *ἀδελφός*¹.

εη < *ηf(i)η* < *ἐνῆα* in *πλέη* Hdt. I 178 (*πλήη*, Diogenes of Apollonia, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 8).

εη < *ηfη* < *ἄνῆ* remains open in *θέη*, *θέημα* Sim. Amorg. 7.7, *θειήσεσθαι*, *θειγάμενον* Hdt. I 11 (but *θειγάμενος* Abdera, 162, eleg.).

εη < *ηfε* in *ληλατέω* < *ληf(ο)* + *ελατέω*, K. Z. XXVII 269.

2. *εση*.

On *ῆη*, *ῆ* in *παρεῖ* Oropos, 18₂₆ and on *ῆην*, *ῆν*, see §§ 706, 711.

3. *ειη*.

(*a*) In substantives.

In the nouns in *-έης*, *-ῆς*, we find that the poets use the contracted forms: *ῥοδῆς* Arch. 29₂, *γαλῆς* Sim. Amorg. 7₅₀, *σικῆ* Arch. 19, Hipp. 34, Anan. 5₂ (*-έης*). *κωλῆν* Xenoph. 5₁, *θαλῆς* six times in Herodas, and in Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. 495 E, *γενῆ* Hrd. 2₁, 3₂. *Ἐρμῆς* Hipponax, 32, 55 B, Anakr. 111₃, eleg. (voc. *Ἐρμῆ* Hipp. 1, 16, 21 A, 89), *Ἐρμῆμι* Abdera, 162 (metr.), Lampsakos, 171; *Ἀπελλῆς* Iasos, 104₁₅, 42, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 385 Chios (and so probably Anakr. 72 B, where Bergk writes *έης*), *Μεγίστης* = *Μεγιστῆς*?, Anakr. 16₂, 41, 74₃.

In the inscriptions, *κωλῆν* Miletos, 100₃, *Λεωνῆς* Kos. 44 A 5; *Δημῆς* Thasos, 78 C 14, Thas. (L.) 13 A 10; *Θαλῆς* Miletos, 93 (sixth century). Hdt. has also *Θαλῆς* I 74. Cf. § 415, 3. With such authoritative testimony in favour of the contracted form, we cannot but conclude that *Βορῆς* is the genuine Ionic form, despite the fact that the MSS. of Herodotos prefer *-έης*, though in VII 189 there are four occurrences where the MSS. with but one dissenting voice speak in favour of *-ῆς*. The same con-

¹ That the contraction of *ἀδελφεή* took place early is evident from the form *ἀδελφός*, appearing first in Aischylos (Hom. *-εῖός* and *-εός*), which is in reality formed from influence of *ἀδελφή* < *ἀδελφεή*. Cf. Wackernagel. K. Z. XXV 271.

elusion will hold good in the case of *βορήs*, *Ἄριστῆs*, *Πυθῆs* (not *Πυθῆs* as Steph. Byz. has it). Pherekydes Syr. used the form *Ῥῆ* according to *Ἠδν. π. μ. λ. 7, 5=II 911₂₃*, cf. *I 405₆*. Cf. *Ῥέα O 187* and *Ῥέη*, Hymn to Demeter, 460, *Luk. Syr. D. 15*. *Μαρτυρή* or *Μαρτύρη* *Hdt. IV 161*, where *τ* has *Μαρτύρηs*, *Aldus* and *Stein* *Μαρτυρέs*, following the Homeric *Μαρτυρέ*.

γη is from *γέα* < **γῆα* from *γαῖα* as is shown under *Declension*, § 421.

Kallim. fr. 241 has *γενίη*; cf. *Et. M. 225₂₄*, and *γονή*. *γενεί* is open in *Solon, 27₁₀*, *Paros, epig. 59*, *Hdt. (§ 435)*.

Avoidance of contraction will have to be accepted in a few proper names: *Αἰνεητῶν* *Ainea, 12 (550 B.C.)*, later, *Αἰνητῶν* (end of fourth century); *Νεμέη* *Thasos, 69* (fifth century); *Κρήτη* *Archil. 175=Κρήτη* (a pun on *κρέας*?); *Hdt. Τεγέη, Θυρέη*.

(b) In adjectives (masc. -*ος*; fem. -*ει, -η*).

The forms will be quoted under the *Declension*. The inscriptions prove that when *η* follows *ε*, contraction ensues, when *ο* or *α* follows *ε*, the forms are kept open till the latest period of declining Ionism. In the poets -*ῆ* almost without exception (*κυνέην* *κυνέη* *Tyrt. 11₃₂*), *χρυσῆs* *Mimn. 11*, *Theog. 1293, 1381*, *πορφυρέη* *Anakr. 141*; *πορφυρέη* *Anakr. 23*; *πορφυρήs* *Sim. Amorg. 116*. If it is certain that *Anakr. 33* contains a 'choriambic' monometer with anacrusis + a first phereeratic, as *Sappho 54* may be scanned, we must admit the existence of one open form *ἀργυρέη* (the schol. *Pind. Isth. II 9* has *οἶσ' ἀργυρέη κότ' ἐλαμπέ*). *Hiller* reads *ἀργυρή* correctly. In *Herodotos* we find -*ῆ* generally, but not without exceptions; e.g. *διπλέη* *III 42*, for which *Stein* correctly reads *διπλή*, a form found in *Hippokr. V 640*. Attic *διπλή* from *διπλε(ί)α*, cf. *Kret. διπλεία*.

(c) In adverbs *Δεκελήθεν* *Hdt. IX 73* from *Δεκελέη*. Cf. *Steph. Byz. s. v. Δεκελειῶθεν*.

(d) As regards the forms of -*Ω* verbs, *Merzdorf's* 'law' that after consonants *ειη, εη* remain open, but are contracted after vowels (e.g. *Hdt. στρατηλατέηs, ποιῆs*) has been accepted in many quarters; but incorrectly, as is clear from the fact that his contention is based upon a mere numerical count of MSS. For the establishing of the dialect of *Herodotos* we cannot assume that a given form is genuine Ionic merely because a varying per cent. of *Hdt.'s* MSS. speaks in favour of its adoption. The inscriptions proclaim that the Ionians in their decrees adopted the contraction without exception¹; and the poets unite with the inscriptions in their opposition to the *Merzdorfian* view. In the aorist passive *ε + η* are invariably fused. *Bekker* sought

¹ The forms of *δέω* and *δέομαι* occupy a special position.

in vain to discover the uncontracted form $\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ in Hdt. IV 154. On $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron$ in Hippokr. see § 685. The μ verbs contract $\epsilon + \eta$.

264.] II + E.

1. $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon$.

From $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$, contracts in $\acute{\eta}$ or, from $\acute{\eta} + F\acute{\epsilon}$ (Lat. *ve*); but remains uncontracted in a few forms of the $-\eta\nu$ -declension, as in $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}\epsilon\varsigma$ Archil. 59. See under E + E.

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$ in $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ¹ ($\sigma\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$): the elegiac poets adopt this form only (Tyrt. II₆, Mimn. I₈, 2₈, 12₁, 14₁₁, Solon, I3₂₃, 14, Theog. 168, 1183, &c.). The iambographers contract: $\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Archil. tetr. 74, Hipp. tr. I5₅, Sim. Amorg. I₁₀, Herodas V I, 3₅₈, 8₃, Anak. 27; and upon an inscription Arkesine, 33, Ζεὺς Πήλα[ι]ος (fifth century), Hekat. $\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 173, 190, 193, Pherek. Leros, 33 $\frac{1}{2}$, Diog. Apoll. 6, Anaxag. 6 (Simplik. 156₂₇, Diels), and 10 (Simpl. 157₁₃), Hipp. II 24, and so Herodotos II 92 (Bredow, 45), as Arrian II; Lukian uses $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ *Astr.* 3, 5, &c., *d. S.* 29, 34. Both $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ form a part of the poet's material in Aiolic (Sappho, 69, 79). Ποιῆσσα , *i. e.* ποιήεσσα , is the name of a city in Keos.

$\eta\epsilon$ also in adjectival forms (nom. $-\acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), Kall. I₆ τιμῆεν ; Mimn. 5₅ τιμῆεσσα ; 12₇ τιμῆεντος as Sim. Keos 84₅; Phok. 3₃ χαίτη-έσσης . On Fick's $\epsilon\eta$, Archil. 74₈, Sim. Amorg. 7₅₇, Mimn. 9₅, see § 262. $\eta\epsilon$ in these forms is found often in Hdt., $\eta\epsilon$ in the poets and in prose writers only when F followed η . Forms with $\eta\epsilon$ seem to be obsolescent in the seventh century. $\phi\omega\nu\acute{\eta}\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ remained uncontracted in Attic as a technical term, originally Ionic. On $-\eta\epsilon\nu$ see § 319.

$\acute{\eta}\rho\iota < \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\iota$, in $\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ Mimn. 12₁₀, as in Homer. $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, &c., must be kept distinct from $\acute{\eta}\acute{\eta}\rho$, Hdt. $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\alpha$, § 169. Notice also $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota = \acute{\eta}\acute{\eta}\rho\iota$, Ananios, 51.

2. $\eta\epsilon\epsilon$.

$[\chi]\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta[αι]$ Keos, 4₃₁₂, is not necessarily for $\chi\rho\eta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, since it may be formed directly from $\chi\rho\eta + \sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Cf. § 167.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta$ in Tyrt. stands for $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta\epsilon$ or for $*\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta$, if we assume that $\eta\epsilon$ in Ionic becomes $\epsilon\eta$. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\eta$ Hippokr. III 36, 42, $\delta\upsilon\psi\eta\nu$ Hdt. II 24, *i. e.* $\eta + -\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ or $-\sigma\epsilon\nu$.

4. *Crasis and Aphaeresis:*

With $\acute{\eta}\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$ Teos, 156 B 36 (τῆπαρῆμ B 24, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, as τῆτέρρη Arch. 93₂²), $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ Chios, 174 B 24, $\acute{\eta}$'s Chios, 174 A 2, compare $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\nu$ Theog. 147 and Phokyl. 17 (oldest example of aphaeresis in the case of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$), $\acute{\eta}$ 'k

¹ Hdn. II 229₁₆, 490₉ = Et. M. 261₁₈.

² TETEPEI = τῆτέρρη , Rob. I 167, of uncertain dialect. Bechtel suggests Asiatic-Ionic. Cf. § 134 note.

Theog. 577 (in *A*), ἐὶ πίκουρος Arch. tetr. 24, perhaps Μιμνήκατομήχαρε Hippou. 49, ὀδύνη πιαλεῖ 21 B, and Hrd. δουλήσσι 453, μὴ λασσον 353. There is no example of the crasis of τῆ in Hdt.

265.] H + H.

η + η is contracted almost universally. On ἡῖρ in Hippokrates (ἀΨήρ), see § 169. Ionic of the post-Homeric period does not possess such subjunctives as στῆη, φανῆη, σαπήη. On ἐθηῖτο, v. l. Hdt. I 10, &c., see § 685. ηε held its ground longer than ηη.

266.] O + O.

So far back as we can follow the history of Ionic, o + o became ou. In view of this fact the position assumed by many scholars that in Ionic o + o first became ω and afterwards ou is without foundation. The Doric dialects, which at different stages of their existence had ω and ou, offer but a specious parallel to an Ionic ou < ω. οσο in Homer never becomes ω as εσε never = η.

1. ofo.

οὐρανός with spurious diphthong (Οὐρανίη on an old amphora, C. I. G. 8412, οὐρανίη Phanag. 164, 168) from ὀ-φορανός, whence Aiolic and Doric ὠρ-; Aiolic ὄρανος from φορανός.

C. I. A. I 322 A 93, ΟΣ shows that οὖς has an adulterine ou. οὖς, probably from *ω(σ)ός: ὠς in Delos, B. C. H. II 322 (before 167 B. C.) is formed like φῶς. Theog. 1163 οὐατα, Anakr. 214 ὠσί, Hdt. ὠτα; Lak. ἐξωφάδια, ὄφατα have their ω from the nom. ὠς, as ἐνώδιον < ἐνουσιδιον has its ω from ὠτός. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 141, Schmidt, *Neutra*, 407.

In a few nouns¹ and adjectives of the O declension oo is apparently kept open to a limited extent: the MSS. of Hdt. have νόος, εἴνοος, πλόος (Hekat. 303 -ou-), σόον, but χοῦς II 150, &c. Love of the old-fashioned orthography dictated νόος in the MSS., Sim. Amorg. I 3, where νοῦς, or νόος, must be read². νόον in the same poet (71) must be an archaism, if the authority of the inscriptions is accepted. π[ρ]όχουρ occurs upon a vase from Naukratis, Roberts, I 132 *bis*. Perhaps contraction resulted during the seventh century, since Archil. 89 epod. and Mimn. 58 have νόον. Homer preserves νόος, but the beginnings of the later forms appear Ω 354, κ 240 (Menrad, p. 46). Later inscriptions have Ἀστύνους Eryth. 206 C 9; Καλλίνους Thas. (L.) 7 A 7; ἔκπλουν, ἔσπλουν Eryth. 2027; Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 B 11 (Πολύθρου Teos, 158₂₇). χοῦν Hdt. II 150, χοῦ Arr. *Anab.* II 27, 4 (χόου

¹ Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Kor. 479 cite νόον, ῥόον, Gram. Meerm. 654 ῥόος, χνόος, θρόος, but cf. Hdn. II 921₂. ἀγκρότες, &c. do not contract.

² νοῦς Theog. 1185; νοῦν Theog. 350, 898; Sol. 2713, νοῦν, ῥοῦν 41. It may be noticed in passing that Cobet's εἴνοι ὄντες in Lysias VIII 19 is at fault. εἴνους, found in a Palatine MS., is proved by Attic inscriptions to be correct.

C. I. G. 1838₆, Korkyra). In Herodas 1₆₈, 47₅ we find *ροῦν*, 3₂₇ *ἄρουν*. The attitude of the *κοινή* towards such forms as *πλόος* has not received deserved attention. That the *κοινή* admitted only those forms which had already suffered contraction in Attic, is an entire misconception of the nature of this phase of Greek. *πλόος* in a Lykian inscription in Le Bas, 1311, was not newly constructed by the *κοινή*. In fact in its literature this 'dialect' contrives to effect a union of the living language with imitations of the dead language. In this light many of the open forms collected by Lobeck, *Phryg.* p. 453, may be regarded as parallel to the Lykian *πλόος*. Cf. also Lobeck, *Path.* p. 300.

νόος, *ρόος*, *πνόος*, *-χροος*, *ἀθρόος*, generally are found in the resolved forms in the pseudo-Ionists.

In composition: *σκηπτοῦχος* Sim. Am. 7₁₃, *Ἀθηναίη Πολιούχ[ω]* Eryth. 200 (epigr.), and so Roberts, I p. 64; *Πολιούχου* Páros, 64₁₆, and Hdt. I 160; *τιμοῦχοι* Teos, 158₂₆ (*τίμος* in Aischylos); *Ἀριστοῦχον* Ross, 148; *εὐνοῦχος* Hippom. 353, [*σ*]αμβαλούχην Hrd. 719.

2. οἴο.

Σαπφύος, *Λητούς*, called Ionic by Herodian II 338₁₇₃ 755₂₁, and *ἡοῦν* by Greg. Korinth. § 35, are supported by no such formations in the existing monuments of the dialect. Hdt. has *Λητούς*, *Λητοῦν*, &c., and *φλοῦν*; *ἡοῦς* Orp. 18₄₆. On the retention of *-οιο < ο(σ)ιο*, see under O declension.

In *διπλόος*, *ο + ο* was probably not separated by *F* but by *γod*, though Hdt. has the open form. The pseudo-Ionists have *διπλόος*, though they avoid the open forms in the compounds in *-πλόος*. See on E + H.

3. In verbs in *-οω*, *ον*, and never *εν*, arises from *ο + ο* whether *γod* or *sigma* intervened. The examples of *εν* collected by Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 218, show the confusion as to the character of the Herodoteian dialect in the minds of the diascuasts.

4. *Crasis*. *ο + ο = ον* in *τοῦνομα*; *ον + ο = ον* as in *τοῦρνιθος* Hrd. 400.

267.] O + Ω.

1. οῦω.

χῶν Keos, 43₁, fifth century; cf. *π[ρ]όχων* Naukratis, § 266, 1. The MSS. of Hdt. keep *ρόφ*, *σμπλόων*, *σόων* uncontracted. In the dative *-οφ* is generally kept open in the MSS. of Hdt., though contraction ensued by the fifth century.

2. οσω.

Always contracted, *e. g.* in gen. plural, O declension.

3. οἴω.

Contracts in verbal forms (*δικαιῶ*). *ζῶμεν* Sim. Amorg. 32,

from ζώμεν < ζώομεν (so the MSS. 14), and ῥιγῶ Hipponax, 16₂, 17, from ῥιγῶω < ῥιγῶω, cf. ῥιγῶσα Sim. Am. 7²⁶; λαγῶς Hipponax, 36 < -οως, from -οους (Hdt. uses λαγῶς), if we extend the limits of *metathesis quantitatis* beyond those ordinarily set up for Ionic.

4. προώσας becomes πρώσας Hippokr. VII 314.

268.] Ω + O.

1. ωφο.

ῥήρωος, Μίρωος Hdt.; ζωός¹ Hdt. Meliss., 17, &c., Τύρτ. 10₃₀, with ω preserved before a short vowel by the interposition of *F*; ζωοῦ² is the correction of Porson for the traditional reading ζωοῦ Arehil. 63. Σῶος Styra, 19₂₃, 300.

2. ωιο.

ξζωοῖν Hdt. IV 112, ζῶντων I 86, but ζῶντα *ibid.*, ζῶσα IV 205. The latter appear to be regular, yet the uncontracted participial forms may be defended. See *B. B.* XV 170, 175, and *M. U.* I 8. On ζῶμεν, see § 267.

269.] Ω + Ω.

ωιω.

ωω preserved in ζῶω, Hdt. ζῶων, Kallinos, 1₁₀, Demokr. 206. Anan. 5₅ λαγῶν is either from Hom. λαγῶός or Hdt. λαγῶς.

270.] I + I.

1. ιφι.

The Ionic dialect permits, but does not require, contraction: Δί Paros, 65, a late inscription, Mylasa, 248 C 6 (fourth century), both examples probably Attic; Δί Eretria, 14 (fifth century), Samos (?) in Roberts, 157, Asiatic-Ionic, Bechtel, No. 260. Hdt., Pherekyd. Leros, &c. have Δί. I do not find either form in the poets. Δί is doubtless from analogy to Δίός, Δία.

2. On *ī* in the dat. sing. of *iota* stems, see under *Declension*. In the optative of roots ending in *iota*, contraction of *ι + ι* is pan-Hellenic.

271.] Before passing to the concurrence of unlike vowels, we may here treat of *v + ι*, strictly not a diphthong, but a phonetic combination, the *v* of which was probably *ū*. On the treatment of the *υ* of *υίός*, see § 229. In the forms from which *ι* is absent, Camer held (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 275) that *v* and *ι* had been fused as in *αίη*, *v* 286. Whether *αίη* was the model for *ἐκδύμεν*, or whether the length of the *v* is due to the fact that *vī* in the ground-form **ἐκδύμεν* was followed by a consonant, cannot be made out. *ισχύι*, *νηδύι*, as edited by Herodoteian scholars (cf. *-εῖ* in the dat. of *-ες* stems), probably do not represent the pronunciation current in the fifth century.

¹ ζωός Greg. Kor. 57.

² ζωός Epicharmos and Theokr.

II. *Contact of Unlike Vowels (horizontal and vertical vowels).*

272.] A + E.

I. *ἄφε.*

(α) Uncontracted in *ἄεκων* Theog. 371, 467, 471, 1379, *ἀεκούσιος* Theog. 1343; both forms in Hdt. and in Lucretian. Hippokr. III 216 has *ἄεκων*, Aretaios, 58 *ἀεκουσίον*. *ἄεκων* may be read in every case in Homer. The contracted form is best supported in Homer in τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκουτε πετέσθην. In Attic the form is open in the law of Drakon (C. I. A. I 61₃₄), but contracted before the middle of the fifth century in *ἀκούσι[α]* C. I. A. I, I B I. In Ionic, contraction must have taken place in Herodotos' day.

ἄεθλον Archil. ep. 104, Tyrnt. 12₁₃, Mimn. 11₃; *πενταεθλεύων* Xenoph. 2₂; Hdt. *ἄεθλον*, *ἀεθλοφόροι*, *πεντάεθλον*, &c. (*ā*?). Contracted *ἄθλα* Theog. 971, 994, 1014, Hrd. 1₃₁, Hippokr. II 64; *πενταθλεύ* Xenoph. 2₁₀; *ἄθλοις* Roberts, I 174, Kyme, and in *ἄθλον* Kolophon, *Mith.* 1889, p. 317; *ἄελπος* Arch. tetr. 74₁, Solon tetr. 35; *ἀελπίη* Arch. tetr. 54₃; *ἔξηκονταέτης* Mimn. 6₂; *ὄγδωκονταέτης* Sol. 20₄; *πενταέτης* Hdt., cf. Attic *πενταέτης* and *πεντέτης*; *ἐκάεργος* Tyrnt. 32, Solon, 13₅₃; *ἀεργός* Theog. 584, 1177, *ἀεργοί* Hippokr. VI 22, but *ἀργός* Hipp. tr. 28, Hdt. III 78; *ἄέξω* Sim. Amorg. 7₈₅, Sol. 27₅, Theog. 1031, 1276, Sim. K. 84₅. Hippokr. *αὔξω*, *αὔξάνω*, Mimn. 2₂, Theog. 362 *αὔξεται*, Sol. 11₃ *ἠὔξησατε*, are from *ἄφ(ε)ξ*.

αἰέλουρος, not *ἄελ-*, is the Herodoteian form.

(β) Contracted *ἄρθείς*, preferred by MSS. of Hdt. to *ἄερθείς* (Bredow, 193, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 186), is undoubtedly the genuine form. Anakreon, 19 *ἄρθείς*. See on *ἀείρω*, § 305.

ἄλης in Hdt. from *ἄφελής*, not from *ἀολλέες* as Wilamowitz claims (on Eurip. *Herakles*, 411); cf. *ἄλιζω* in Hdt., *ξενταλισθη* Hippokr. VI 102.

Contraction of *αφε*, both in *α* privative and other forms seems to have been possible at least as early as the sixth century. In the ordinary speech of the people many forms were doubtless contracted which were kept open by the artifices of poetical expression.

In the inf. active *α + φεν* (or *-σεν*), e.g. *ἔσορᾶν*; see § 305. Hippokr. MSS. have often such apparent Doric forms as *ὄρην*, *μελετήν*, *συνορῆν* (but *-ᾶν* II 440 in *A*) which are due to the supposed tenacity of *η* after *ρ* in Ionic. *ὄρην*, once created, was the cause of the creation of a *μελετήν*. On *τεθνάναι* Amphip. 10₁₀, and Mimn. 2₁₀, as the MSS. read, or *τεθνᾶναι* < *τεθνα + εναι* (cf. *γεγον-έναι*), see § 700, 3.

2. *ἄρε.*

= *ā* in *λαρισὸῦ* Xenophon. 52, as in Homeric *λαρός*. *ἄριστον*, *breakfast* in Hom., Hdt. III 26 is from **ἄρι(σ)ριστον*.

3. *ἄε.*

Always contracted in verbal forms: *ὄρατε*, *ὄρα*, *ὄρα*, *ὄρασθαι*, *βιάται*, *διεπειράτο*, *ἐφοίτα*; Hdt. *χρᾶσθαι* from *χρᾶ + εσθαι*, Keos, 43, *χρησθ[αι]*¹ from *χρη + σθαι*, or from **χρηόμαι*². *χρησθαι* is found in all MSS. of Hdt. I 47, 210; in I 196 *χρέεσθαι* B²C, *χρησθαι* *reliqui*. Cf. §§ 167, 687.

In the MSS. of Hippokrates such Doric forms as *ἴηται*, *ἴησθαι*, *ὑποθυμῆσθω*, *ὀδυνῆται* II 424 (but correctly *-ἄται* in *Δ*) come to light. In the forms after *ι*, the error was caused by such forms as *ἰητρός*, after *ρ*, by the analogy of *ὄρη*.

4. Crasis of *a + ε* in *τὰν* Chios, 174 C 19 = *τὰγ* 174 C 22; *τὰμ* Theog. 346, Archil. tr. 50, Hdt. 52, but often kept apart: *τὰ ἐνά* Hdt. VIII 101. *θᾶτερμα* IV 157, according to the MSS., is doubtful. *θᾶτερα* *θᾶτέρων* Hippokr. IX 30. *αι + ε* in *κάσθλοῖσιν* Theog. 355; *κάκφρη* Hippokr. 29; *κᾶγῶ(?)* Amorg., Rob. I 160 A; *κᾶμοί*, *κᾶπειτα*, *κᾶκέιθι*, *κᾶκείνον* Hdt. (see § 564 on *κείνος*); *κᾶπιτετρῖφθαι* Sol. 337; *κᾶγδικασάντων* Chios, 174 B 22; *κᾶπίελλα* Archil. 74; *κᾶπιπειθείη* Sim. A. 16; *κᾶπαέξεσαι* Sim. Am. 785. Herodas has (1) Ionic *κᾶγῶ* *Class. Rev.* V 481 (2), *κᾶπί* 390, *κᾶφ* 2, and five similar forms, and (2) Doric forms, *e.g.* *κῆγῶ* 2, 612, *κῆπί* 4, *κῆτέμων* 714 and ten other examples of *καί + ε = κῆ-*, all of which must be ascribed to the native Doric of the poet. In 480, 93, 53 (?) the *scriptio plena* occurs. *καὶ* *ἑκατόν* Anakr. 83, by synizesis.

κ' ἐν l. 6, but *κᾶμοί* on an archaic papyrus, *Philol.* XLI 746, cf. *κᾶκαύσιος* Epidauros, C. D. I. 3325₂₆₆.

273.] A + H.

1. *ἄφη.*

Open in *ἀηδόνος* Archil. 156, contracted in *Δανᾶ* Hekat. 358; on the other hand in *Δαναή* Miletos, 99, a glide *iota* has been generated between *a* and *η*, as in *Παρμφαίης* from *Παρμφάης*; cf. *Δανῆς* Ξ 319. *αφη = a* also in *ἀδῆς* *ἀτερπήης* Pseychios, cf. Phryn., Bekk. Anecd. I 22, 3: *οἱ Ἴωνες τὴν ἀηδῖαν συναλείφοντες τρισυλλάβως γράφουσι*. See under O + A.

2. *ἄη.*

In verbal forms: *τιμᾶ*, *τιμᾶτε* (Doric *η*). *Νικᾶν* Thasos, 728 < *Νικάη*; cf. *ιερῆ* < *ιερεῖη*. *μνᾶς* Hippon. 20 < *μνᾶῆς*, Attic *μνᾶς* from *μνᾶᾶς*.

3. Crasis of *καί + ἦν = κᾶν*, Ephesos, 1453, 4, Chios, 174 C 5 (in both inscriptions *ἦν*, not *ἔάν* or *ἄν*); Hippokr. *καὶ ἦν* V 594,

¹ Blass reads *χρεῖσθαι*.

² Schmidt follows Baunack in deriving *χρηε-* from *χρηφεσίο*.

606, as Hrd. 391 (κῆν 254, 7102), κῆν V 646, 692, 698, 720, II 48. &c.; κῆλειφόμην Sim. Amorg. 16; χῆμέρη Theog. 160, κῆμέρης Anan. 510, cf. Hrd. 7112, who has also κῆπιώ 46, χῆρακλῆς 206. Where crasis might take place in the inscriptions it is omitted in καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος Miletos, 93; καὶ Ἡρακλείσιων Teos, 156 B 33; καὶ ἠθμόν Prokon. 1038.

274.] A + I.

ἄφι.

= αἶ and αι. πᾶϊς¹ occurs in but one passage in older Ionic poetry (Archil. tetr. 70 πᾶϊ). Renner (Curtius' *Stud.* I 189) seeks to find an excuse for the *se jure* irregularity of the Archilochian πᾶϊ by assuming a 'poetic diaeresis.' No such license can be admitted: and these forms find their explanation, in comparison with Hipponax' παῖδα I, παῖδας 141, and αῖ in Solon, in the fact that the disyllabic αῖ in nominative and vocative and the monosyllabic αι in oblique cases are an inheritance from Homeric times. πᾶϊς is, however, not an archaism whose observance was enforced. Sim. Amorg. 11 has παῖ, Hipponax, 38 παῖς. Anakreon has παῖ I2, 41, 621, 631; πᾶϊς 2113 (? *vulgo* παῖς, Herm. παῖς ὄ), παῖς 242. Oblique forms: παῖδα Hipp. 1, παιδί Anakr. 173 (αῖ possible, Wilamowitz conj. παρ' Ἰάμβῃ); παῖδες Anakr. 45; παῖδων Mimn. 213 (αῖ possible); παισίν Mimn. 19, 32; παῖδας Hipp. 141; Hdt. παῖς. This shows clearly that παῖς, and not πᾶϊς, was the form as pronounced in the fifth century; and with this knowledge falls the view that vowels originally separated by *f* remain open as a characteristic of Ionic. πᾶϊς is nowhere necessary in Herodas.

κλαῖων Archil. 13, is possible, κλαῖω 20, necessary; πυρκαΐης Anakr. 1002, el. (αῖ possible); αἶδηλος Tyrnt. 117 (cf. *v. l.* E 757, Δ 897), αἰστώσει Hdt. III 69, ἡίστωσε III 127. See § 160 on Ἄϊδης. αἰδρις Theog. 683; αἰδρή Solon, 94; αἰδρηλή Hdt.; αἰκεζοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 121, from ἀφικ- rather than ἀφικ-. So too in the case of αἰκέλιος Theog. 1344. On αἰω, see § 275.

In suffixes: δαῖζω Tyrnt. 117; παῖζω Anakr. 53, but παῖζω 755; σαλαῖζω Anakr. 167, Hippokr. ῥαῖζει VII 122, ῥήζει VIII 38, ῥαῖση VIII 20, 266 and 34 in θ, δαιδός VIII 22, δαίδιοισι VIII 50, but δαῖδος VIII 92, σφασαῖζει VIII 92 (θ, -αῖ- Littré), cf. § 182; ἀγλαῖζομαι Sim. Amorg. 770; Σαῖτων Arch. el. 6; and in the suffix -αῖκος in Hdt. Hrd. 235 has δᾶδας.

275.] Â + I.

ἄφι.

Πολυπαῖδη Theog. 25, 57, 61, 541, from πᾶ, § 169, or due to the ictus and = παν; Ἀριστολαῖδης Hdt. I 59.

¹ πᾶϊς Ionic, Drakon 1576, cf. 1612.

Ἀῖδιος is probably the Ionic form of the fifth century. See § 160.

ἄιδιων Iasos, 104₆, Melissos, 9, Diog. Apoll. 3, may be a later form, built out of ἄεί. The length of the *a* in ἄιδιος is attested but rarely, e.g. Hymn 29₃ where it may be due to the ictus, i.e. = *av*. ἄιδιος contains the suffix -διος.

ἐπαίω in Hdt. III 29, Herakl. 73, 107 should be read ἐπάω if the *a* is long, as it is generally in Attic. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 253 ff.; αἰω Xenoph. 6₅ may be a present derived from the aorist.

Ἀχαιή Sim. Amorg. 23₁, where αῖη might be expected. Hrd. 5₆₁ has ἀχαιῆκας *fetters* (?). Since the reduction of *ai* to *ai* in Attic ensued as early as the fifth century (Φωκαίδε[5] C. I. A. I 199₇), the traditional reading in Sim. may be correct. See § 209, on *a* from antevocalic *ai*.

276.] Ἄ + Η.

Original *ā + η* did not remain in Ionic; see H + H.

277.] Α + Ο.

On the theory that in primitive Greek *a*, when followed by an *o* sound, became *eo*, see under Contract Verbs, § 688.

1. *āfo*.

ἀείναος Hdt.; σαόφρων Phok. 9, as in Homer, but σωφρονεῖν Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₈, σῶφρων Theog. 756, σωφρονέστατον Hippon. 45₂, need not contain a contraction. These forms are placed here tentatively, as it has not been shown that *F* intervened between *a* and *o* in σάος. Certainly Roehl's reading σαφοῖ, in his No. 532, is too much a matter of dubitation to be admitted in proof. Perhaps σάος stands for *σασος. See Ruehl in *Philol. Anzeiger*, 1886, 14, note 8, and § 294.

θυρωρός Anakr. 52 < θυρᾶ + φορός as θεωρός < θηφᾶφορός. On Doric θεᾶρός see Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 289. θυραφορός, or -φορός, occurs in Kyprian. Fick derives θυρωρός from θυρεωρός < θυρηφορός. Since, however, τιμῶρός not τιμεωρός is the only correct form, τιμᾶφορός (and θυρᾶφορός) must be the ground-form. Cf. Ἀλκάθοος.

ἀγλαός:

(1) Not contracted: ἀγλαόν Kallinos 1₆. Ἀγλαοκύδης Thasos (Louv.) 20 A 8 (about 175 B. C.); Ἀγλα(ό)νικος Styra, 19₄₃₃ (fifth century). The preponderance of names in Ἀγλω- has made Bechtel question whether we should not read Ἀγλώνικος. Ἀγλαοκύδης shows that Bechtel's statement (that Ἀγλω- is the invariable rule in Ionic inscriptions) is not accurate. It must, however, be confessed that this form of the name is, if Ionic, an obsolete form for its period. Ἀγλα[ο]φών Kyzikos, C. I. G. 1780

is late. A noteworthy feature of the naming system of the Ionians is their fondness for names compounded with *ἀγλαός*, whereas in Attic these are not very frequent. Adjectives containing *ἀγλαός* were too elevated for the *sermo familiaris* of the classical period. The open form is found in Boiotian, Ἄγλαος C. D. I. 413₃₅, Ἄγλαοφαῖδαο 478.

(2) Contracted: Ἀγλώχαρος Amorgos, 227 (sixth century); Ἀ(γ)λωθέστης Amorgos, 37 (unc. date); Ἀγλώνικος Keos, 50, II 11 (fourth century); Ἀ[γ]λωφῶντος Thasos, 78 A 2 (beginning of third century); Ἀ[γ]λωφῶντος Thasos (Louv.) 6 B 14 (third century); Ἀγλωγένης Delos, 55 I 7 (282 B. C.); cf. also Ἀγλῶν Thasos (Louv.) 214. We find Ἀγλωφάνης Thera, C. I. G. 246C (late).

φάος Archil. tetr. 74₃, Sim. Amorg. I₁₉, Skythinos, I, Theog. 569, II 43, Herakl. 77; on the oblique cases of names in -φῶν, e. g. Ἡροφῶν Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 22, see Spitzer, *Launtl.* p. 41, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 16.

2. ᾶσο.

Archilochos II 6 γήραος; also in Hdt. III 14, in the phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, with the unusual form on account of the stereotyped nature of the expression. Hdt. generally has -εος in -as nouns. -ασο, or more strictly, -ασφο, in the second pers. sing. of imperfect and aorist middle: Archil. epod. 94 ἐφράσω, IOI ἐδέξω, where Hdt. has ἐξεργάσαιο I 45 and Xenoph. 5 ἦραο. It is scarcely doubtful that *ao* had become *ω* in the dialect of people before the time of Hdt.

3. ᾶιο.

On the relation of -ᾶω to -ᾶω (-ηω) verbs in ᾶρεον = ᾶραον, &c., see § 688. *αιο* becomes *ω* in the Ionic verb (ἔωμεν, ἀρχιῶμαι), despite fluctuations in MSS. of Hdt. in the direction of *εο*.

On *ao*, written for -*av*, see § 243.

4. *Varia*. Ὠσπραόνωι Halik. 240₄₃, is non-Hellenic; Μάοψος Roberts, I 193 D, is of uncertain connections (ΜΗόψος? cf. Μείξιος).

5. *Crasis*. κῶμφαλός, Hippokr. VII 326 = καὶ + ὀ + ὀμφ. καὶ + ὀ + α = κῶ in κῶπόλλων Hippon. tr. 31, according to Bergk's reading, which is doubted by Renner, p. 199; Hrd. 4, χῶπόλλων. τῶμματα VIII 84, Hrd. 6₆₈, κῶμμασιν 332, χῶστis Sol. I 337.

278.] Ἄ + Ο.

ᾶο became *ηο* and underwent all the changes incidental to the history of *ηο* (§ 288). On the retention of *ᾶο* in *λαός*, see §§ 140. 4, 160, 170.

279.] Α + Ω.

1. ᾶφω.

παρεστῶς Tyrt. I 2₁₉ and Attic ἐστῶς are probably not from

Hdt. ἔστρεώς, but from -afώς, as πυλωρός, Doric πυλαρός, < πυλάωρός. Also in proper names in -φῶν, and in Ἄγλῶν Th. (L.) 2₁₄, § 277. Cf. Ἄγλάων Boiot., C. D. I. 418₃, 534₈. Συλοσῶν Hdt.

2. αῖω.

For the treatment of -ᾶω verbs, see § 688. The contracted forms alone seem genuine Ionic. When verbs in -εω exist side by side with those in -ᾶω, this -εω is uncontracted.

3. a privative; ἄωρος Amorgos 35, ἄωρή Hrd. 3₂₉.

4. Crasis of αι + ω in χῶς Sim. Amorg. 24 (but καὶ ὦς Halik. 238₁₄).

280.] ᾶ + Ω.

I. ᾶFω.

Ποσειδάων Theog. 692; -άωνος in Arch. eleg. 10, by conjecture, the MSS. having ω. Is -ήωνος correct? See § 140. If Attic Ποσειδῶν is from -έων, this instance deserves note as being a rare case of contraction of vowels originally separated by F (ἔως, βασιλέως). Attic πῶν, παῖω (Παιῶνος Solon, 13₅₇). Ἴωνες, arose directly from -ᾶων-, -ᾶων, not through -εων (Bechtel, B. B. X 283). See on πῶν, Hom. πῶων, Hsd. πρηῶν, Chandler, *Accent*, § 569.

On the treatment of pre-Hellenic αῖω, see under E + O and E + Ω. On the relation of verbs in -εω parallel to those in -ᾶω, see § 688.

281.] E + A.

ε before a vowel does not become ι in Ionic.

I. εFᾶ.

Remains open in feminine of adj. in -vs (δασέαν Miletos, 100₂, &c.), in Κλεάριος Thasos (L.) 4 A 13; Κλεάωρος Styra, 19₂₂₀; Λεάρακος Thasos (L.) 3 B 7; Λεάωης Styra, 19₂₄; Πρεάρωθης Keos, 50, IV 65. Cf. πρηῦς and the Thasiote Πρηύλος; ἑᾶσεις Anakr. 56, ἑᾶσον 57 (§ 165).

ἦρωαε, the legitimate form for the Ionic of the fifth century, is preserved in Hdt., though in IX 5 ἐάρωαε comes to light.

βασιλέᾶ = Attic βασιλέᾶ (βασιλῆ Teos, Ditt. *Syll.* 165₁₈, about 261 B. C.); ρεᾶ = Attic ρᾶν, βασιλέᾶς = Attic βασιλέᾶς (Curt. *Stud.* IX 213). After a vowel, ᾶ as in Ἐρετριᾶς, Ἴσσηταιᾶς Eretria, 15_{17, 18} cf. Θεσπιᾶς, Ἔσσηταιᾶς in Attic inscriptions of fifth century. Εὐρυνμεδοντιᾶδες Hipp. 85 (patronymic in -αδευς, as Μαϊαδεῦ Hipp. 161), from εα (or εᾶ?). κενεᾶ Dem. *Mor.* 18, Luk. *vit. auct.* 13.

2. εσᾶ.

In the MSS. of Hdt. ἔαρος, ἔαρι, &c. (12 times), as in Homer, ἦρος not appearing till Hymn Dem. 456. Hdt. I 77 has however ἦρι in the MSS. except C (Stein ἔαρι). Hipp. ἦρος II 44, 46, 54, 598, 616, 668, III 70, 76, 80, 94; ἦρι II 24, 42, 44. In

II 598 both Ermerins and Littré have ἤπος, the former reading ἔαρ (*bis*) on the same page, the latter ἦρ; Littré reads ἦρ (*v. l. ἔαρ*) III 68 (*ἔαρ* Erm.) ἦρ II 64c (*v. l. ἔαρ*). In III 98 Littré must adopt ἔαρ. ἦρ II 42, 44, 616, VI 594 (*θ, vulg. ἔαρ*), 600. There can be no question but that Littré has gone too far in adopting the contracted form, which seldom occurs without a variant. Variations similar to that between ἔαρμ and ἦρμ occur in MSS. of Attic authors, though contraction is properly in place in forms of three short syllables in that dialect. ἔαρ occurs upon an Old Attic vase (Klein, *Vasen*, 133). Ordinarily the fusion of εα was avoided in Ionic. For the *κουρή* form ἦπος in Arrian, 14, we should expect ἔαρος, cf. *Vita Homeri*, 34. In the poets we find ἔαρμ Anan. 51, ἔαρος Mimn. 22. Ἐαρίνης Styra, 19184 is doubtful. Cf. § 221.

In the -εσ- declension, we find in Homer sporadic occurrences of εα (τεύχεα II 207, ἄλγεα Ω 7, in the sixth foot; τεμένεα λ 185, στήθεα Α 282, βέλεα Ο 444, σάκεα Δ 113). See §§ 533, 536 for the occurrences of the open and the contracted forms. -εα is not so frequent as -εα in poetry. -εα remains open in the heteroclitic accus. of the *Â* declension (which is frequent in Ildt.). This is invariably the case in the -εσ declension in Ionic prosaists.

In *εατε* and in the pluperfect, which had the terminations of the sigmatic aorist, we find the open forms (ἐώθεα, ἦθεα).

3. ειᾱ.

Abstract nouns in εα from εια do not contract: ἐξώλεα, παρώλεα, Bechtel, No. 263.

ὄστέα Arrian, 30 (ὄστᾶ 29 in MSS. may be an error), Aret. 42, 88, Πιπποκρ. often; ὄστρεα Arrian, 21, 29, 39; ὑπέατι Ildt. IV 70. In adjectives χρύσεια Anakr. 2112.

ἡμέας Archil. eleg. 97, σφεας tr. 272, Ildt. ἡμέās.

Blass (Kühner,³ I p. 210) refers to Hekataios Φαναγόρη < -ειᾱ, Hdn. I 2809, 3414, Θυρή, Hdn. I 28423, 34117, Ψυττάλη, Ζέλη, Ἐρύθη Hdn. I 275, 321, Οιάνη Hdn. I 2765, 31217, Αιδάλη Hdn. I 27532, 32025; cf. ἱερῆ, § 177. Πανάκη Hrd. 40 < Πανάκεια?

On κατέαται and δρμάετο < ηα-, see § 611. ερηται Oropos 1817, compared with ἐκεκωφέαται Anakr. 812, κεννέαται Πιππονax 62, πεπλέαται Sim. Amorg. 31 A, seems to represent a difference in writing merely. Whether or not the passage from original ηα to η was made in Ionic through ε̄ᾱ or ε̄ᾶ̄ in the verbal forms is not as yet clear. Analogy would seem to incline in favour of ε̄ᾱ, but there are many forms in the perfect where -ηᾶται has become -εᾶται. Here no sound has been lost between ε and α from η + α. See § 612.

ἦν, ἐάν, see Bredow, 38, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 143, § 75, 3, and § 716. In Theog. 682, Schneidewin rightly preferred ἦν. ἐπήν Homer, Mimn. 3, Κεος, 4317, Hrd. 527, 601, 345 (ἐπέαν 330, 43, 584); Ildt. ἐπήν, though ἐπέάν is often met with in the

MSS. and is defended by many editors (Greg. *Korinth.* p. 465), and ἤρ. Hippokr. has ἐπᾶν according to Littré.

4. εα from dissimilation from αα in ἐπιστέαται and in -εατο.

5. *Elision* is frequently avoided in the inscriptions: με ἀνέθηκε Naukr. 139 B, Naukr. I 5, 202, 186, 220, II 777, but with elision I 137, 223, 259, II 778.

282.] E + Ā.

1. εῤῥᾶ :

ἐγγέας Xenoph. 42, Anakr. 633, a surprising synizesis, with which cf. χῆς' ἐγγέας in Galen's *Lex.* to Hippokr. The Herodoteian φρέαρ I 68 probably has ā as the Attic word; cf. Hom. φρήαρ. φρέᾶτι is found in a puzzling verse (99) of the Hymn to Demeter. ἐῤῥᾶ in ξᾶ Archil. 51, cf. ἦσεν' εἴασεν Hesychios, and ξᾶ *Antig.* 95, *Oid. Tyr.* 1451, ξᾶσον *Oid. Kol.* 1192.

2. εἰᾶ.

In the inflection of nouns in -ειη the accus. plural remains open: κυρέας, μνέας, αἰγέας, &c., § 453. εἰᾶ from εἰαυς, also in δωρεῖς Ephesos, 14715: δωρεῖά appears to be later than δωρεῖᾶ in Attic. ἀργυρεᾶ Wood, *Disc. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, with Attic ᾶ, but with the absence of contraction in adjectives of material, which is the rule in Ionic even in the imperial period.

In proper names in -ᾶς it has been commonly held that -ᾶς is from -εᾶς. Bechtel on No. 76 *Νοσοικᾶς*) remarks with appropriateness that this is impossible, since Attic names in -εᾶς could not be contracted to -ᾶς. See § 165, note. εᾶς occurs in two names, Ἡγέᾶς Keos 44 B 4; Ἐλπᾶς 44 B 16. Cf. Hdn. I 5110, II 6577.

On πεπλάται < πεπλήται, see § 281, 3, note.

283.] H + A.

η before the ā of substantival and verbal inflections is regularly shortened to ε. It is a matter of indifference whether this η = I.E. ē or I.E. ā: νεᾶ, νεᾶς; βασιλεᾶ, βασιλεῦς; κατέᾶται, ὄρμεᾶτο. Traces of this shortening are sporadic in Homer: Τυδεᾶ Z 222, Κουρεᾶ A 264, ἔαται, ἔατο. In πόλῆας Abdera, 162 (fifth century), η has the quantity of η in βέβληται A 380 or of ω in ἠρώος, ζ 303. In Homer, πόλῆας ρ 486. -ηας in Ἡσιονῆας Kall. 5; βασιλῆας Tyr. 43. η is retained before α only when f intervened (except Hom. πόλῆας). In Ionic these -ηας forms were obsolescent even at a very early period.

By *crasis*, τὰφροδίτη inser. of a Teian (Naukratis, I, No. 700). On a Naukr. inser. τῆφροδίτη II 701 and very often τῆ Ἀφροδίτη e.g. 707, 710, 794. In 729 τῆ Ἀφρ- (but the ι has probably been omitted by a slip). τῆι φρ- also occurs. ἐπειδᾶν Hdt. I 193, VIII 144, &c., Zeleia, 11331; Hippokr. V 622, Hrd.

4₂₁, 5₁₄ ἦρα from ἦ ἄρα, also Aiolic. Archil. 86, 95 has ἄρα. Cf. Apoll. *de Conj.* 223₂₄, 227₂₁ Schm. By *synizesis*, μὴ ἀποπέμψης Hippon. 43, ἦ ἀνθρώπου Sim. 7₁₀₄, ἡμὴν ἢ ἀλεωρή Hrd. 2₂₅.

284.] E + I.

1. εῖ.

εῖ in the dative-locative singular of -v- and -ev stems had probably been contracted by the fifth century.

2. εσι.

Becomes ε̄i in the dat.-loc. sing. of -es- stems: except in Hipponax, 11, where ἀγεῖ is necessary if the long a of ἀγεῖ is to be removed¹: Sim. Amorg. 1₁₃ Ἄρει ("Ἀρη?); ξίφει Tyr. 11₃₀, κράτει Solon tr. 36₁₃ (or κράτη), Theognis γένει 928, δυσμενεῖ 1219. -εῖ in Hdt. does not represent the stage to which Ionic had advanced in the fifth century. See § 416. In adj. from sigmatic stems ε̄i, as in Ἄργεῖη Sim. Am. 27.

3. In suffixes -ιτης, -ιως, &c. In Hdt. Ἀταρνεῖτεω, Βορυσθενεῖτης (but cf. Hdn. II 866₄₀), ὀστέινος, λῆϊνός, κρανεῖνος.

285.] E + Ī.

ε̄i by *metathesis quantitatis* has been assumed by Fick, *B. B.* XI 267, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 14, in Θρεῖκίων Hipponax, 42, ε̄i standing midway between ηι (Θρηῖξ Archil. 32, Θρηκίης Anakr. 96, Θρηκίω Sim. Keos, 120), and ε̄i. Fick suggests that Anakr. Θρηκίην 49, Θρηκίη 75 should be read Θρεῖ-. As held above, § 237, this assumption is based on slight foundations. On Θρεῖκίων, see Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 209. Meineke suggests καπὶ Θρηκίων in the passage in Hipponax. In Herodotos the *iola* was probably silent.

286.] H + I.

ηι is very common in Ionic, both from ηι = I.E. ēi and I.E. āi, separated originally by some spirant.

1. ηφι.

(a) ηφι < ēvi.

It should be noticed that of the forms which have preserved η before ι most had F between the η and ι. The exceptions are all either peculiar forms or are due to the influence of analogy, *ε. γ.* πόληι Tyr. 12₁₅ is a double locative (^επόλη + ι) and not developed from πολει-ι. See § 481. -ηιος in ἀνδρήιος, &c. is from the analogy of δουλήιος < δουληφ-ιος.

On -ηιος from stems in ην/εν, and on the extension of the termination to stems to which it did not originally belong, see § 232. On ηι from ην/ηφ in patronymics, in its relation to ει in -ειότης, see §§ 233, 235.

¹ ἐναγεῖ should be read.

Either *Κείος*, or *Κήιος*, is Ionic from *Κέος*. Hdt. VIII 1, 46 *Κέιοι*; IV 35, V 102 *Κήιοι*; Sim. Keos 129 *Κει*; Bacchyl. 48 *Κηι*; Timokreon 10 *Κήια*, and *Κείων* *Ἰουλιῆται* C. I. A. II 17 B 22. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 265, who regards *Κείος* as certainly Ionic whatever may be said of *Κήιος* (**Κηφιος*, cf. Ionic *λεῖος*, from **ληφιος*). *Βασιλεῖ* is due to the influence of *Βασιλέος*, &c. *Βασιλῆιος*, &c., amply prove that I.E. *ēvi* is represented in Ionic by *ηι*. On *Πρινηῆι*, on a Samian inscription, No. 212, see § 510.

Whether Hom. *χρήος*, *χρεῖος*, Hom., Hdt. *χρέος* is from **χρηφός* or **χρηίος* see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 264, Danielsson, *Grammat. und etymol. Stud.* 52 and *Grammat. Anm.* I 17, § 272, 3 above) is uncertain. *χρηίζω* Hom., Hsd., Greg. Kor. p. 442, Hdt. (MSS.), Phokyl. 7, Theog. 1333 but *χρήζων* 958, as Hrd. 1. . . . *χρεῖος* 711. *χρηίζω* is doubtless the correct form in Hdt. *χρηίσκομαι* in Hdt. only. Does Hesychios' *χρήια* *πενία*. ἢ *χρήματα* contain *χρηίη* *περία* (Ionic usually *χρεῖη* Theog. 62, Hrd. 711) and Kretan *χρήια* (*αὐτός τε καὶ χρήια τὰμὰ Dreros*, Cauer 121 B 41)?

*κρήιον** *κρεοθήκη* is not necessarily Ionic.

(β) *ηφι* < *āvi*.

This *ηφι* appears in Ionic as *ηι* without exception. Attic differs from Ionic in its treatment of pre-Hellenic *ēvi* and *āvi*, in that the former is generally represented in Attic by *ει* (except in patronymies as *Αιγίης*, *Νηρηίης*, which was probably also the Ionic form, § 233, 2), the latter by *ηι* (*κλήης*, *λήζομαι*, *λητουργός*, ἦθρος, *πρωτηγόν*) which in the fourth century has become *ει*. Ionic represents both by *ηι*, though *-ηιδης* from *-ηυ-* stems has been generally supplanted by *-ειδης*.

γήινος Sim. Am. 721 is probably from **γηφινος*.

δηῖω in MSS. of Hdt., *δηῖος* Sol. tetr. 342, Tyrnt. 1118, 30, *οηιωῆται* Kall. 111; Theog. 552, Tyrnt. 1212 (*δηῖων* Bergk), Mimn. 14, (*οηῖων* Bergk) Solon, 1321, have *δηῖω*. Homeric *οἷοιο* B 415 = *δηῖοιο* or *δηῖοιο*. Homer has *δηῖος* and *δηῖος*.

ἠίθεος Hdt.

ἠιών Hdt. (An. Par. III 1491).

Θρηῖξ Arch. 32, cf. *Θρηῖκιος*, Anakr. 96, Hippon. 42, 120 *Θρηῖκιος*, Anakr. 49, 75 (§ 285). Hom. has *Θρηῖκες* (Nauck *Θρέικες* Ω 234, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Θράκη*), *Θρηκῶν*, *Θρηῖκεσσι*, *Θρηῖκη*; Pind. has *Θρηῖκίων*. In Hdt. we read *Θρηῖξ*, *Θρηῖκιος*, *Σαμοθρηῖκες*, *-θρηῖκιος*; *ηι* sometimes occurs in the MSS. Hekat. 116 (*Θρακῶν*), with Attic *α* in Steph. Byz.

κληῖω Hom., Hdt. (Greg. Kor. § 3); *κληῖδες* in Hdt. V 108 is accented *κληῖδες* or *κληῖδες*; *κληῖδα* Hippokr. II 272. *κληῖθρα* hymn Merc. 146; *κληῖθρα* Hdn. II 5356, Et. M. 51811, An. Ox. II 23211 (Choir.). *εὐκλείσας* Tyrnt. 1224, from *κληίζω*, is not Ionic.

ληίη (Greg. Kor. 69), Hdt., Hrd. 245, *ληιστής* Hdt., Dem. 209, Teos, 156 B 21, *ληιστός* Hdt., *ληίζομαι* Hdt., Sim. Am. 6, Teos 156 B 20. Arrian, 40 *ληισταί*. *ηφι* becomes *ει* but once in Homer (*λείστη* I 408).

λήιον Hdn. I 361₅, λήιτον, *council-hall*, Hdt.

Μηιονιστί Hippon. 1₂ with η as in Hom. Μήϊων (cf. Hdt. I 7) and Μηιονίς; Μήϊονες and Μήϊονες Hdn. II 550, Μήϊονες Herakl. *ap.* Eust. 365₃₅.

νηί. ἐπίνειον Hdt. VI 116 must be incorrect (cf. Προνηίη and Attic προνηϊον). See Cauer in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 248. νήιον Hdn. I 361₅.

Ποσιδηίων Anakr. 6.

ρήιδιος (Apoll. *Adv.* 567 = Schn. 157₄), Theog. 239, 524, 592, 1027, 1034, but ρήιδιος 574, 577 (cf. ρήιδιον 120, 1220, Solon, 9₅, where Diod. Sik. *ραϊδιος*; ρήιον Theog. 429), ρήιτερον 1370 (Hom. ρήιτερος), cf. §§ 182, 555. Hdt. has ρηιδίως IX 2 in MSS., but ρηιστώνη III 136.

Τήιος Bechtel. 155 an archaic inscription, Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292. is probably from *Γάϊως, because of Τέως. On ΤΗΗΟΙ on an Attic inser., to be read either Τήϊοι or Τήϊοι, see § 231. See Hdn. II 881₂₃.

2. ηι < ασι.

ἦια Sim. Am. 32, see Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 561. With ἦια, cf. εἶον, Hdn. I 356₂, II 457₁₁. εἶα has been read ε 266.

287.] E + O.

The earliest testimony to an Ionic contraction of εο is the existence in Homer of εο and of a few cases of ευ. In the older periods of the Greek dialects whenever the contraction of εο to ευ appears, it is to be regarded as Ionic. ευ is but sparingly attested in earlier Aiolic, but more frequently in later Doric sources (Ahrens, II 213 ff.). The grammarians frequently give the name Doric to forms in ευ found in Ionic authors, cf. Choir. 528₁₄. Kallimachos' hymn to Demeter has θεός l. 58. τεός is called Boiotian for τεός, Apoll. *Pron.* 135 B.

As regards the genesis of εο from ηο, it should be stated that Merzdorf's¹ distinction between pre-Hellenic $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ = Ionic ηο = Ionic εω, and pan-Hellenic $\bar{\epsilon}\omega$ = Ionic ηο = Ionic εω, a distinction accepted for many years, can no longer be upheld, at least in its entirety. Unaccented, pan-Hellenic ηο may become εω in Ionic. In the gen. of the \hat{A} declension, we have -εῦ < ηο = $\bar{\alpha}\omega$. The occurrence of εο (εῦ) makes it appear that the combination ηο is treated in three different ways in Ionic. (1) ηο may be retained as an archaism, see below on H + O, (2) ηο becomes εω, and (3) becomes εο. In Ionic no difference can be detected in the treatment of

¹ Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 163 ff., IX 226 ff.; Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 262; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 297; Osthoff, *Philol. Rundschau*, I 933; Erman, *Stud.* V 294; Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 19; Bechtel, *B. B.* X 280, *Ion. Insch.* p. 69, 107, 109; Johansson, *D. V. C.* 153, *B. B.* XV 167; Fick, *B. B.* XI 259 ff.; Karsten, 19-22; Blass, *Aussprache*,³ 72.

long vowel + short vowel whether separated by *F*, *γod*, or *sigma*, though the dialect bears traces of the fact that the labial spirant disappeared later than either of the others. In Attic *metathesis quantitalis* seems to have occurred even when *sigma* or *γod* were expelled, though the cases are rare.

To a large extent the question whether *εο* or *ευ* should be written, is an orthographical question merely. At one and the same time the same word is written with *εο* or *ευ* in the same portion of Ionic territory. In general, however, the inscriptions preserve the form *εο*. In early inscriptions of the same date *εο* occurs both = *ευ* and = earlier *ε + ο*. The *εο* of *φείγειν* makes it possible that the *εο* of *γεγωνέοντες* is not disyllabic, but a species of diphthong. Cf. *εο* for original *ευ* and *αο* for *αυ*. *εου* is occasionally found (*Εὐρυσθέρευος* Samos, 217, *Ἀριστοκλέους* Thasos, 721). See § 247. The writing *εο* shows that *ευ* was not pronounced *ei*. *εο* especially in the *-εσ* stems becomes *ευ* from about 350 B. C. There can be no doubt that *εο* was pronounced like *ευ* more frequently than it was written. Whenever in Ionic lyric poetry *εο* must be read *ου*, it is an archaism. In the earliest lyric poets it is better to write *εο*, in the later *ευ*. The difference between *ευ* and *εο* is not greater than that between *εα* and *η*. How far the contraction prevailed in the ordinary language of the people is not easy to say. Perhaps one class of words was treated differently from another class. Thus in the case of *-κλεος*, where hyphaeresis had been at work, the open form would be more probable than in other names; and syllables following or preceding the accent would be more likely to be contracted than accented syllables. The variations of the MSS. of Hdt. and of the other prosaists reproduce the fluctuation in orthography between *εο* and *ευ*. I hold it likely that Hdt. himself may have been inconsistent in this and other cases, where the diphthongal pronunciation was not graphically expressed. Usually in the MSS. the *εο* form prevails. In the literature¹ and inscriptions of the imperial

¹ In the pseudo-Ionists *εο* was carefully preserved. From Lindemann, *de dial. Ionica recentiore*, p. 53, I construct the following table:—

	<i>εο</i>	<i>ευ</i>		<i>εο</i>	<i>ευ</i>
Dea Syria	112	0	Eusebios	4	0
Vit. auct.	6	0	Euseb. Mynd.	55	4
Astrol.	49	0	Ep. Thales	1	0
Arrian	118	2	Aretaios, I, II	39	13
Abydenos	4	0			

period there existed a preference for open forms, which is evidenced also in Attic (*νεομηνία* and *Θεο-* in proper names for the older *νου-*, *Θου-*). Most forms of this kind represent a fashion in writing, not genuine survivals of the older speech.

1. *εφο*.

Becomes in Ionic *εο* or is contracted to *ευ*. In the case of *-τέος*, contraction never occurs in Ionic or any other dialect.

Names with *νέος*, *κλέος*, as first parts of a compound name show both forms.

νεο- in *Νεοπολιτέων*¹ Neapolis, 42, *Νεοκλείδης* Styra, 19₂₆₅, *-κλίδης* 19₂₆₆; *-μήνιος* Olbia, *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* vol. X, 26, No. 8. Maroneia, 196₁₁, Halik. 240 B 29, D 38; *-μανήριος* Thasos (L.) 172. Cf. *νέους* Arch. 55; *νέοι* Kall. 12; *νεοθηλέα* Anakr. 51; Hdt. *νέος*, &c.; *νεότητος* Dem. 52; *νέον* Samos, 220₂₅; *νέωτα* Sim. Amorg. 19 < *νεφοφατα* (see E + Ω).

νευ- in *-πολίτης* 43, Neapolis (350-300); *-πολιτών* 44, Neapolis (350-300); *Νε]νημιίου* Olbia, 1313; *Νευμη[ίον]* Halik. 240 B 7. Cf. *Νεοβούλης* in Archil. 71, *νέοπλατων* Anakr. 216 and *νεομηνία* Pind. *Nem.* 435 = *ευ*; also *νευμηνία*, later Kretan, and *νευμεινίη* Boiot. C. D. I. 951. *Νουμήνιος* Iasos 104₂₂, 48 (about 350 B. C.), and upon coins of Maroneia and Olbia, is Attic. On the conclusions as to the (partly) expiratory character of Greek accent to be drawn from the difference between Attic *νέος* and *νευμηνία*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 138.

Κλεο- in *-μαχος* Styra, 19₁₁₀; *-μβροτος* Keos, 44 B 10, Thasos, 77 B 12; *-δικος* Styra, 19₂₂₂; *-πάτρα* Delos, 55, VII 27; *-κρίτου* Thasos, 75 B 4; *-νίκου* Smyrn. 153₁₀; *-ρρος* Styra, 19₂₃₀; *-μήδεος* Th. (L.) 1; *-μέδων* Th. (L.) 3 A 10, 6 C 6; *-[λο]χος* Th. (L.) 6 C 15; *-φάν[ης]* Th. (L.) 11 C 5; *-κύδους* Thasos, 77 A 10; *-γένης* Thasos, 77 B 5; *-τίμου* Chios, 177₁₀; *-δημος* Naukr. 775, Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 23.

Κλεν- in *Κλεομάνηρον* Arkesine, 34 (fourth century), epigram. *Κλεύβουλος* Anakr. 29, 31, 2, 3 (not *εο* by synizesis). *Κλεν-* in prose is written in *-πάτρα* Delos, 55, III 34; *-νίκη* Pharos, 87; *-κρίτη* Siphnos, 89; *-δώρου* Hyele, 172₂. Cf. *Κλεόδαμον* Pind. *Ol.* 14₂₂, the names in *Κλεν-* in later Kretan and Rhodian documents.

-εος in the genitive of *-υ|εω* stems is closed in *ἄστρεος*, Simonides of Amorgos 774, but ordinarily kept open, as is evident from the fact that these genitives are never written *-εως*, as may be the case in the declension of stems in *sigma*. Open *-εος* from *ηυ-* stems in *βασιλέος*, &c. (on *-ηος*, see H + O), on *νέος*, see § 517, 2. *-εος* < *ηφοτς* in *τεθνεός* Hdt. I 112 (*Studien*, IX 242); *Γελεῦντες* Perinthos, 234 B 13; *Λεοντίσκος* *ibid.* 234 A 4.

¹ Cf. *Νεήπολις* 41 = Attic *Nea-*. In Attic inscriptions the forms in *νεα-* outlive those in *νεο-*, which obtain from 454 to 356 B. C.

ἴλαος, probably Herodoteian (cf. IV 94, VI 91), from ἴληφος. Cf. Kretan ἰλέος (accus. pl.). ἴλαος is also Ionic, Archil. 752. See § 139.

On πλεῦρες, see § 219, 3.

Adj. in -αλεος: μυδάλεος Arch. 182; on ἀδελφεός in Hom., Hdt., Lat. II 97, Pantikap. (fifth cent.), see under ε + η.

εῦ from εο = εω:

θευρίοι Thas. 722, = θεοροί; cf. ἐθεόρεον Thas. (L.) 72, with θεορ- from θεωρ-. See *B. B.* X 282, *K. Z.* XXXI 289; cf. Λευτεχίδης Hdt.¹ and πυλευρός, in Hesychios, from πυλεωρός. Bechtel has proposed to account for this εῦ for εω as follows. Final -εω in the genitive of \hat{A} stems having become -εο (by a change unparalleled in the dialects), was written -εῦ (§§ 245, 427), and this εῦ forced its way into a medial syllable. Brugmann's (*Gr. Gr.* § 19) attempts to escape from the difficulties in the way of accepting such a change are artificial, and he cannot explain θευρίος and πυλευρός. The correct explanation is still to be found.

Joh. Gr. 241, 241 B, Greg. Korinth. p. 447, Gramm. Meerm. 654, August. 669, Birnb. 678₂₆, Vat. 699, Eust. 1908₃₃, say that the Ionic form is ὄρτή, which appears in Anacr. 54 and in Herodotos², Herodas 585, 617 (ὄρτή 416 is a conjecture). That this statement is only partially true is evident from ἑορτή Oropos 1831. That a purely prosthetic vowel should have the *asper* is irregular cf. ἑόρτιος in Attic, Roberts I 52), hence Bury's attempt at etymologizing ἑορτή has at least the vantage ground of suggesting an explanation for its presence by attributing to the longer form an initial *F*: ἑορτή = *F*εφορτή, *F*ρ'φορτή, as *vratá* from *vriatá*; ὄρτή on the other hand is = *vratá*. Cf. *B. B.* XI 333. ἑροτις is doubtless to be kept apart from ἑορτή.

2. εσο.

Yields either εο, εο, or εῦ; rarely εεσο = εου (?) as in δέουσι Πηρηοκρ. VI 384, cf. Hom. δέουσι, Hdt. ἐσέου VII 161. In the Ionic poets: Archil. ἀγάλλεο 66₁, δάριεο 66₂, ἀπάγχεο 67, χαρίζεο 75, ἀλέξειν (-εο?) 66₂, γενεῖν 75₂ (MSS. -οῖ) Anacr. 24; εὔχεο (or -εῦ, MSS. -ου) Phok. 38, ἴκειο, or -εῦ Anan. 13 (MSS. -ου). εο in Λυκάμβεος Archil. 28; θέρεος Sim. Amorg. 733, παλιωτριβέος 743. Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. epigram, Kaibel, 773, which form occurs in prose, Bechtel, No. 119. Cf. the Attic Παιρισάδου No. 120, Παιμισάδου No. 122. εῦ is written in Πηρηοκρ., 192 ὀίγευσι, 492 τριμήρευσι, and may be regarded as the successor of εο in Sim. Amorg. But tradition is worth little in such cases, as εῦ did not come into vogue at the stroke of twelve. The open forms

¹ Λευκ[ά]ριος Styra 19124, regarded by Merzdorf and Wackernagel as containing Λευ- = Λεω-, is an hypocoristic name for *Λευκόκαρος (Bechtel).

² ἑορταί Luk. *Syr.* 10, *v. l.*, with ὄρταί in the better MSS. The MSS. of Anacr. 54 have ἑορτήν.

still hold their ground in the Ionic elegiac poets: *πολυανθέος* Mimn. 2₁; *ἄνθεος* Xenoph. 1₆, cf. § 532. In the language of the people *εο*, when contracted, was contracted long before the time of Hdt., who either preserves the open vowels in verbal forms or permits contraction, e.g. *ἐπηγγέλλεο*, *ἐτράπευ*, *πεῖθεο* and *τέρπευ*, *ἐπίκεο* and *βάλευ*. For a complete chronological list of *-εος*, *-εως* in the genitive of *κλεφεσ-* stems in inscriptions, see § 527 ff. Herodas has *εὔντων* 2₈₅, *εὔσαν* 15₁₆ with an *ευ* that occurs nowhere else in this participle.

In derivatives from *θεός*¹, *Θεο-*, in *Θεοφῶν* Thasos, 83₆; *-[κλ]ίδης* Keos, 44 B 6; *-κῦδης* Keos, 46; *-δωρος* Thasos, 77 B 8, Olbia, 131, 3. Palik. 240₃₁, Samoth. 236; *-δοσίης* Miletos. Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 328, *-κρίνης* 331; *-δοτος* Iasos, 105₁, Klazom. Head, *H. N.* 491, Sam. 221₄, Chios, Pasp. 13; *-δοσίη* Phanag. 164, 166, Theodosia, 127 (Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1866, p. 128), Lat. II 36; *-γείτων* Teos, 159₁₂, Chios, Pasp. 3. Cf. *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21. *-γένεως* Thasos, 78 C 5, *-τιμίδης* 78 C 4, *-τιμος* Styra, 19₃₇₆. *-προπος* Chios, 174 C 21, Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 342; *-φάτης* Eryth. 206 B 63 (l. 21, 24 have *Θεν-*); *-φρων* Eryth. 206 C 11 (cf. *Θε[ι]όφρων* Eryth. 206 C 12); *-πομπος* Th. (L.) 6 C 10.

In Attic we often find *Θεο-* in proper names in sixth, fifth, and fourth century inscriptions parallel to the same names in *Θου-*. See *K. Z.* XXIX 138.

The *ε* of *Θεο-* is sometimes omitted (*Θόκλος* 19₂₀₆, *Θοδίων* 19₃₇₈). Cf. *Κλόδεινος* 19₂₂₁, and Megarian names in *Θο-*, *Mith.* VIII 189, 190. In reverse direction *ο* is omitted in *Θεκλίδης* 19₂₀₉. See Baunack's *Studien*, I 229, § 138, and *Διοτις*, § 188, 16, 3.

Names in *Θευ-*:

-μαρ[ης] Eretria, 16 B 25 (340-278); *-βουλος* Naxos, 28; *-δωρος* Delos, 55, 3₃₁, Keos, 169₅, Eryth. 206 B 42, Eryth. 207, Olbia, 131_{17, 21}, Teos, 161 (also *Θευ-* in *Jahrb. für Phil., Suppl.* IV 478, No. 16; IV 484, No. 45; X 31, No. 3); *-προπο(ς)* Miletos, 102₃; *Θευπροπίδου* Smyrna, 153₂₈; *-δοσίη* Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 165, 167, 168; *-γνητος* Smyrna, 153₁₂; *-τιμίδης* Smyrna, 153₁₉; *-ξεινίδης* Smyrna, 153₂₃; *-ξερος* Eryth. 206 B 24; *-δάμας* Keos, 169₂; *-δοτος* (Et. Gud. 139₅₂) Eryth. 206 A 26, which is an almost Attic inscription; *-κριτος* Eryth. 206 A 29; *-πομπος* Eryth. 206 B 21; *Θεύγυιδος* Theog. 22. Cf. *θεός* Sim. Amorg. 71, *θεοῦ* 71₀₄, and elsewhere *θεός* in poetry. On coins in Imh.-Bl. *G. M.*: *Θεύπορπος* (Chios, No. 390). *Θεύπροπος* (Miletos, p. 646, correcting *Μονη. gr.* 97). In the

¹ Brugmann, *Berichte d. Königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1889, p. 41, compares Skt. *ghōrās*. In this paper Brugmann mentions all the etymologies that have been proposed of the much disputed word *θεός*, except the one which I have here provisionally adopted (*θεός* = **θφεσος* = Lith. *dvēsti*).

fifth century we find the names of immigrant Ionians upon Attic inscriptions, *e.g.* Θευγόρης C. I. A. I 324, D 8. In genuine Attic names the contraction (ου) varies with the uncontracted form as early as the sixth century. After 200 B.C. we find $\epsilon + o = \epsilon\upsilon$ sporadically even in Attic words; Θευδόσιος C. I. A. II 445 E 16 (160 B.C.). Eustath. 775₁₈ and 1387₂₃, Et. M. 448₃₁, An. Par. III 242₂₈, Choir. 421₂₈, make mention of a $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ (*Ἄρτεμυ*) without specifying the dialect. Cf. Kallim. frag. amen. 125, and *θεύς* VI 58. In Kretan we find *Τεμφίλω* *Mus. II.* III 617, l. 10.

3. $\epsilon\iota\omicron$.

$\epsilon\omicron < \epsilon\iota\omicron$ in *verbal* forms is generally contracted in old Ionic poetry, the contraction being written $\epsilon\omicron$. MSS. of the lyric poets vary between $\epsilon\omicron$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$, the Attic *ου* sometimes having been brought in by the copyists in the case of the earlier poets. In Theognis' later parts the *ου* is original. See under *Conjugation* for the parallelism of $\epsilon\omicron$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ forms. All instances of *ου* in pure Ionic documents must be regarded as foreign to the character of the dialect. In Ionic prose $\epsilon\omicron$ varies constantly with $\epsilon\upsilon$, the former being perhaps the more common¹. $\epsilon\omicron$ in verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ parallel to those in $-\alpha\omega$ is scarcely ever contracted in the prose writers (*εἰρώτευν* Hdt. III 140 *B²d*). On the genesis of this $\epsilon\omicron$, see § 688.

On *χρέομαι*, see § 167.

In *adjectival* forms:

In *adj.* of material the orthographically old form is preserved till the latest times; cf. under $E + \Omega$, $E + OI$.

Hdt. *χρύσεος*; *χρύσειον* 114 E 8, Zeleia, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, Aphrodisias, 254, of the imperial period, Olbia, 129, 12; Latyschev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini*, I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ), Samos 220₁₈.

λίνεος Hdt. III 47; *λίνεφ* I 195, but Attic *λινοῦς* Samos, 220₁₅, *λινοῦν* 220₂₅ (despite *χρύσειον* l. 18). The same inscription, dating from the middle of the fourth century, has *ἀλοργοῦς* l. 23, *-οῦν* l. 22, 30 (cf. Plato, *Timaios*, 68 C). *χάλκεον* appears in Pherekydes of Leros, 33 *b*, Hellen. 149, which fragment also contains *χαλκοῦς* and *χαλκή*. *χάλκεον* Samos, 224, an inscription otherwise Hellenistic. *τῶργυρεῦν* Hrd. 46₂ is a unique form.

ἀφνεός Theog. 188, 559, *πλέος* in Hdt. with some of the oblique case forms in *πλευ-* (see § 219, 3, and Bredow, p. 154), *ἐπιτήδεος*, *ἐπέτεος*, *βόεος*, *χίνεος*, *adj.* in *-λεος* are uncontracted; § 263, 3 *b*; 311.

Nouns: *ῶεον* Sim. Amorg. 11; *ὄστειον* Hdt. probably from **ὄστειον*, cf. Skt. *ásthī*. *πόλεος*, by-form of *πόλιος*, with the same inner hiatus which has prevented *φύσεος*, &c. in Attic from

¹ Greg. Korinth. 14 quotes only forms in $\epsilon\omicron$.

being regarded as direct descendants of the gen. -ειος (nom. -ῖς). χρέος, ἀξιώχρεος are not beyond peradventure for *χρηφος. If we assume χρη-τος, we have the ablaut χρα- in χραισμέω. Cf. § 286, 1.

Pronouns: ἐμεῦ Mimn. 14., Archil. 92; μεν Hippon. 62, Anakr. 76, 81; τευ Archil. 110. Herodoteian MSS. have both ἐμέω and ἐμεῦ. The forms in -ευ are to be adopted. See under *Pronouns*. On ἐμεῦ, &c. in Homer, see van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* XIII 188 ff., 400 ff. ὀτεύκεν occurs in Hrd. 7¹⁰².

σου, found Hippon. 76, μου 83, ἐμοῦ Arch. 111, are Atticisms to be removed in favour of the forms in ευ or εο. ου in Solon is correct. In Theognis both forms occur, and so in the later elegy and in the Anthology.

288.] H + O.

The Ionic dialect early developed an objection to η followed by ο.

ηο is sometimes preserved when F originally separated the two vowels. It is indifferent whether η = I.E. \bar{a} or \bar{e} . Such forms as do not show *metathesis quantitatis* are to be regarded as archaisms: λήον Hippon. 88; παιήονα Arch. 76¹; νηός Arch. 4; παρήορος Arch. 56, (Hdt. and Attic μετέωρος). Are παρηρία μωρία and πάρηρος (MSS. πάρερος) ὁ μωρός in Hesychius Ionic? ἄρηος Tyr. 11, (ἄρηο Arch. 48, according to Fick, for Bergk's ἄρεω)². On Fick's restoration ἰόληος, &c., see § 160. Elsewhere ηο, whether = I.E. $\bar{e}vo$ or $\bar{a}vo$, suffers change to εω or εο (ευ): Arch. 58⁴, πλέως(?); Anakr. 94, πλέω; Hdt. πλέος (πλεο-); § 219, 3. It is not true that ηο < $\bar{a}o$ became only εω in Ionic, and ηο = pan-Hellenic ηο, only εο. γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is unusual.

289.] E + Ω.

It is a noticeable feature in the history of εω in Ionic, that in early lyric poetry it is not dissyllabic in a single instance, a fact that leads us to doubt whether the pronunciation in ordinary speech was invariably εῶ and not diphthongal³. εω in Ionic, when originating from ηο, may at least in certain cases (εῶ) be regarded as a diphthong with three moras: though its ω probably did not contain two moras, as the ε on the other hand may have had greater weight than a simple vowel containing a single mora. That εω is not a pure dissyllable is furthermore evidenced by the fact that it passes into a monophthong when actual contraction results after a vowel, as in the \hat{A} declension (§ 429, 2). The prose monuments of the dialect, and to a large extent the

¹ Solon, Παιῶνος 13⁵⁷. Elsewhere παιῶν, see § 280. Hrd. 4¹¹ has Παιήον, cf. 4⁸¹; Παιῶν 4²⁶.

² F is here in each case the intervening consonant. πόληος alone lies outside of this category. On this form, see § 445. In ἀληθον Naxos 23 H = open ε.

³ The view upheld by Bechtel, that ε in εω must have been pronounced because ε appears in -ευ which originated from -εω (§ 287, 1), cannot be accepted until it has been shown that final -εω actually did become -ευ.

inscriptions, often unite in preserving the writing $\epsilon\omega$ till a late period of the history of the dialect. The later writers in Ionic retain with considerable consistency the writing $\epsilon\omega$.

$\epsilon\omega$ in Ionic comes into existence from $\eta\omicron$ = pan-Hellenic $\eta\omicron$, and from $\eta\omicron$ = Aiolic and Doric $\tilde{a}\omicron$. As both $\eta\omicron$'s become $\epsilon\omicron$, so may both appear under the form of $\epsilon\omega$. Cf. the remarks on E + O. On the retention in Ionic poetry of $\eta\omicron$ where the later dialect adopts $\epsilon\omega$ or $\epsilon\omicron$, see under H + O.

1. $\epsilon\omega$ after expulsion of f .

$\epsilon\omega$ may originate from $\epsilon f\omega$, $\eta f\omega$, the ω of which is either original or due to contraction; or it may arise from ηfo or $\eta f\omega$.

$\epsilon\omega$ from $\epsilon f\omega$ appears in $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Anacr. 100₃, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ Ephesos 147₇, $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ and in all genitives from $\epsilon\nu/v$ stems, and the corresponding adverbs ($\pi\rho\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ Hippokr. II 676), $\Pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Iasos 104₅₀, $\text{Κλυτιδ}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Chios 183 A 7. $\text{Κλε}\acute{\omega}\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Smyrna 153₁₃, Thasos 82 B 9 is from $\text{κλε}\acute{\epsilon}\omega + \nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$; on $\text{Ἡρακλε}\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ Eryth. 206 A 38, Halik. 241, see § 219. $\epsilon\omega$ is from $\epsilon + \sigma fa$ or $\epsilon + a fo$ in $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\alpha$ Sim. Amorg. 1, < $\nu\acute{\epsilon}f\omega\tau\alpha$, not from $\nu\acute{\epsilon}f\omega\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$; $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Theog. 805, Samoth. 236, from $*\theta\eta\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ < $\theta\eta f\alpha\phi\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. $\text{Λε}\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ Thas. 77 B 4 < $\Lambda\eta\omicron + \tilde{a}\tilde{o}$ ($\text{Λε}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ Styra 19₂₁₂ is = $\Lambda\eta(F\omicron)\acute{F}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$).

$\epsilon\omega$ from ηfo < $\tilde{a} fo$ generally remains open. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ Arch. 83, while Mimm. 12₃ has the obsolescent $\text{Ἡ}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; $\nu\epsilon\omega\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ Samos 222; $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Hdt., Hippokr., and Attic, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Hom. In connexion with this word we may mention $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\tau\omicron$ in Hesychios = $\eta\rho\tau\omicron$, for which we find $\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\tau\omicron$ Γ 272, T 253. Furthermore in $\lambda\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}$ Arch. 88, with which cf. Hesychios' $\lambda\alpha\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. $\Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$, and see below p. 265, note. $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ Hdt., $\text{Ἀρκεσίλ}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ Styra 19₁₅, $\text{Λε}\acute{\omega}\beta\rho\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 19₂₈ show that $\lambda\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ was antiquated in the time of Hipponax (fr. 88). The change of \tilde{a} to η precedes in time the *metathesis quantitatis*.

Diphthongal $\epsilon\omega$ appears in $\text{Λε}\acute{\omega}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ Archil. 69. Cf. names in $\Lambda\epsilon\nu$ -, § 160. $\text{κυκε}\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$ Hippon. 43₄ < $*\text{κυκ}\acute{\eta}\nu$ (cf. $\text{κυκε}\acute{\iota}\tilde{\omega}$ A 624), $\text{τεθνε}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ Theog. 1192, Hom. $\text{τεθνη}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, Hdt. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\text{τεθνε}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

$\epsilon\omega$ is derived from pan-Hellenic ηfo in $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ Anacr. 94, and perhaps Arch. 58₄; and in $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ Olbia 128_{33, 33, 51}, from the nominative $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ Miletos 100₄, $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ Attic and Hdt. III 141 (contracted in (Attic?) $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ Eryth. 206 A 40). It also appears in the genitive of $\eta\nu$ stems (with pan-Hellenic η), where Homer has $-\eta\omega\nu$. Later Ionic has $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, Homer $-\eta\omega\nu$ and a few cases of $-\epsilon\omega\nu$.

ω perhaps from $\epsilon\omega$ (original $\tilde{a}f\omega$).

$\xi\nu\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$ Arch. 86₂ = $\text{κοινω}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is from $\xi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ = $\xi\nu\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, Hsd. Th. 59₅, 601 = $\xi\nu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\omega}\nu$, Doric $\xi\nu\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ and $\xi\nu\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\nu$, Attic $\xi\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$. $\text{Ποσει}\acute{\delta}\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is found Archil. 114, to which $\text{Ποσει}\acute{\delta}\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ is to be preferred (Herod. π. μ. λ. 11, 6, Renner, p. 190). $\text{Ποσει}\acute{\delta}\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$, by conj., Archil. 10; Hdt. has $\text{Ποσει}\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$.

2. $\epsilon\omega$ after expulsion of σ .

The Ionic genitive in $-\epsilon\omega =$ Homeric $-\tilde{a}\omega$ is represented on the Naxian inscription, No. 23, by $\eta\omega$ ($\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\theta\acute{o}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\omega$), where $\eta\omega$ is a diphthong, whose η is not metrically equivalent to Homeric \tilde{a} in $-\tilde{a}\omega$.

$-\epsilon\omega$ in the Ionic elegiac and iambic poets is a monosyllable: in Hdt. we have $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ for $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omega$, on which see § 429, 2. Upon inscriptions in the fifth century we find only $-\epsilon\omega$ and $-\omega$: in the following century $-\epsilon\upsilon$ comes to light as well as the forms from analogy to the $-\epsilon\varsigma$ declension. $-\omega$ from $\epsilon\omega < \eta(\sigma)\omega$ appears in the forms Ἀννικῶ Chios, 174 C 13 (fifth century), Ἀσίῳ *ibid.* C 27, Πυθῶ *ibid.* D 4, Λυσῶ D 17, which are the result of the contraction of $\epsilon + \omega$ reduced from $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$. With Ἀσίῳ , cf. Πανστανίῳ Abdera, 163₁₆. These genitives, as Bechtel has shown (*Ion. Insch.* 109, *B. B.* X 280 ff.), do not represent a different period of the dialect from those in $-\epsilon\omega$. Those in $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ are probably grammatical figments. Since upon the same inscription (*v. g.* 240) the forms in $-\epsilon\omega$ and $-\tilde{\omega}$ occur, since $-\epsilon\omega$ is a diphthong, and finally, since the ϵ of the genitive had not disappeared from the Ionic genitive in the third century B. C., $-\epsilon\omega$ and $-\tilde{\omega}$ must be mere graphical variations of one and the same ending. Μυχιέων Naxos, 27, Ἐρμῖέω Chios, 180, and Ἀγίέω Olbia, 131, 11, are thought by Bechtel to owe their existence to the workings of analogy. As in Attic Ἀλαιᾶς , Θεσπιᾶς are older than Ἀλαιείας , Θεσπιείας , so Ἀσίῳ is older than Ἐρμῖέω , ἀδικιῶν older than Μυχιέων . Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XVI 185.

In Παναμῦῳ Halik. 238₁₂, 240 A 11; Πακτύῳ Myl. 248 C 3, 13; Ἀρχαγορῶ Halik. 240 B 3; Μικιννῶ 240 A 38; Βρώλῳ Ditt. *Syll.* 6 D 22, we have the contraction. After ι , $\epsilon\omega$ is fused in verbs, *e. g.* in the future.

$\epsilon\omega$ from $\eta\sigma\omega$.

$\epsilon\omega$ is diphthongal in the gen. pl. \tilde{A} declension. $\alpha\lambda\theta\omega\text{N}$ Naxos 23, I regard not as $= \eta\omega\nu$, as Fick takes it, *B. B.* XI 268, but as $= \epsilon\omega\nu$, the η expressing the open quality of the e sound (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229; Blass, *Aussprache*,³ 24 ff.). There appears to be no warrant for deriving $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ from $-\eta\omega\nu$, attested at best in this single instance.

Attic $-\omega$ arises from $-\epsilon\omega$ (either from pan-Hellenic $\eta\omega$ or Attic-Ionic $\eta\omega$) when either ϵ or ω was tonic. Ionic resisted the operation of this law until a late period in its history. Whether accent position ($\angle \eta\omega$, or $\eta\omega \angle$) should have produced $\epsilon\omega$ is not clear. It is, however, certain that unaccented pan-Hellenic $\eta\omega$ became $\epsilon\omega$. Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169.

$\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$, from $\epsilon\sigma\omega$.

$\xi\acute{\omega}\nu$ Amorg. 35, epigram, Mimn. 3; $\xi\acute{\omega}\nu$ Xenoph. 2₁₁. Adverbs in $-\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ¹: $\alpha\delta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ Chios, 174 B 12; Theog. 406, $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ (so

¹ Greg. Kor. 451, Vat. 697, Hdn. II 388₂₆ = schol. § 485.

Demokr. *Mor.* 22, Herodas V), σαφηρέως 963; ιηλεῶς Anakr. 75₂ (< ιηλεῶς) as Hdt. ἀκλεῶς V 77, ἀδεῶς I 216 (-έως?); ἀσφαλέως Archil. 58₄, 66₄; ἐμμελέως Anakr. 40₂ if glyconic (but see Rossbach, *Metrik* 563); Hdt. τελέως, ἀληθέως, σαφηρέως, &c. Phippokr. ἐννεχέως, ἀτρεμέως (-ῶς occasionally in MSS.), Protag. ιηπενθέως, Diog. Apoll. 6 ἀτρεκέως (*sic* Simpl., who has however ἐμφανῶς in fr. 5), &c. Cf. -ῶ in the genitive from -εω.

εω, εω, from εσω in other forms.

In the future of liquid verbs we find εω, never ω, in Herodoteian MSS. Archil., Hipponax and Theognis have ἐρέω. In the participle Hdt. has ἀγγελέων, &c. εἰδέωσιν Halik. 238₂₁, Demokr. 87, Attic εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 147₁₇ (300 B. C.).

οεῶν Arch. tr. 25₃, Mimn. 2₄, 9₆, Xenoph. I₂₄, Solon 4₂, I₃₃, but θεῶν I₃₂₀, and Archil. 84₂, Hipponax 30 A, Anakr. 65₄. The form with synizesis is found as early as Hesiod, *Th.* 44. In the genitive plural of nouns of the sigmatic declension both -εων and -εων occur in poetry, see § 537. The prose form is always open.

3. εω after expulsion of *yod*.

From -ηιο- we have εω in διψέων (-οο-) Archil. 68, διψέωντα Anakr. 57, according to Fick (*B. B.* XI 265), for διψῶντα.

χρέωμαι, the genuine Ionic form (whatever be made of Hdt.'s χρέομαι in *P* from II 77 on) is = *χρηγομαι. See §§ 167, 687. Hdt. has χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος. From χρῆν, προνοῦναι, χρῆσθαι, interrogate an oracle, we have in Hdt. χρέωσα, χρεώμενος, ἐχρέωντο (*P* here too ἐχρέοντο V 82, VII 141). From σμῆν, ἑωσμέωντες II 37 (Stein, Kallenberg, -σμωντες); hence ἐξέσμεων III 148. If νῆν is the Herodoteian form, we would expect ἐπινέωσι IV 62; if νεῖν, then ἐπινέουσι.

εω from εω in verbs remains uncontracted in the MSS. of the prosaists, though contraction may have ensued by the year 500 B. C. In the poets εω is a monosyllable or is actually contracted. Under the head of *Contract Verbs* are given the forms in εω, εω, ω. A few verbs in -αω become -εω (εἰρωτέω, ὀρέω, φοιτέω), § 688. Here too are to be classed participial nouns: προμαχεῶν Hdt. (προμαχῶνες Teos, 159₃, Attic form); Ἀρκέων Styra, 19₁₇; Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73.

ὄστέων Archil. 84.

πόλεως (occurrences under § 486), a genuine Ionic form, from πόλιος. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169, proposes to explain the εω of πόλεως on the theory that if the accent fell upon a syllable preceding or following ηο, εω and not ω, is the result. Cf. Attic γεω- < γη(ι)ο- in λεπτόγεως, γεωμετρία, Hdt. γεωπένης (Greg. Kor. II 14), γειωπένας, γεωρυχέω, γεώπεδον (γηοχέω VII 190). -εως from -ηος in the ι decl. is not contracted in any dialect.

Adjectives denoting a material retain the uncontracted¹ form until far into the imperial period. ἀργυρέω Olbia, 129₁₃; χρυσέωι Ephes. 147₉, Latyschev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Eur.* I, No. 67, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1. But χρυσέω Mimn. 11₆, and one case of -ῶι, Latyschev, *l. l.* No. 57. Adjectives in -λεος with but a few exceptions fail to contract any form: ἀργαλέω Tyrnt. 12₂₈. See § 263, 1, b.

In superlatives from stems in -εο-, *e.g.* τελεωτάτη Demokr. 128. On Ἡρακλεώτης, &c., see § 219.

In the pronominal declension we find ἡμέωι, ἰμέωι: see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 96.

Shfliv -εων in ἀνδρεών, ποδεών (Bekk. *Anecd.* I 8₁₅), φαμετρεών, &c. in Hdt., cf. πυλεών Demokr. 60.

4. εω where no consonant intervened:

ἀφέω Hipponax, 75, from *ἀφήω, cf. Hdt. ἀποστέωσι. In Hdt. the εω of the aorist passive is not contracted (ἀπαιρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, φανέωσι).

Hyper-Ionic -εων occurs in the gen. of consonantal stems, of ὄψος, in πεπέων Aret. 290, &c. See § 480.

290.] H + Ω.

ηω is preserved as an archaic form: *e.g.* in Ἥως² Mimn. 12_{3, 15}, and in Hdt. through the protection offered by F (ἦως from *ἄνωσως, *K. Z.* XXX 422, note 2). On Archil. 83 ἔωθεν, see Bartholomae, *K. Z.* XXIX 522. Elsewhere H + (F, k, σ) + Ω becomes εω, whether η = ā or pan-Hellenic η.

291.] E + Υ.

The elegy still preserves ἐϋ-, if the possibility of this reading may be regarded as a criterion (ἐνπλοκάμων Arch. 11; ἐνφροσύνη Xenoph. 14; ἐνστεφάνων Theog. 1339; cf. 548, 574), while εϋ is permitted (Archil. 19, Theog. 639, 845, &c.). Iambic poetry records εϋ in εϋφρων Sim. Amorg. 799, εϋτυχεῖ 783, εϋ I₁₇. In Anakr. ἐλέθειρα 76.

292.] O + A.

1. of ᾶ.

αὐτῶδης according to Apoll. Dysk. *Pron.* 94 C, whereas we read αὐθαδέστεροι Hdt. VI 92³. Compounds of ἀναξ: χειρωναξιέωι Hdt.; Σιμώνακτος Hippon. 55 B; Ἴππώνακτος Hippon. 13, cf. An. Ox. II 225₃₄ (Choirob.); Ἀριστώνακτο Chios, 177₁₅; Ἐρμῶναξ Iasos, 104₁₄, Eryth. 206 B 13; Δημώνακτος 206 B 21, Thas. (L.)

¹ χρυσέω, ἀργυρέω are quoted from Homer as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 242.

² Cf. Et. M. 440₅₅.

³ αὐθαδής is from αὐτα-αδής (ἄδος) or αὐτα+ηδής (ἦδος) not, as Aristotle and some moderns think (cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* 1243) from αὐτοάδης. See *K. Z.* XXVIII 130.

4 B 10. 14, Thasos, 81 B 4; Τιμῶναξ Thasos, 75 B 4, Ἀνδρῶνα(ξ) Imh. Bl. *G. M.* 377 (Chios); Μαρσῶναξ Klazom. *l. l.* 257. Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, *l. l.* 279 A, Head, *H. N.* 491. It seems not easily credible that in most of these compound proper names the termination *-ωναξ* should be due to the influence of such names as Πρωῶναξ (which depends upon Πρωῶν): and that there should be merely an echo of the vocative ὄναξ in the names of the Ionian aristocrats. See Waekernagel, *K. Z.* XXIIX 143, who would even set aside χειρῶναξ as an example of the contraction of *ofa* to *ω*.

πρῶτος from *πρωφατος (or perhaps from *πρωφατος), Keos, 4316, Styra, 1915. Other examples of *ofa* = *ω* are κυματόγη Hdt. IV 196, IX 100, ὦσι Anacr. 214 < *δασι, Hom. οὔατ- < οὔσατ- οἴασι Sim. K (?) 874. See § 255 and Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 407. On Hippokr. ὦσις (ὄσις) VI 356, see Littré.

o(F)a uncontracted in ἀκήκοα. νεοάλωτοι Hdt. IX 120 is felt to be a compound.

2. οσᾱ

=*ω* in κακίω Archil. 64; κρέσσω Anan. 33; ἀμείνω Theog. 409 [πλείω 907, not certain]. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω, καλλίω, ἀμείνω, πλέω, &c., as well as the *v* forms. Hdt. αἰδῶ I 8 (Greg. Korinth. § 35, says αἰδοῦν is Ionic); ἡῶ Hdt. II 8.

3. *Crasis* (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 29): ὀπόλλων Hippon. 45, τῶντικνήμιον Hippon. 496, τῶρχαῖον, ὠνήρ, τῶγαλμα, τῶληθές in Hdt., ὠνθρωπος often in Hippokr. render ἄμ, Thasos, 68 A, very noticeable, if Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, 126) is correct in regarding it as = ὀ ἄμ. *o* + *a* results in *a* in Eleian, Argolic, Korinthian, and in other dialects of the Doric class. In Attic we find *a* in Ἀθμαῖος, τῶγαλμα *Mith.* III, p. 230, 5 (before 343 B. C.), and also *ω* in πρῶτος¹, τῶγάλατος C. I. A. I 322 A 75 (transcribed by Kirchhoff τοῦ(ἀ)γ-). The parallelism of Attic and Ionic makes it probable that *o* + *a* may become *ω* and *a*. Ἀμοιβίχον = ὀ Ἄμ- Abu-Simbel (Roberts I 130) cannot be cited as evidence, since the name is not that of an Ionian. Absence of crasis is frequent upon the inscriptions; e.g. τὸ ἄδος Halik. 238₁₉.

oi + *a* in ὄλλοι: ὄλλοι μὲν ῥα αἰ τοιαῦται συναλοιφαὶ τῆς δευτέρας εἰσὶν Ἰάδος, ἧ Ὀμηρος οὐκ ἐχρήσατο²: Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081 refers the form to the νεωτέρα Ἰάς. Cf. Theokritos, XV III 17. ὄλλοι Hdt. I 48, ὠνθρωποι VII 11, ὠνδρες IV 134; *ou* + *a* in τῶπόλλωνος Chalkis 1312, Halik. 238₃₆, Naukratis, e.g. I 6, 68-70, 72, 74, 76-79, 81-83, 139-141 (but τῶπόλλωνος 156-158, 250, 257-258, &c.); τῶγῶνος Teos 156 B 32; but τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

¹ Unless πρῶτος is for *πρωφατος.

² Cf. Hdn. II 3441 = Et. Mag. 821₂₉. The form ὄλλοι is found in MSS. of Homer, and was read by Zenod. B I, K I, but rejected by Aristarchos in favour of ἄλλοι because of his belief as to the absence of the article from Homer; see § 258 on Aristarchos' ὄριστος.

Amphip. 10₁₃₃, Eretria 15₁₅, Milet. 98, τοῦ Ἀμφικτίος Halik. 238₁₄. With τὰ πόλλων[ος] in the inscriptions of Naukratis, cf. ἄμ above. τὰνθρόπον in *PRd* Hdt. II 121 (ζ) and τὰληθές in *PR* VII 139 are not easy to defend. In Hrd. 4₁₂ τοῦ ἀλέκτορος is *scriptio plena*.

293.] O + Â.

In accus. pl. of Â stems o + ā < avs remains uncontracted.

294.] Ω + A.

Σῶνδρος Amorg. 32 is rather from <σωη=σω before vowels (Spitzer, *Laull. des Arkad.* 43, 44) than from σασο. See § 277. Ὠρίων Miletos 93 (Pindar Ὠαρίωνα) and in Homer, though Nauck proposes to substitute Ὠαρίων- for Ὠρίων-. Cf. Menrad, p. 13. ζῶέγρια Hdt. III 36 recalls Ζ 407; elsewhere ζῶγ- with accented ω.

The MSS. of Hdt. have both ἦρωα, μήτρωα, and, by analogy to the vowel declension, ἦρων, πάτρων.

By *crasis*: ὦνθρωπε Hdt. I 35, Theog. 453; ὦραξ Anakr. 2, Hdt. IV 150, 155, VII 141, ὦνδρες Hrd. 2₆₁; τῶπόλλωνι Miletos 96, 97, Naukratis, Roberts I 132 *ter*, and very many times in the inscriptions discovered at Naukratis; τῶκινάκη Anakreon 136 (Et. Mag. 514₂₉). The article does not coalesce with the following word in τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι Naukr. I 2, 345-6, Milet. 93; τῶι Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ωι Halik. 238₄₅, an inscription that refuses to adopt *crasis*.

Synizesis: ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίην Hrd. 54.

295.] O + E.

1. ofe yields oe and ou in the poets. Arch. ἰμερόεντα 8, στονόεντα 9₁, αἱματόεν 9₈, χρυσοέθειρ 121; Mimn. ἀλγινόεσσαν 11₂, αἱματόεντος 14₇; Anakr. ἐρόεσσαν 17₂, δακρνόεσσαν 31, δακρνόεντα 94₂, κεροέσεως 51₂; Xenoph. ἀλγινόεσσαν 2₄; Phokylides ἰμερόεντος 3₈. ἀνθεμύντας (ου?) Anakr. 62₂, χαριτεῦν 44 (ου? or, preserving χαρίεν, read χ. γερ ἦθος (ἵχχεις)), Βατοσυιάως Arch. 104₂ < Βατοῦς = Βατόεις, are the only examples of contraction in forms of -οεις; see § 314. In Homer -οεις does not become -οῦς, hence Aristarchos' λωτοῦντα M 283 is suspicious. There is evidence making for the late date of the passage.

In the compound τε(σ)τερακαιοβδο[μη]ροτοῦτης Paus 58, ofe is contracted; cf. Arrian's τεσσαρακούντες 95, τριακοντούτες 97. In the adjectival and participial formations: Τειχιού(σ)σης Miletos 28 (Τειχιόφετης); Μαραθοῦντα Eryth. 201₂₅; θαροῦσαν 264, Adesp., στέγουσαν Keos 47₁₂; Φοινικοῦσαι Hek. (Steph. Byz. s. v.), Ἐρμώνοσσα Chios 174 A 2, 4 has been read by Blass -ρονοσα, but is properly an example of vowel assimilation; in Hdt. Οἰνοῦσαι, Σελινόοιοι, Ὀπούντιοι, Συρακούοιοι (on Συρακούοιοι see above, § 255). oe remains open in Μολόεντα Hdt.

IX 57, Μυρικόεργα Hekt. 209, Σολόεργος Hdt. II 32, Αλιγίοεσσα I 149, μελιτόεσσα VIII 41, Σκολοπόεργα IX 97, τρηκοντοετίδας VII 149, but these are all forms out of date in Hdt.'s day. *oe* also remains open in εὐνοέστερον Hdt. V 24, Hrd. 67₂.

The concurrence of a stem in *ε/ο* and *-εργο-* or *-εργτ-*, as the latter member of a compound, is dealt with in the dialects in different ways. The original ablaut form, *-φοργός*, gave way at an early period to *-φεργός*, as is shown by Homeric *δημιοεργός* ρ 383. See Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 213; §§ 149, 150 above; *A. P. A.* XVIII 95, 158; Meister. *G. D.* II 41. to whom I owe much of the material given below; Bennett 28 ff.; Johansson *D. V. C.* 19 ff.

I. The vowels are uncontracted.

ὄβριμοεργῶν Kallin. 3; ἀγαθοεργῶν Hdt. I 67, ἀγαθοεργίην III 160, ἀγαθοεργίαι III 154 in *PR*; δημοεργοί VII 31, and so the editors in IV 194, despite all the MSS. It is not easily credible that the Ionic of the fifth century should have differentiated between ἀγαθοεργός and κακοῦργος. Either the forms were open or they were closed. But exceptions might be made in favour of ἀγαθοεργοί, δημοεργοί if used as technical expressions. λυκιοεργέας Hdt. VII 76 (*sic* Athenaios; *PR* λυκοεργέας, *reliqui* λυκερ-; cf. below III B); Σελινόεργτ[ι] Selinus C. D. I. 3045 A 9; Ὀπόεργτι Lokris, C. D. I. 1478 B 33; Μυρικόεργα Hekat. 209; παντοέρκτεω Herodas 54₂.

II. The vowels are contracted.

(A) *ο + ε* becomes *ov*.

On forms in Hdt., see above.

παραλουργέα Xenoph. 33; Λυκοῦργος Styra 19₁₅ and Chios (Pasp. p. 39); κακοῦργος, κρεουργηδόν, ὑπουργέω, ξυλουργέω Hdt. (Stein, *Preface*, liii); ἐπικαιουργεῖν Dem. *Mor.* 20₁₇; ἐριουργῆσαι *Vita Hom.* 4; ξοαουργίης Luk. *Syr.* 34; μουσουργίη *Astr.* 10, *Vit. auct.* 3; λειτουργοί, δημιουργικόν Arrian 12₁; ὑπουργήματα Euseb. *Mund.* 10; κακούργων Hipp. III 238; ὑπουργήσαι Hipp. ep. 14₁. Τηιουργός, Μιλησιουργίης, Χιουργίης, in the inventory of the temple of the Delian Apollo (*B. C. H.* VI 29 = Ditt. *Syll.* 367) are too late (185-180 B.C.) to be cited as evidence. So too in North-West Greek, δαμουργός Phokis (Ditt. *Syll.* 294₃₉), of the second century B.C., Argolic, *l. l.* 389₂₆, δαμουργήστας Kameiros in Rhodes, *Revue Arch.* XIV 336, No. 59; Lokris. Ὀποῦργτιοι C. D. I. 1503, 1504, A 2, B 2, 1505, 1509 B, 1510 (Hdt. VII 203), Ὀποῦργτι 1502₃ (all late inscriptions); Σελινοῦργτιος C. D. I. 3044, Megara (so Bechtel edits, but in his note suggests Σελινοῦργτ-). The Megarian dialect contracted *ο + ε* to *ov* even in an early period (the inscription is written *βουστροφηδόν*). The uncontracted form too held its ground in Selinus (above I).

Contraction to *eu* has been assumed on the strength of *Καρικευργέος* Anacr. 91, as written by Bergk for Strabo's *Καρικοεργ-*. This contraction belongs in the same class as *ἐδικαίευν* with hyper-Ionic *ευ*, § 690. The form is handed down with *-οεργέος* by Eust. 367²³, 707⁶¹, Et. Gud. 297⁴⁷, schol. Iliad Θ 193 (where *καριεργέος* is also read, see III B below); cf. Et. Mag. 489³⁹, where Flor. adds *καριοεργ-*.

λεουργός, Doric according to Photios for Attic and Ionic *λεωργός* (Archil. 88, *Prometh.* 5, Xen. *Mem.* I 3, 9), is a mistaken form. With *λεωργός* compare the adv. *λέως* which the grammarians called Ionic. Archil. 112 has *λείως* = *τελέως*.

(B) *ο* + *ε* becomes *ω* according to some scholars (Roehl, G. Meyer, Blass) where syllabic hyphaeresis and lengthening of the first vowel are preferable. *ω* is however certain in: *ἀμπελωργικά* Herakl. Tables II 43; *Τελφῶσσα*, a spring in Boiotia (Ahrens I 173) and elsewhere (see Pape). But the usual form is *Τελφούση*, and *ου* appears in *Τελφούσιον* St. Byz., *Τέλφουσα* in Arkadia, *Τελφούσιος*, &c.

III. In the following forms it has been thought that either *ε* or *ο* has been expelled. Some of the cases of the supposed loss of *ε* may be explained as arising from *-ο + Φοργ, ὄργ* being lightened to *οργ*, as *ὄντ* to *-οντ*¹.

(A) *ε* is expelled in *ἀλοργήν* Samos 220^{15, 16, 19}, *ἀλοργά* 220³⁰, *ἀλοργοῦς* 220²³, *ἀλοργοῦν* 220^{22, 30}, *ἀλοργάς* 220²⁸, *παραλοργές* 220²¹, *δημοιργοῦ* 220²⁰. *ἱροργίαι* is the reading of *ABC* in Hdt. V 83, where *ἱρουργίαι* is usually edited. *δημοιργῶν* Samos, *R. M.* XXII, 313, l. 1. In the other dialects we find *δαμοιργός* Andania, Cauer 47¹¹⁶, first century; Megara, *Milth.* VIII 191, No. 5, Cauer 104¹⁹ (Aigosthenai, third century); Knidos, Cauer 166⁷ (first cent.); Kameiros, Cauer 187¹ (conj.)²; Astypalaia, *B. C. H.* VIII 26 B 7, 8 (in an inscription from Amorgos); Telos, Cauer 169²; Argos, Cauer 48 (conj., fifth cent.); Arkadia, C. D. I. 1181⁹ (third cent.), *B. C. H.* VII 489; Boiot., *Milth.* VI 304^{3, 9}; Achaia (Ditt. *Syll.* 182¹³ (second cent.), 242²¹ (second cent.)), *B. C. H.* II 97, l. 16; Lokrian, C. D. I. 1476²⁻³; Oianthea, C. D. I. 1479¹⁵ (fifth cent.), 1480 (fifth cent.), Pamphylia, C. D. I. 1260 (late), 1261 (late). Cf. Dumont, *Cér.* 138 ff. Also in Ὀλόντιοι in Krete, *C. I. G.* 2554³, Ὀ]ποντίων C. D. I. 1478¹¹, cf.¹⁴ (fifth cent.), as we find OPHONTION on the older coins (Ὀπόειτι³⁰⁰); Σελιώντιος, as Bechtel proposes to read C. D. I. 3044, Selinus instead of *-οντιος*.

(B) *ο* is expelled.

δαμεργός Nisyros, Ditt. *Syll.* No. 195³ (about 200 B.C.);

¹ This lightening of long vowel before the two consonants is here not due to the operation of the old principle which effected this change. In the late dialectal period of the language the old principle was resuscitated after having fallen into abeyance.

² For *δαμοΥΓήσας*.

Λυκοφῆς Lykophr. 716. Both are doubtless due to the influence of ἐργασ. Cf. § 140. On Κοιτεργέος, see II B. note.

1. In infinitives of -οω verbs, ο + *Feν* (or *σεν*) or ο + spurious *ει* has invariably yielded *ου*. *δρκοῦν* Halik. 238₂₆; *βεβαιοῦν* 240_{4, 5}; also ο + *Feν* = *ου* as in *δοῦν(ι)αι* Priene 144₈; *διδούν* Oropos 18_{21, 33}; Thasos 7₂₁₁. *ῥιγῶν* Hdt. V 92 (η) = Attic *ῥιγῶν* (*ῥιγῶ* + *ει*); *ῥιγῶν* occurs after Plato. We should expect *ῥιγῶν* in Hdt.

2. *οσε*.

Becomes *ου* regularly; e.g. *μείους* Xenoph. 34; *ἀμείους* V 78, *πλέους* II 8 (*πλείους* R. A.) 120 (*πλείους* in all MSS.) are the only contracted forms in Hdt. of the nom. pl. of these comparatives. Compounds of *ἔχω* (-οχο-) are always contracted, e.g. *πατροῦχος* Hdt. VI 57.

3. *οιε*.

In verbs in -οω, *οιε* invariably becomes *ου*. See under *Conjugation*.

4. *Κλεομπόρου* Lampsakos 171 is from *κλεο* + *ἔμπορος*.

5. *Crasis*: in lyric poetry: *προῦθηκε* Arch. trim. 38; *τοῦπέθημα* Hippon. trim. 56; *προῦπιεν* Hippon. trim. 39₃; *προῦδῶκα* Theog. 529; *προ-* is not contracted in the Ionic of Hdt. Lukian, *Syr.* 24, Hippokr. ep. 17₃₄, Herodas 3₁₂ have *προῦ-*; but Arrian, *Ind.* 22₂, 34₄, Euseb. Mynd. 21, 41, Hippokr. ep. 27₁₉, *προε-*. *Crasis* occurs also in *οὔτερος* Hdt. I 34, 134, III 78 (*Ῥ ὄ ετ-*); *τοὔτερον* Hdt. I 32, 186. *τοὔτερον* Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₃, and also in Hippon. 18₂, where in Vit. 2 it is glossed by *ἰωνικῶς* (a striking example of the *crasis* of *ἕτερος* in Attic is *οὔτερά* in Aristotle's *Ἀθην. πολιτ.*); *τοὔργον* Herodas 4₃₂, 7₁₂₁; *τοῦναντίον* Euseb. Mynd. 2; but *τὸ ἐλάχιστον* Hdt. II 13, *τὸ ἔσχατον* VII 22₇, *τὸ εὐαιφός* VIII 13₇, though *crasis* is probable. *ου* + *ε* in *τοῦρμωκράτους* Prokon. 10₃₂; *οὔνεκ'* Sol. trim. 37₅, Theog. 85₄, 134₉, *οὔνεκεν* Herodas 1₈₄, 2₂₁, 6₁₅; *τοὔνεκα* Theog. 488, Luk. *Syr.* 33, 39, 54, *τοὔνεκεν* Xenoph. 2₁₉. This *ου* is not a diphthong.

6. *Alphaeresis* occurs in *ποταμοῦ ἑπ' ἀνέρχομαι* Anakr. 23, *κοῦ στυν* Herodas 5₉. *Synizesis* in *προεκπονῆ* Sim. Amorg. 22.

296.] O + H.

1. *οφη*.

οφη is always uncontracted in compounds the stem of whose first member ends in -ο, e.g. *κακοηθῆ* Demokr. *Mor.* 22, according to Stobaios, *χειροήθης* Hdt. II 69. *ροήρες* Hrd. 7₃.

οφη also remains open in *ἀρόην* Arch. 35, &c. *ζόη* Hdt., Hrd. 4₃₄, 6₃, *Διολιέ ζοία* < *ζω-*.

οφη = *ω* in *ὀγδώκονταέτη* Sol. 20₄. The vocalic sequence in *ὀγδοήκοντα* not lending itself to the verse, the poets use *ὀγδώκοντα*, e.g. B 568, Sim. Keos 146₂, 147₆; cf. *ὀγδοήκοντα* Kaibel *Epiqr.*

120₃. Hdt. has *ὀγδώκοντα* and so Arrian 10₆ (-σηκοντα Dübner). On this form in Ionic, see Eust. on B 568. The contraction ensued through the influence of *ὀκτώ*: cf. *τετρώκοντα*, *πρωῖ* (*πρωίη*) in the Herakl. Tables. See § 207.

In the verbs *βοάω*, *νοέω*: Hippon. trim. 1₁ has *ἔβωσε* (cf. Hesych., Suid.) for *ἐβόησε* of the MSS.: Anakr. 60 *ἐπιβώστον*, Hdt. *βῶσαι*, *ἔβώσθη*, Hrd. *βῶσαι* for *βώση* 323, *βῶσον* 441, 45. In Homer we find *ἐπιβώσομαι*, *βώσαντι*: in Theokr. XII 35 *ἐπιβῶται*: Hesychios records *βωθέορτες*, *βώσομαι*. From *νοέω* (Greg. Kor. § 94, Eust. on B 568, Et. M. 601₂₀): Hdt. *ἐννώσας*, -αντα, *νωσάμενος* Theog. 1298 [*νώσωνται* was a former conjecture in Sim. Am. 1₁₇], *νενωμένος* Anakr. 10. Demokr. *νώσαιτο* is attested by Philodemus *De Ira*. According to the monuments the contraction is sporadic, Anakr. 100₂ (eleg.) having *ἐβόησε*, Hdt. *βοητός*, Teos *βοηγῶν*, *Mitth.* XVI 292, Sol. 13₆₇ *προνοήσας*, 16₁ *ροῆσαι*, as pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης* and often in Hdt., who has also *νόημα*, *νοήμων*: Lukian, *Aslr.* 17 has *ἐπενοήσαντο*.

There is no ground for the contention that there are themes in *νω* and *βω* comparable to Homeric and Herodoteian *ζώ-ω*, and that these, not the contracted *νοη* and *βοη*, are the base of the forms adduced above. See Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 221.

βοητέω (or *βοητοέω*) = Aiolic *βᾶθήμι* seems to be genuine Ionic despite the Hesychian *βωθεῖν* (*βωθέοντες*) which Kirckhoff holds to be the proper form. See Veitch s. v. Hdt. has *βοηθείεις* (-εῖς?) *βοήθειε* (-εῖ?) *ἐβοήθησε*: Erythrai 20₄₁₅ (middle of fourth century B.C.) has *βοηθήσω*. *βοηθεῖ* occurs in pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης*.

Kratinos and Aristophanes have preserved instances of the contraction of *βοάω* in the common, every-day speech of Athens. *βο[ι]ηθήσαντες* in C. I. A. II 121₂₃ (338 B.C.) contains the glide *ι* (§ 220). In later Greek (Ptochoprodromus II 104) *βῶθα* is read.

2. ογη.

Contracted in *ἀλλογνώσας* Hdt. I 85, perhaps through influence of *ἀγνώμων*, *ἀγνωμοσύνη*. *μισθῶτον* is from *μισθόητον*: but *μισθοῖς*, *μισθοῖ* are indie. forms used as subj. Hdt. uses neither *διπλόη* nor *διπλόη*, but Hippokrates has *διπλόη* as a substantive (cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* I 25₁₂).

297.] Ω + E and Ω + H.

1. ωφε.

ἦρωες in Samos 225, and in prose literary monuments, represents a class of forms that is never contracted.

ῶεον Sim. Amorg. 11. Cf. *ῶιον* in Sappho 112; *ῶόν* in Hdt. II 68 (Stein, though many MSS. omit the *iota*); Hesychios quotes *ῶβεα* as Argolic.

Aphaeresis occurs in *ῶ ταῖρε* Arch. tetr. 85, *ῶ ραννέ* Anakr. 93 (cf. Sappho 77, 88), *τῶ τέρφ* Hrd. 373.

2. $\omega + \eta$ in $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ Hrd. 5₆₂ as in Kallimachos. Homer has $\pi\rho\acute{\phi}\eta\eta$, Hdt. $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\eta$.

298.] O + I.

1. *of* ι .

Becomes $\omicron\iota$ and $\omicron\iota$ in Ionic poetry: $\delta\iota\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ Arch. 52, $\delta\iota\zeta\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ Theog. 65; and so we generally read in Ionic prosaists. $\omicron\iota$ in $\delta\iota\zeta\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 7₅₀, $\delta\iota\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ Hrd. 7₃₃; $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\omicron\iota\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\eta$ in Archil. 129 shows that about 700 B. C. $\omicron\iota$ could become $\bar{\omicron}$. $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ Anacr. 9₂ (cf. M. Schmidt, *Rh. Mus.* XX 304).

$\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, not $\delta\iota\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in Theog. 545, Solon 13₅₆ and Hdt. That $\delta\iota\acute{\omega}$ in Homer has no trace of any meaning but 'think' is an objection to Hunter's etymology (*K. Z.* XXVII 607), which refers $\delta\iota\acute{\omega} < \delta\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\omega$ to $\delta\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ *bird*, a word that lies at the base of $\delta\iota\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

$\omicron\iota\varsigma$: monosyllabic nouns that contain a diphthong, separated originally by \tilde{f} , are in Homer generally dissyllabic in the nominative and accusative cases, but refuse to admit the diaeresis in the oblique cases. This holds good in Ionic poetry as late as the sixth century, at least in the case of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$. $\delta\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\epsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\nu$ $\delta\iota\varsigma$, are the rule in Homer; but in the other cases both $\omicron\iota$ and $\bar{\omicron}$ occur. For the later Ionic it is difficult to say which form should have the preference, on account of the paucity of poetical forms. $\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ is a conjecture of Schweighäuser adopted by Bergk in Anan. 5₆, where Casaubon read $\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$; otherwise we have no evidence. $\delta\iota\acute{\omega}$ is called by Aristoph., *Peace* 930, an $\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\rho\acute{\eta}\eta\mu\alpha$. Stein (*Preface*, liii) maintains that $\delta\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ are the correct Herodoteian forms, and Bredow (p. 173) writes $\omicron\iota$ in all cases, even in $\delta\iota\sigma\pi\eta$, $\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\iota$. If $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ is the Ionic form of the fifth century, it is difficult to see why Bechtel's $\delta\iota\nu$ Thasos 68 A is not correct.

$\delta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ¹ is written in Hdt. by Bredow and Stein, but incorrectly as I think; $\Lambda\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\eta\varsigma$ Theog. 1120, where $-\sigma\acute{\omicron}\delta\eta\varsigma$ is metrically possible; $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ Archil. 60, 104.

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ Hdt. (cf. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ Arch. 92, 130); $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\alpha$ Mykonos 92_{15, 21, 22}, &c. (Makedonian period). Ionic is $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\alpha$, according to Et. Mag. 495₂₃, An. Par. IV 55₁₂; the form $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\zeta$ is read in the spurious Hipponaktian fragment 72². Cf. also Orion 82₂₁ who accents the form $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\alpha$.

2. *osi*.

$\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\eta\eta$ in an epigr. in Bechtel's collection, adesp. 264₂; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Archil. 63₁.

299.] $\Omega + I$.

Except in suffix syllables ($-\omega\iota\omicron\varsigma$), ω before ι is preserved as an

¹ Tzetz. *Ex. Il.* 101₃.

² On the relation of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ to $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$, see Ascoli *Krit. Stud.* p. 332₁₁ (Germ. ed.), Fick, *B. B.* VIII 330.

archaism in the earlier phases of Ionic poetry by the echo of the lost *f*, as in *λωίων* Sim. Amorg. 7₃₀ (the personal use, which is not epic); *λώιον* Theog. 424, 690, as in Homer; *λώιος* 800, *λώια* 853, but *λῶα* 96 (see Bergk on v. 800); *θωίῃ* Arch. 109 = *θωή*, Attic *θωά* (cf. Lokrian *θωί* ἔστω, or *θωιήστω*, in ΘΟΙΕΣΤΟ, C. D. I. 1479₀; *ἀθώιον* Thasos 71₆); *ζώιον* Sim. Amorg. 132, the only instance of the open form (cf. *ῶεον* in Sim.), elsewhere *ζῶον*, as in Hdt. Some MSS. have *ζῶιον* or *ζῶον*: cf. Lukian, *Askr.* 6, 10, where *ζῶα* is read, and see *M. U.* I 8. *φώιδας* is, according to Renner p. 186, to be read in Hipponax 59; Bergk's *φῶιδας* is however the correct form. The fact that all Attic inscriptions before 100 B. C. have *σῶζω* renders more surprising the fact that in the MSS. of Hdt. the *iota* does not appear. In Homer we have *σῶζων* (ε 490). There can be no doubt that in Hdt. *σῶζω* is to be read.

Adjectives in *-ώιος*: *πατρώιος* (Greg. Korinth. p. 441, quoting Homer) Theog. 521, and in three epigrams on inscriptions (Delos 53₃, 264 unc. loc., Latyschev II 37); *πατρώας* Theog. 888, 1210, and so often in MSS. of Hdt. though *ωί* is ordinarily held to be genuine Ionic of the fifth century. In Naukratis II 743 the open form *Zωυλος* or *Zωίλος* is certain. The absence of the additional *iota* in the case of *Τρωίλος* 816 and *Zωίλος* 825 does not show that the combination *ωι* of these forms was differently pronounced from that in 743. Thus we read *πατρώιος*, *μητρῶιος*, *ἡρώιος* in Hdt. (Bred. 175); *ἡρώιον* Eryth. 201₆ (cf. *ἡρωί*): *πρωίην* Hdt. VIII 6 (Attic *πρώην*, but Herodas *πρῶν* 56₂), as *πρωί* Hdt. IX 101, Hipp. II 682. From the MSS. of Hdt. it is impossible to determine beyond doubt whether *-ώιος* or *-φος* was the actual form. Most editors write the forms as given above, while for *φ* a preference of the MSS. may be made out in the case of *ἠῶος* Hdt. VII 157 (= *ἠοίος* IV 100, 160), a poetical word used by the historian, *Ἀχελῶος*¹, *Τρωάς*, *Κῶος* (on *Κέος*, see above, § 286), *ῥῶν*. In Homer we find *Τρωίος* (but *Τρωή*), *Ἀχελῶίος* (cf. C. D. I. 1199). Is *πρώιρα* Et. M. 692₃₃ (Hdn. *πρώειρα*) Ionic?

300.] I + E.

ιεε does not contract in *ιερ-* in Hdt.'s *ἀρχιερεύς*, *καλλιιερέω*, *ἱερόνυμος*. As regards *ιέρως* the MSS. of Hdt. have *ιε* in the majority of instances, but *ι* in some cases without any variant. Hekataios 284 has *ιρή* but immediately before *ιέρων* (both in the MSS.), Herakl. *ἀνιερωστί* 125, Hellan. *ιέρων* 150. The closed form derives a weak support from Greg. Korinth. (§ 66)², who states that *ιε = ι* in Ionic, but in § 67 quotes *ιερέας* from Hdt.

¹ Perinthos 234 B 23 and a Samian coin in Brit. Mus. *Num. Chron.* 1882, 255 (Head *H. N.* 517), have *Ἀχελῶιος*.

² *ιρεύς*, *ἱρηξ*; *ιρός* Joh. Gr. 241 B, Gram. Meerm. 654; *ιρεύς* Eust. 515₃₇, cf. 162₃₆; *ἱρηξ* Eust. 920₁₁, 1248₁₈, 1734₁₇; Phavor. on *ιστία*.

The text of Herodotos, in reproducing the occurrence of both Homeric forms, cannot *per se* be held to guide us to the genuine Ionic form in use in the fifth century. Arrian has *ἱερήϊα* 18₁₂. Hippocratic MSS. generally prefer *ἱερός*, and Littré regards this as the correct form; *ἰρός* (*εἰρός*) however occurs (cf. *R. M.* XLII, 439, note 1) in *περὶ φυσῶν* 14 (VI 110) in *Δ*, and often in *περὶ ἱερῆς γόσσου* in *Θ*. The testimony of the poets is without great weight: Sim. Amorg. 7₃₆ *ἰρά* with *r. l.* *ἱερά*, though *υ υ* for *-* is not here permitted according to Fick; 24₂ *ἰρωστί* is nothing but a conjecture; Anan. 1₃ *ἱερῶν* (a very obstinate passage), *ἱερ- Archil.* 18. Solon 4₁₂, Theog. 545. Apoll. *Adv.* p. 162₃ (Schn.) says that *ἱερωστί* was the form used by Anakr. (149). Here *Δ* has *ἱερωστί*, *β* the form with *ἰρ-*, cf. Trypho frag. 69. Immediately below in Apoll. *ἰρωστί* is to be read with *Δβ*, not *ἱερωστί* with Uhlig. In 124 *ἱερόν* occurs, but the frag. does not belong to the Teian poet; in 16₃ the MSS. have *ἱερόν*, for which *ἰρόν* is now read. Herodas has *ἰρ-* 4_{79, 83, 87, 94}. In the inscriptions we find but few cases of *ἰρ-*, but these occur in the three geographical divisions of Ionic: *Ἰρομνήμων* Abdera 163₇, before 400 B.C.¹; *Ἰρή*, or *Ἰρή* 267 adesp., cf. *Il.* IX 150 and *An. Ox.* IV 412₁₀; Amphip. 10₁₃, *ἰρόν* (367 B.C.), a sure proof that *ἰρο* is Ionic; HIPON, for HIPON = *ἰρόν*, Thasos 70. *ἰρόν* 71₀, (*ἰ*)*ρεῖ* 71₁₁ (but *ἱερέα* l. 7). *ἱερ-* or *ἱερ-* is far more frequently attested:—

500-400 B.C.: Eretr. 15_{14, 19}, Oropos 18 (18 times), Miletos 100_{4, 6, 7}, Amorgos 230, Halik. 238_{3, 36}.

400-300 B.C.: Keos 48; Thasos 71₇ (also *ἰρο-*); Miletos 102, 2; Iasos 104_{14, 16}; Zeleia 113_{37, 38}; Pantik. 119, 122, 123; Theodosia 127; Ephesos 147₁₄; Eryth. 201_{5, 24}, 204_{23, 32, 33}; Samos 221₃₇; Mylasa 248 B 8, C 4, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 20, and Paspates 9.

300-200 B.C.: Thasos 72_{10, 11, 14}; Olbia 128; Eryth. 206 very many forms. In still later times: Teos 158_{15, 16, 22}, Ephesos 150 (Hadrian), the form *ἱερή*.

From this evidence we cannot but conclude that both forms existed contemporaneously in Ionic, and that it is vain to attempt to draw a sharp line between them. As long as the only form that we have from Chalkidian has *ῖ*, and as long as the genuineness of the Thasian and the Abderite *ῖ* is unassailed, it is beyond the lines of sound argument to hold with Fritsch that *ἰρός* in Herodotos is borrowed from the epic, and that *ἰρός* in Homer is Aiolic. If evidence of inscriptions and MSS. is to be taken for anything, Hdt. used both forms as he used *κεῖνος* and *ἐκέλευος*.

The pseudo-Ionists fluctuate to such a degree that their testimony can scarcely be brought into court. There appears to

¹ This disproves Erman's statement, *Stud.* V p. 297.

be a slight predominance of the open form, which is the only form accepted by the *Vita Homeri*.

Whether ἴρηξ is contracted from ἰέραξ, or whether it is the older form, is still uncertain.

The explanation of ἴρος from *ἰσρός is shattered by the Aiolic ἴρος: ἰσρός would have become, and remained, in that dialect, ἴρρος. The Homeric ἰερός appears to be due to the ictus. Of the tragedians Euripides is the first to permit himself perfect freedom in the choice between ἰερός and ἴρος. Dindorf's procedure in adopting ἴρος in the tragic poets cannot be defended. It is found in the MSS. of Soph. but once (O. K. 16). Hoffmann, *D. M. G.* p. 22, suggests that ἴρος is the descendant of *ἰσῖρός, whose medial *i* is the *schwa* or minimum vowel=Skt. *a* in *isharás*. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538, proposes to account for ἰερός (parallel to *ἰσῖρός) by the assumption of an ablaut-form *iséros*. This would be the more probable if the word had dactylic measure (cf. ποικίλος for ποικιλός). But see Allinson, *A. J. P.* XII 49 ff.

301.] I + H.

πολίτης with primitive ἰτης is of course not contracted from πολίήτης, e.g. Anacr. I₈, Demokr. 215, as was formerly held; a view as incorrect as that of the pleonasm of the η (Bekker, *Anecd.* II 524₃). μυθῖται, read by Bergk in Anacr. 16₁, is not from μυθιήται (Apoll. Lex. Hom. 114₃). The latter form is to be adopted, the metre being *ionici a minore*. On ἰτης see *K. Z.* XXXI 343. ιϝη in μελιθήης, &c.

302.] Y + I.

vī in the dative of *v* stems must have become *vi* by the fifth century (ἰλυῖ Theog. 961, as Homeric διζυῖ), though written with the diaeresis by editors of Hdt. vī could not be fused in πολυῖδρείησιν Theog. 703, &c.

III. Combination of Vowels and Diphthongs, and Diphthongs and Diphthongs (crasis).

303.] The combinations of vowels and diphthongs will be treated in the following order:

a + ai,	a + ei,	a + oi,	a + av,	a + ev,	a + ov.
ε + ai,	ε + ei,	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.
ο + ai,	ο + ei,				
η + ai,	η + ei,				
ω + ai,	ω + ei,				

Combinations of *ai + ai*, *ai + av*, &c., are placed under the head of *a + ai*, &c.

304.] A + AI.

$\alpha\iota + \alpha\iota = \alpha\iota$ in $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ Arch. ep. 86₂ (*v. l.* $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$).

305.] A + EI.

I. $\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon\iota$. A. a + genuine $\epsilon\iota$.

$\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ Hdt. III 33, VI 98, &c., Hippokr. II 316, Sol. trim. 36₁₁, eleg. 5₄, Theog. 811; $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Sol. 4₂₅. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ in the epigram in honour of Kimon (Plutarch, *Kim.* 7) is Ionic, not Attic. Hence the epigram itself was composed by an Ionian (Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 57). $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ XXII 336 does not show that $\acute{\alpha} + \epsilon\iota$ can become $\acute{\alpha} + \acute{\iota}$; but that $\acute{\alpha} + \acute{\iota}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) may remain open or be contracted, as in $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\iota\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ Sim. Amorg. 1₂₄, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha$ Herodas 5₁₂ (cf. also 2₄₁ and 2₄₆). Neither $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ nor $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\iota\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ can be derived from $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa$ -. Hence Fritsch's contention (*J. H. D.* 20) that the contraction of $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$ to $\acute{\alpha}\iota$ had ensued in Herodotos' day is at least inexact. The existence of the shorter form and the character of the composition of the word may have prevented $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa$ - from being contracted to $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa$ -. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ is not a parallel instance. $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Theog. 1344 may be a parallel form to $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 439). Lukian has both $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

$\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ Hdt., Arch. tetr. 57, Anakr. 6₅₃, Sol. eleg. 20₃, Theog. 533, 939, a line that may belong to Mimnermos (Schneidewin $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ -, MSS. $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ -), 1065, &c., Herodas 1₇₁ (?). a + genuine $\epsilon\iota$, when contracted, can yield only $\acute{\alpha}$, never $\acute{\alpha}$: Archil. 123 $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\upsilon$ (Schneid. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\upsilon$, cf. Theog. 533), Anakr. 4₅₂ $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ (though here we might read $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\gamma'$ $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$: $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ is a conj. of Valckenaer). Theog. 243 has $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, as Hymn V 2; Herakl. 59 has $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon$. The contraction of a + genuine $\epsilon\iota$ ($\acute{\alpha}$)¹ is as old in Ionic as that of a + spurious $\epsilon\iota$ ($\acute{\alpha}$). $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ in Hdt. is perhaps due to the $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ which affected archaic forms. In compounds the MSS. unite in having $-\acute{\omega}\delta\omicron\varsigma$, but as regards $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ they disagree. $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ has a technical colouring and preserves the archaic form. Lukian has the open $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ in every case, while Arrian has $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (101).

B. a + spurious $\epsilon\iota$ either remains open or is contracted in Ionic to long α . Ignorance of this fact has led to great confusion in the minds of dialectologists and editors of Herodotos as to the propriety of admitting $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ into the text of the lyric poets and of Herodotos. Homer has both $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ and $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$, and both forms must be accepted as genuine Ionic. That the MSS. of Hdt. prefer $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ to $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$, and that $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ and $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ are always read in the text of the historian, have led Dindorf and Stein to adopt $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$, though its $\epsilon\iota$ has nothing in common with

¹ Cf. α in Attic from $\alpha\acute{\iota}\phi\iota$, § 169.

that of *ἀείδω* or *ἀεικής*. Archil. 94₂ has *παρήειρε*; Luk. *d. d. S.* § 36, 52, *Astr.* 11, Abydenos 5, Euseb. Mynd. 9, 33, have *αι*, and so Aretaios, 216, 224, 265 (elsewhere the other form). The contracted forms are *ἄρειει* Sim. Amorq. 7₁₀; *ἐπείρει* Ephesos 145 A 2; *ἐπάρas* 145 A 9 (fifth century)¹. *αἶρω* is found in Hippokrates, II 660, V 618; *ἐπήρται* V 648, *ἐπήρθη* II 688, 706, *ξυνήρει* II 628; in Polybos' *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρ.* 7 (VI 48) *Α* has *αἶρεται*, the other MSS. *ἀειρ-*. Arrian's *Iud.* has the contracted forms. See § 165.

ἀείρω and *αἶρω* are to be separated, so far as their genesis is concerned, the former representing *ἀ-fer-ω*, the latter *f-er-ω* (Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 197, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 355). In Attic *αἶρω* got the upper hand. Though the desire to rescue open forms in the Ionic of Herodotos, and to exclude contracted forms from his text, has led to the exclusion of *αἶρω*, the genuine interrelation of the forms offers no obstacle to its acceptance. Whether *ἀείρω* has been inserted by copyists on the strength of the chief Homeric form, is another question. It is, however, probable that both forms have a claim to existence in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century.

a + ei is uncontracted in *δαείς* Solon, 13₅₀, and *Κάειρα* Δ 142 and Hdt., the masculine form of which is derived from *Καῖήρ* *Καῖερός*, &c. (Lugebil. *B. B.* X 303). *a + spurious ei* becomes *ā* in Hom. *φαιερός*, Attic *φᾶρός* (Lukian *φαιένομαι Syn.* 32), and perhaps in infinitives in *-āv*; see *K. Z.* XXVII 197.

2. *αιει* (*ei* genuine) becomes *ā* in *δῆρᾶς*, *τιμᾶ* (Doric *τιμῆ*) and in the 'Attic' futures *διασκεδᾶς*, *ἀποδοκιμᾶ*. Herodoteian Ionic has no form in *-ειει < -αιει* in the *verba contracta*, these forms being reserved for pseudo-Ionism.

By *crasis*: *κεῖ* Hdt. 4₈₃.

306.] A + OI.

1. *afoi* remains open in *ἀοιδός* Hdt., Xenoph. 5₄ (*ἀοιδοπόλων*), Solon 29; *ἀοιδή* Hdt., Theog. 251, 792, since these words are heirlooms; *λοίκτης* Hdt.

Contraction ensues in *φῶδή* Sol. eleg. 1₂₃, Hippokr. II 686, as Hymn IV 495; *ῥαψωδός* Bechtel 260, found at Dodona, but ultimate provenance unknown.

2. *αιοι* is contracted to *ω* in all optatives (*νικῶεν*, *νικῶτο*).

3. Crasis of *a + oi* is omitted, *e.g.* in *τὰ οἰκ[ί]α* Halik. 238₂₅ = *τῶκία* Hippon. 20₂.

AI + OI in *κO[ί]ροπιδής* Chios, 174 C 21-22 according to Blass, where others read *κ' O[ί]ροπίδης*; *καὶ οἰκίων* Halik. 238₂₁.

¹ Hdt. MSS. have *ἀρθεῖς* more frequently than *ἀερθεῖς*. The latter form occurs in Anakr. 19 and Luk. *Astr.* 15.

307.] A + AΥ.

Crisis occurs in ταῦτά Eryth. 204₁₃, Hdt. III 72, &c.; but there are many cases of τὰ αὐτά in Hdt., e.g. IV 114. So Miletos 100₄; Zeleia 113₂₇.

AI + AΥ. αὶ αὐταὶ Hdt. V 69; καθ' ἕνα Theog. 536; καὐτά-γρετοι Sim. Amorg. 1₁₉; καὐτός Teos 158₁₅, in the ancient papyrus *Philol.* XLI 748 l. 6, and Herodas 2₈₃; but there are several cases of καὶ αὐτός in Teos 156 A and B and Amphipolis 10.

308.] A + OΥ.

τιμῶσι Ionic-Attic (ou spurious). In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. show in the third plural traces of the appearance of the -εω forms from the -αω type of verb; § 688.

AI + OΥ: κοὺ Anakr. 88₁, Herodas 6₇₀, κοὺκ Anakr. 89, Theog. 1342. Sol. 13₆₀, Hippon. tetr. 83, papyrus *Philol.* XLI 648 l. 15, Herodas 2₃₉ 4₁₆ 5₁₀ 7₇, κοὺχί 2₄₉, κοὺδέ 1₂₄; on κοῦνομάκλυτον Sim. Amorg. 7₈₇, see § 252.

309.] E + AI.

1. εἶαι in Κλεαίветος Naukratis 139 C; [συγ]χέαι Halik. 238₃₃.

2. εαι remains open in several instances in the poets (see §§ 606, 608). The closed forms are, however, so frequent as to convince us that an uncontracted ε(σ)αι in Hdt. in the present and future middle is probably an archaism, certainly after a vowel (χαριῆ). The only case where εαι may be defended as probable is when it is derived from -εεαι, e.g. in φοβέαι VII 52 (P φοβέεαι). -εεαι in Hdt. cannot be defended. δινέαι is found in Anakr. 12 B and derived from δινέεαι. I have not observed an instance of 2 pers. sing. pres. mid. (Attic βούλει after 378 l. c.). In the future the editors now read κομιεῖ. χαριεῖ. Dindorf's χαριέεαι displays the tendency of the scholar who has largely brought about the current conceptions of the nature of Ionic.

3. εαι in adj., even in those denoting a material, = αι in λιναῖ Samos 220₁. In these adjectives -εωι remains open. In nouns Hdt. has μνέαι; γέαι Zeleia 113₄₀, γαλαῖ Hrd. 7₉₀. See on *De-
clension*.

310.] E + EI.

1. εἶει remains open in ῥέει Mimn. 5₁, πλέει, πλέειω, ῥέει Hdt.; is contracted in δεῖ Hdt., Hippon. 6, Anakr. 98, Teos, 158₈. (See on the Verb.) Hdt. has εἶκοσι and not the epic εἶκοσι, as Xenoph. 7₃. ε + spurious ει becomes ει in ΚΛΕ-ροφάνης Keos, 44 A 11; ΚΛΕΥ[ο]γένης Keos, 45; Κλείνανδρος Thas. (L.), 16 A 5; κλεινός in Solon, 19₃.

2. *εει* is found in the open forms in Herodotos and the other writers in Ionic prose, *e.g.* in *εω* verbs (Greg. Kor. § 14) and even in the pseudo-Ionic *ὄρρει*, *φοιτέεις*. In the MSS. of Hdt. *-εει* is generally contracted after a consonant, but after *οι* it usually is open. In direct opposition to this writing is the language of the inscriptions (see *-εω* verbs). The only examples in the poetry¹ of native Ionians where the contraction is not graphically expressed are *κερτομέειν* Arch. 64, *φιλέειν* Arch. 80, *δοκείει* I₉ Sim. Amorg., where the metre in each case calls for *εῖ* or *εῖι*. In the future of liquid verbs Herodoteian MSS. have *-έει*, *-έεις*, though contraction is well established in pre-Herodoteian times. After *ι*, *-εειω* is always contracted in Hdt. in the future infinitive. Stein's adoption of *I*'s *θεσπιέειω* VIII 135 is out of the question. An aorist *-εειω* (*ιδέειω*, &c.) does not exist in Ionic prose (§ 604). *ἀδείη* Hdt. VIII 120, &c. < **ἀδεεῖη*.

311.] E + OI.

1. *εφοι*. Hdt. *πλέοι*, *ἐμπλοει*; Anakr. 84 *ἐοικότες* (Hdt. *οῖκα*, &c., without reduplication).

2. *εσοι* in *θεοί* (§ 287, 2) Hipponax 93, Theog. 142, but elsewhere *θεοί* Archil. eleg. 95, Solon 139, 55; *θεοῖς* Archil. tetr. 56₁, *θεοῖσι* 55, Tyrnt. 51, Solon 11₂, 35.

3. *εζοι* in *-εω* verbs is contracted in lyric poetry and in inscriptions, except in *ἀνωθεοῖη* Teos 156 A 11 (47¹/₂ B.C.) with obsolete orthography. In the seventh century the form in *-εοιη* must have been usual. Hdt. has both forms (*καλέοι*, *φρονέοιεν*; *ποιῶι*, *ἐπιχειροῖεν*, *φοβοῖτο*), the latter representing the ordinary Ionic of the fifth century. Other Ionic writers in prose usually have the open forms. See under § 651.

In adjectives of material *εοι* is thus written, even in the imperial period: *ἀργύρεοι* Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1; *χρυσέοις* Latyshev, I 22 (Olbia) = C. I. G. 2059. See § 287, 3. Adjectives in *-αλεος* rarely contract; *αἰχάλεοι* Xenoph. 35, but *γηράλεοι* Anakr. 43₂.

312.] E + OΥ (spurious).

1. *εφου*.

πλέους Hdt. I 194, *κενεοῦ* Melissos 14; *πλέου*, read by Mullach in Melissos 14, has no MS. support. (*Κλεουμπόρου* Lampsakos 171, has its first *ου* from *ο + ε*.)

2. *εσου*.

εούσης Mylasa 248 C 5, &c., *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Samos 216 (see § 74). *θεοῦ* Sim. Amorg. 7104.

¹ Elegiac poetry, though under the influence of the epos, has in almost every case the contracted form. In Theog. 221 *δοκείει* is certain.

3. εἰου.

εἰου < εἰουτ- is generally contracted in verbs in -εἰω in the poets. The MSS. of Hdt. vary: εἰου is often retained, but sometimes εἰ appears after a consonant. -εἰου in the other prosaists is more frequent than εἰ. The writing εἰ for εἰου shows that ε + ου was treated like εἰ = εο, and that no regard was paid to the difference in quantity.

313.] O + AI.

οἶαι in κροαίρω, Homeric and Archilocheian (fr. 176). Arch. uses the word in the sense of ἐπιθνυμέω according to the scholiast on Z 507. Cf. An. Par. III 2847.

314.] O + EI.

1. οἶει is uncontracted in *μηροειδής*, *ἀνθρωποειδής* Hdt.; *τροχοειδής* Hdt., Theog. 7; *ἰχθυοειδής* Hdt. VII 61 is a different formation from *ἰχθυώδης* VII 109 (with -ώδης borrowed from *εὐώδης*); *ἀποειπών* Theog. 89. ο + spurious εἰ in -οεις in *Σολόεις*, &c.; also in *ἀλοργοῦς* Samos 220₂₃, § 295. ζόειν, Porson's reading in Sim. Am. 117, is probably from ζώειν, the vulgate reading, found also in Herakleitos 86. 92. See §§ 200, 657, note 1.

2. οἶει becomes οἰ in verbal forms: *διδοῖ* Sim. Amorg. 751, Mimn. 216; on *μισθοῖς*, *μισθοῖ* indicative and subjunctive, see § 296, 2. We have ο + spurious εἰ perhaps in *μισθοῦν*; see § 295, 1 at end.

315.] O + OI.

οἶοι = οἰ in *μισθοῖμεν*. οἶοι in *ἀθροῖ* Hdt. III 109, *σόοι*, &c. By crasis we have *τοῖκ[ό]πεδον* Chios 174 D 18, which is the crasis to be expected in Attic. In *τῶκίδιον*, the usual reading in *Clouds* 92, the vowels would seem to be fused quite irregularly, and this has been regarded as a unique exception, where the form has called forth any comment at all. But here *Rav.* has *τῶκίδιον*, while over the ω an οἰ is written; in *V* we have *τὸκίδιον*.

316.] O + AV

in *ὠντός* (or *ὠντός*)¹, *τῶντό*, when fused (Attic *ταῦτόν* Herakl. 57), *ἐμειωντοῦ* < *ἐμέο αὐτοῦ*, *σεωντοῦ*, *έωντοῦ* in Hdt., Hippokr., and their imitators.

In Hdt. VIII 43 we find *τὸ αὐτό*. οἰ + av in *ὠντοῖ* II 168; but οἰ *αὐτοῖ* I 182, VII 168; sometimes even *έωντοῖ*² appears.

¹ Cf. *ὠντός* E 396, according to La Roche. Good MSS. have *ὠντός*; (cf. Joh. Gr. 242 *ὠντός*). Herodoteian MSS. generally place the *ωνοῖς* on the ω. Bywater writes *ωντός* Herakl. 127 (whereas Clemens has *ωντός*), and *ωντή* Herakl. 69 is thus read in Hippolytos. Greg. Korinth. p. 419 had the absurd notion that *ωντός* (sic) stood for *αὐτός*. Analogy went so far as to coin *ἡ ὠντή* 'sic', *ἡ ὠντή*, *τὰ ὠντά*, *τὰ έωντά*, *ἡ έωντή* in the text of Aretaios.

² *έμαντός* in Pherekrates is a poor support for this form of the pronoun.

ou + *av* in τῶντοῦ Hdt. (Greg. Korinth. § 46), upon a single occasion (III 72). Elsewhere τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *e.g.* V 52, IX 101. *ou*, it will be remembered, is not diphthongal here.

Similar forms occur in Pindar (τῶντοῦ Ol. XIII 38, τῶντο Ol. I 45) and in Theokritos (ἄντος XI 34, τῶνλιον XI 12). Cf. also *Acham.* 790 τῶντω. In the above passages the *coronis* is placed upon the *v*.

317.] O + OΥ (spurious).

1. *oφou*. Ἰπποθόου Chios 177₂; but Πολύθρου Teos 158₂₇ (late); ζῶοῦ Archil. 63 is due to Porson, who thus corrected the vulgate ζῶοῦ; νόου Theog. 223, Arch. tetr. 56₅; περιμυρόου Hdt. I 174, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28; ἀντιξόου Hdt. VII 150; but εὔρου VI 105 in all MSS., as ἔσπλου VI 33.

2. *οιου* < *οιουτ* = *ou* in μισθοῦσι, &c.

3. *o* + *ou* becomes *ou* by crasis in τούνομα Hdt., often written τὸ οὔνομα. *oi* + *ou* in οὔροφύλακες Chios 174 A 14-15, 19.

318.] H + AI.

ησαι becomes *η* in βούλημ Thasos 68 and so in ἔδη Hdt. IV 9. Synzesis occurs in μὴ αἶ Hrd. 790.

319.] H + EI.

ησει in ἤειραν Hdt. IX 59, ἀπήειραν VI 99 (conj., MSS. -ἤραν); παρήειρε Arch. 94₂. See § 305. ἕλθειν Arch. 74, the conj. of Bergk, is hazardous, though the word is found Choirob. II 717₂; (who quotes also ὀφρῆειν) and though τιμῆειν is attested by Hdn. II 275₂, 632₃₀. The lengthened *-οειν*, by false analogy from *-οεις*, has no better support than Apoll. Rhod.

320.] H + AY, OΥ.

δηῦτε Archil. 60, 104, Hippon. 78, Anakr. 13 B (conj.), 141, 19, 47, 61₁, 63₆, 68, 89, 91₁; ἡ αὐτή Hdt. IV 38, Herakl. 50. So too τῆ αὐτῆ, never with crasis, despite ὠντός, τῶντό. Aretaios' text offers ὠντή 52, and even ἡ ὠντή 158 and often. Synzesis occurs in ἡ οὔρους (MS. ὄρους) Hrd. 253.

321.] Ω(I) + AY, &c.

in τῶντῶ Hdt. I 5, but τῶ αὐτῶ VI 58 (*P* τῶντῶι, *R* τῶῖτῶ). No example as yet has been found upon inscriptions. In ἐγὼ αἰτίη Hrd. 9₁₄, ἐγὼ εἰμι Hrd. 5₁₅ (as *Philokt.* 585), we have examples of synzesis of *ω* + *αι* and *ω* + *ει*.

Apocope.

322.] Apocope in Greek is found only in the case of prepositional prepositions which were originally adverbs of place. Only those Hellenic dialects that developed a literary prose are averse

to the admission of the apocopated forms. Apart from the license of poetry¹. Attic literature can show but a trace of the admission of the forms in question. So too in Ionic, the development of an artistic prose has destroyed whatever chance of life this process may originally have possessed. Even in the poetical monuments the instances are extremely rare. See on *ἀνά* and *κατά*. In Ionic as in Attic inscriptions there is not a single instance. In Herodotos we have *ἀμπωτις* II 11, VII 198, VIII 129 (see § 715), *ἀμβολόγην* IV 181, *ἀμπαύεσθαι* I 182, *ἀμπαύονται* and *ἀμπανστήριοι* I 181, *ἀμβώσας* I 8, *ἀμβώσαντες* III 38.

The attitude of the language towards apocope is one of the most marked characteristics of the dialects. Doric, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c., are here separated by a great gap from Ionic-Attic.

*Sentence Phonetics*².

Elision.

323.] Ionic inscriptions are tenacious to a considerable degree of the *scriptio plena* in the matter of elision or non-elision. The following table, drawn up from the inscriptions in Bechtel's *Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, will give an approximate idea of the frequency with which elision occurs. The prepositions, conjunctions and particles, and also the pronouns, have been the guide posts which directed to the study of the frequency of the occurrence of this phenomenon. It may be noted that in but two cases, outside of poetry, is there any elision of the final vowel of a substantive [Amphip. 10, l. 11 and 22]. In the following list metrical occurrences are starred.

Euboian Ionic.

Island Ionic.

	ELISION	NON-ELISION		ELISION	NON-ELISION
Olynthos	2	1	Naxos	4*	1*
Amphip.	3	0	Arkesine	1*	0
Other Chalkid. .	2	0	Keos	1	2
Eretria	2	1	Paros	3*	1*
Oropos	2	4	Thasos	5	8
Adespota		No. 22	Pharos	0	1

¹ Most frequent in Aischylos. Kirchoff believes that the instances of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence.

² See also on *Movable nu* § 340, and on *Assimilation*, § 411.

Asiatic Ionic.

	ELISION	NON-ELISION		ELISION	NON-ELISION
Miletos	1	4	Abdera	3	0
Iasos	0	2	Chios	7 ¹	0
Zeleia	1	6	Maroneia	0	6
Theodosia	0	1	Erythrai	17 ¹	17
Olbia	0	1	Samos	5 ²	3
Naukratis	0	1	Halikarn.	4	6
Ephesos	0	4	Mylasa	0	3
Teos	3	9	Uncertain loc. . .	No. 261*	

In the text of Herodotos elision is less frequent than in Attic. According to Bredow (p. 202 ff.), elision is more frequent than the retention of the final vowel in the case of ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά and ὑπό. When a relative pronoun follows the preposition, elision is regular. ἀλλά very often suffers elision, and δέ, μηδέ and οὐδέ, εἴτε, ἔστε frequently. It is rare in the case of τόδε, ὅδε, τε, οὔτε, μήτε, εἴτε. ὅστ' occurs only III 104, and ἔπειτ', τότ' never. Very rare are γ', ἄρ', τοῦτ', ταῦτ'. ἄμ' is always a preposition, never an adverb. -το in verbs occurs only before ἄν.

Elision is admitted into the text of Herakleitos, except in ἐπὶ ἐνός 91.

Aphaeresis.

324.] See under η + ε, ο + ε, ω + ε. In an oracle given by Hdt. VII 220, it is better to read ἦ μέγα ἄστν ῥικυδές than to elide the *v*.

THE CONSONANT SYSTEM OF IONIC.

325.] Ionic differs but slightly from Attic in the development of its consonantal system. The differences concern chiefly the guttural series. In the following sections, wherever the Ionic form is equivalent to the Attic, and adopted by literature, reference is made only rarely to its counterpart in the other dialects. Thus Ionic γερή = Boiot. βάρᾱ is noticed under ΒΟΙΟΤΙΑΝ, βάρᾱθρον = Arkad. ζέρεθρον under ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑΝ.

¹ One metrical.² Two metrical.

326.] The ancients held that Ionic permitted the expulsion of an initial consonant or consonants, *c. g.* γ)αῖα Greg. K. 446, An. Bachm. II 365₉, Gram. Paris. 676; ἀστράπτει, Ionic and Attic, Bachm. II 365₁₁, Paris. 676; λ)αιψηρός, Ionic and Aiolic, Herakleides *quid* Eust. 842₄₆; λ)είβειν Greg. Kor. 446, Gram. Aug. 669, Paris. 676, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678₃₂, An. Bachm. II 365₁₀. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 199; πλ)ευράξ, Ionic and Aiolic, Eust. 842₁₆; ε)κεῖνος, Ionic and Attic, An. Bachm. II 365₁₁, Paris. 676 (§ 564); τ)ήγανον (§ 191) Eust. 1862₁₂, where it is called Doric though used by Anakreon 26 = Athen. VI 229 B, where the form is expressly stated to be Ionic, and as such used by the poet; cf. Eust. 244₁₆, 701₁₈¹; φθ)έρρω Eust. 842₅₀. Though none of the examples quoted can be explained upon the principles of sentence phonetics, or as analogues of such forms as στέγος, τέγος, so inveterate is the error concerning the possibility of this decapitation that some of these instances reappear in modern books, such as Blass' edition of Kühner's Grammar.

Liquids.

On aspirated medial ρ, see § 399 (Amorgos), § 400 (Naxos).

327.] Variation between Λ and P.

'Αλαλίη in Hdt. does not manifest the repugnance to the succession of λ's which gave rise to κεφαλαργία, &c. 'Αλερία was the later name of the Corsican city.

κλίβανος in Hdt. II 92 (cf. Eust. 975₅₂) is the equivalent of the Attic κρίβανος (Athen. III 110 C), though κλίβανος may be defended in Aischylos, frag. 321 D. That the form with λ found admission to comedy is evident from κλιβαρίτης ἄρτος 'Αμειψίας Ἐποκοτταβίζουσιω (quoted by Rutherford, *Phrynichus*, p. 268). The Et. Mag. 538₁₉ calls the form with λ Doric, and Athenaios *l. l.* cites κλιβαρίτας from Sophron. But Sophron seems also to have used the ρ form, which is vouched for as having been used by Epicharmos.

'Οροφέρνης Priene, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 3, no. 424, 6₄ represents the original better than 'Ολοφέρνευς C. D. I. 3549, 20, Knidos.

The island of Amorgos ('Αμοργός) was also called Ἄμολγος according to Steph. Byz. *s. v.*, Arkad. 47₁₇ = Hdn. II 475₅. The Et. Gud. 311₁, endeavours unsuccessfully to support an Ionic change of ρ to λ in κέκραγα, κέκληγα. On Ionic κλήρος and Arkadian Κραμώται πολῖται C. D. I. 1231, see under ARKADIAN, § 32.

328.] Variation between Λ and N.

Though the change from λ to ν may be supported by examples from Attic vase inscriptions (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 442) and from other sources, no case has as yet been made out for the

¹ In 842₁₆ πήγανον is given as the undecapitated form.

substitution of λ for ν. The only two cases that are uncertain are λίτρον and Λαβύνητος. λίτρον Hdt. II 86, 87, recalls Hebrew *neter*, Lat. *nitrum* (cf. *K. Z.* XXI 104). νίτρον is Aiolic but also Ionic. Hippokrates apparently has both νίτρον and λίτρον, on which form in Attic see Phrynichos (Ruth. p. 361). Λαβύνητος Hdt. I 74 = Old Persian *Nabunīta*, Assy. *Nabunahid*.

In the case of these words, it is at least possible the *n* has been exchanged with *l* upon Semitic soil.

There is no change of ν to λ in Πριηλήη Samos 212 = Roberts, I 153, in which inscription, though the engraver intended to cut a ν, the λ is certain. Hellanikos (cf. Hdn. I 338₅) gave the name Λάπη to the Aiolic city Νάπη.

πλεύμων, Attic for πνεύμων, the Aiolic and Κοινή form, occurs in the oldest MS. of Hippokrates (θ), VI 374. πλεύμων was also Epidaurian. πλεύμων may be the original form, and that with ν, though Homeric, due to the influence of πρέω. With the confusion between the two forms of this word that had its rise in the dispute about the etymology, we may compare the *v. l.* πλέω for πνέω in Luke xii 55; cf. the gloss on Acts xxvii 15¹.

329.] ψέλιον *armlet* (Aiolic σπάλιον), not ψέλλιον, appears to be the correct form in Hdt. στήλη is written with one λ upon Ionic inscriptions. In Iasos 104₃ we find Μανσώλλωι, though Μανσώλος was deemed correct by Arkadios in Steph. Byz. See Pape-Benseler. -ωλλος is the regular emphatic form of the suffix in Karian names (Παρασσ-, Πουσσ-), though -ωλος (in Ἀκταύσσωλος) and -ωλδος are also Karian.

330.] Consonant gemination appears in the Homeric reminiscence ἔλλαχεν, Hermann's restoration for ἔλαχεν, Mimn. 12₁. For this Aiolic form, the genuine Ionic would have been εἶλαχεν, formed on the same principle as εἰλήλουθα. Perhaps such forms as ἔρρεε, ἔννεον, where *sigma* caused the gemination, facilitated the creation by analogy of such poetical forms as ἔλλαχεν², which hold their ground till long after the birth of Christ. κάλλιπον Archil. 6₂ eleg. is due to epic influence. Apocope of prepositions is very rare in the Ionic poets; cf. Arch. 64, where κατανοῦσι is read, though καταθ- is possible; cf. Tyrt. 11₁₀, Mimn. 12₂, 14₄, and see § 715.

331.] Rhotacism between Vowels and before Consonants.

Rhotacism is attested in the western branch of Ionic alone³. In the dialect of Eretria we meet with the phenomenon, which is unknown in Eleian and Lakonian, of intervocalic σ becoming ρ. In the inscriptions of Eretria we find the following forms:

¹ I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

² Cf. Baunack's *Studien* I 222.

³ ἀρήρασθαι ἐξασθαι in Hesychios is a gloss of uncertain provenance.

Eretria, Bechtel No. 15: *ὑπόροι* l. 5, *ἄ[ρχ]ουριω* 6, *ὀμνυόρας* 10, *παραβαίωριω* 11. In No. 16, an inscription found in Chalkis and almost entirely Hellenistic, we read *Μίργος* (C 14). No. 15 dates from between 410-390 B.C., No. 16 from 340-279. The latter is placed by Bechtel under the head of Eretrian Ionic. Eretrian rhotacism is furthermore attested in the inscription *Ἐφ. Ἄρχ.*, 1887, pp. 82-110, where thirty names have *ρ* for *σ*, while in eighty-two instances *σ* is preserved. Examples of *ρ* are: *Κτηρίας* 73 B, *Κτηρίω[ος]* 188 C, *Κτηριβίου* 31 C, 285, *Κτηριβιάδης*, *Κτηρικλείδου* 132 B; *Κτήσωνος*, and seven other examples of *Κτησ-* occur, and *σ* before consonants remains unchanged in this inscription. Two Eretrian decrees conferring the rights of proxeny published *l. l.* are free from all trace of rhotacism, which is a phonetic change varying with locality and date, as may be seen by the study of its life in Eleian. For other examples, see Baunaek in his *Studien* I 299.

It might seem that rhotacism extended as far as Styra, since on the Styrian lead tablets are found: *Κτηρίνος* 19₄₃₈ and *Μίργων* 19_{25, 71}. Both these individuals must however be Eretrians, since there is no trace of rhotacism elsewhere in Styra: *Κτητίδος* is found in Styra 19_{21-23, 24}, *Κτησίων* 19_{58-60, 24}, 23₃₅, 386, *Κτήσις* 19₁₂₂, *Κτήσιμος* 19₅₇, *Χαρήσιος* 19₉₄, &c. In Eretrian we have the form *Φιλήσιος*, in Bechtel No. 14 = *Rob. I* 170, an inscription older than No. 15, though the sigma has four strokes. Either the *σ* of *Φιλήσιος* is a conscious refusal to adopt the intervocalic rhotacism prevailing at the period of the writing of No. 14, or this inscription is older than the Styrian lead tablets containing *Κτηρίνος* and *Μίργων* (which are older than all the other epigraphical documents found at Eretria) and hence dates from a period when the Eretrians had not transformed intervocalic *σ* to *ρ*. Assuming that No. 14 contains a conscious archaism, we may place the introduction of rhotacism in Eubœia in the middle of the fifth century before Christ. That the Eretrians borrowed their fondness for rhotacism from the Eleians is undemonstrable, notwithstanding the statement of Strabo (X 686) to that effect: *ἐποίκουσ δ' ἔσχον ἀπ' Ἡλίδος, ἀφ' οὔ καὶ τῷ γράμματι τῷ μὲν πολλῷ χρησάμενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τέλει μόνον τῶν ῥημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ, κεκομῶδηται.*

In addition to *Μίργος* and *Μίργων* above mentioned, there is no other case of rhotacism before consonants attested upon the inscriptions. That *Πελαργός* was an instance in point, was the view of Phrynichos: *Πελαργός Ἐρετριακῶς Πελασγός* and *Πελαργός οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ Ἐρετριακῶς Πελασγός.* Beside *Πελαργός*, *Μίργος* and *Μίργων* we have no examples of antec consonantal rhotacism, which is thus exceedingly rare. That *Μίργος* is only a survival of the ancient orthography, and that rhotacism did not

continue to the period of No. 16, is clear from the refusal of *ἔργασίην* (16, A 4) to adopt the liquid.

By a series of doubtful combinations Bechtel (*Insch. des ionischen Dialekts*, p. 13) derives the Eretrian rhotacism from Thessaly, where, as he claims, it affected the speech of the Phthiotic Achaeans, the inhabitants of the Hestiaiots and the 'Pelasgians.' We have, however, only one example of Thessalian rhotacism which is found twice: *Θεορδότειος* C. D. I. 331₉, *Θεορδότειος* 326, II 42. It is hazardous to find in a solitary example of antec consonantal rhotacism the sole survival of a phenomenon that must either have been wide-spread, or, if originally restricted to the antec consonantal position, enlarged in a unique way to embrace intervocalic *σ*.

332.] Final Rhotacism.

This is attested, not by inscriptional evidence, but by literature alone: Plato, *Kratylos* 434 C, says: *οἷσθ' οὖν ἔτι ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς μὲν φαμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότηρ*; The Eretrian inscription No. 15, which contains four cases of intervocalic rhotacism (all that were possible) refuses to change either antec consonantal or final *σ*. The language of the inscriptions may have differed from the popular speech, in that the latter adopted freely the form of rhotacism prevalent in Eleian and Lakonian. But, as the case stands, Plato's remark is not borne out by the stone-records.

1. In the MSS. *R d* of Hd. II 70 we find *θηρευτήρ* for *θηρευτής*, which contains merely a different ending. There is no evidence of rhotacism in the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland. As Halikarnassian has been regarded a retrograde inscription in Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 526): *Φαεινор εἰμὶ σῆμα*, as read by Sir Charles Newton, who took *φαεινор* for the genitive of *Φαινώ* (*i. e.* *φαεινор* = *Φαινοῦς*). The reading with *ρ* is, however, indefensible on other grounds. See Roberts, I p. 177.

2. Other evidence of Eretrian rhotacism: Diogenianos *paroen. cent.* IV 57, cf. Apostol. *paroen. cent.* VII 89: *Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατακόρως τισὶ χρωμέναν. κατακόρως γὰρ οὔτοι χρωῶνται τῷ ῥῷ. Hesychios: Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ' Ἐρετριεῖς τῷ ῥ κατακόρως χρωῶνται. Suidas s. v. Χαλκιδίξειν: ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥωτακίξειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς δοκοῦσι τῷ ῥ κατακορεστέρας χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀ τιθέντες. Eust. p. 279₃₁: ἐκωμωδοῦντο δὲ, φασι, οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ὡς πολλῶ τῷ ῥ ἐν ταῖς ὀμίλαις χρωόμενοι. διὸ καὶ αὐτοί, καθὰ καὶ ἠλείοι, βαρβαρόφωνοι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς ἐν ῥητορικῷ εἴρηται λεξικῶ, διὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ῥ.*

333.] Metathesis of liquids.

Greg. Kor. p. 434 brings forward *κραδίη, ἀταρπιτός, τάρφος*, and (p. 489) quotes Homeric *τέτρατος, κρατερός*. On Ionic *ρα, αρ*, see § 128, on *βότραχος, βρόταχος* see § 147. On *τάρφος* see Curtius, *G. E.*⁵ p. 224. In the dialect of Herakleia *τράφος* was used for *τάρφος*. With *Θεύπορπος*, which occurs on a Chian coin, Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* p. 656, cf. *Θεύπορπος* Miletos, *ibid.* p. 646, Iasos, *J. H. S.*

IX 342. The Et. M. 83₄₂ reports from Simonides ἀμιθρός for ἀριθμός (cf. Kallim. 339, ἀμιθρέω). Though it is more probable that the great Simonides is meant, Ahrens proposed to read in Sim. Am. 3 ἀμιθρῶ. ἀμιθρέω is found Hrd. 6₆, 98 and in Theokritos.

Hdn. II 220₂₂ = Et. Mag. 188₉ quotes from Hippon. (106) δάραχος, the equivalent of the Attic and Hippocratic (V 676) δράχλος. δάραχος contains an example of anaptyctic *a*. See § 127. On Ἀρταφρένης see § 134. Hrd. 6₉₀ has πρόσω, the form used by Herodotos, &c. Homer has πρῶσω and πρόσσω. πρόσσω occurs in Pindar and tragedy.

334.] ρρ.

πυρρός Hdt. III 139, Hippokr. II 74, VI 74, VII 510, VIII 234, 248, 336, 338 did not originate from πυρρός. The form πυρρός is exceedingly rare in Attic. From the list of the passages quoted by L. & S. in defence of its Old-Attic character, Aisch. Pers. 316 should be removed, and the Euripidean passage (*Phoin.* 32) is cited by Photios with πυρραίς, instead of the usual reading πυρραῖς. πυρρός is from πῦρ-ώ-ς, or from πῦρ-ῥό-ς as in Korinthian, C. D. I. 3119 II 50. Proper names that are connected have ρρ. A suffix -σος- is certainly foreign to Ionic in this word. MSS. of Hdt. often have βορρέης. βορῆς is the correct form. The form with one ρ is also Attic (βορέου C. I. A. I 321₂₉).

335.] Expulsion of ρ from the second syllable of a word in which it also occurred in the first, is attested in the case of τρῶφακτος § 357, 4. A less certain example of the same phenomenon occurs in βάρρακος for βράρακος according to Roscher in Curtius' *Stadion* IV 193 (cf. § 147). Attic and Doric μάραθον, which is said to have lost ρ (Hippokr. μάραθρον VI 562, VII 88, with μάραθον as *v. l.* in *II J*), is probably formed with the suffix -θον-, not with -θρον-. On the interrelation of πατριή and φρατρία, see § 361.

Nasals.

336.] The nasal is not written, though probably pronounced after a weak fashion, in the following inscriptions of Styra: Πό(μ)πις 19₈₈, Πο(μ)πάδης 19₁₀₈, Κόστ(μ)βος 19₂₂₇, Ὀ(μ)φάλιος 19₁₉₆; in Πά(μ)βις 152, Abu-Simbel, name of a Kolophonian, which is hypocoristic for Πάμβιος, and in Πα(μ)φαίης Th. (L.) 19 A 6. With Νυ(μ)φείων Siphnos 88, Νυ(μ)φόσωνος Smyrna, C. I. G. 3155₃, and the vase inscriptions Νύ(μ)φης C. I. G. 7760, Νύ(μ)φαι C. I. G. 8185 F, we may compare the forms of

νύμφη which are measured \cup — in *Antig.* 1115, *Trach.* 857, *Andr.* 140. On the other hand we have *Νύμφησιων*, *Νυμφηγέτη* Thasos 68₁, *Νυμφέων* Naxos 27, *Νύμφιος* Th. (L.) 7 B 7. *ἀστυνομου(ν)τος* Thasos, Stephani in *Mél. Gr. Rom.* II 20, No. 26, is not another example of the weak nasal¹. *ἀφιδέας* Greg. Kor. § 123 may perhaps be explained as having lost its nasal. *Ὀλυμπο-* is never written without the μ , as in the examples cited by Meyer § 294 from inscriptions found in Olympia. We even have $\mu\mu$ in *Ὀλυμπιάδα* Eretria 158.

337.] σ regularly disappears before medial *v* with compensatory lengthening, e.g. *σελήνη*, *κρήνη*. Whenever *σν* is assimilated to *νν* in Ionic, its σ is not original, but a σ which was reinstated through analogy. Thus *ἐννυμ*, instead of the older *ἐίνυμ* (§ 224, 10, and cf. Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 591), is due to the influence of *ἔσ-σαι*, from which a new **ἔσ-νυμ* was constructed.

A notable difference between the older *νν* < *σν* and the younger *νν*, is that the latter does not suffer reduction of the geminated nasal. The new *νν* came into existence at the same period as the following proper names, whose *νν* is from final *s* + initial *v*: *Πελοπόννησος*, a form that is accepted by the other dialects, *Ἐκατόνησσοι*, *Μυόννηστος* in Hekataios, *Προκόννηστος*, in which form the *νν* is more common than the single *v*, according to Strabo XIII p. 618. In No. 103 = Rob. I 42 (Prokonon.) we find *νν* in the Ionic copy, and only one *v* in the Attic reproduction of the document, in accordance with the usage of Attic inscriptions antedating 550 B. C. *Χερσόνησος* in Herodotos is a genuine compound, but *Χερσόνησος*, which occurs conjointly with *Χερσον-* in the oration *περὶ Ἀλορήσου*, is doubtless due to the analogy of *Πελοπόννησος*, *Ἄλωπεκόννησος*, &c.² See Kühner-Blass, *Gr.* p. 269, Riemann, *B. C. H.* I 192, *Dial. Attique*, p. 156 (*Revue de Philol.* 1881). On the form *Διόνυσος*, see above § 138.

$\sigma + v$ regularly becomes *νν* in Aiolic. In Ionic documents the following forms are due to dialect mixture: *χρυσοφαέννον* Anakr. 25₂; *Φαιέννον* Thasos (L) 18 C 5, *Φαινοθέμιδος* Eryth. 206 A 28, *Πελινναῖον* in Chios, *Ἀργεινον* in Erythraian territory. These are Aiolic formations due to the Aiolic element in Chios and surroundings. See under adulterine *ει*, § 224, 10.

338.] A nasal + σ + a consonant lost the nasal without com-

¹ Cf. the variation in the MSS. of Hdt. V 102, where for *ἀντενεπίμπρασον*. B C d omit the μ ; in III 85, where for *ἐγγρίμπτων*, R d have the form with no μ . Cf. also II 93 (R d, no μ) II 60 (d, no μ) IX 98 (C, no μ). Greg. K. § 41 cites *ἐγγρίμπτων* from Hdt. In IV 172, for *σκήπωνα*, s z have *σκήμπωνα*.

² On Attic inscriptions we read *Πελοπόννησος*, *Ἄλωπεκόννησος*, *Προκόννησος*, but *Χερρόνησος*.

pensatory lengthening in primitive Greek. Wherever compensatory lengthening exists, as in *πεῖσρα*, it is due to the formation of a new form (**πείσμα* in place of the older **πένθμα*). Exempt from the operation of the above law is the combination *n + I. E. s + i*, which becomes *νσσ*. This *νσσ* is treated like nasal + final *s* and nasal + *σ* in a medial syllable between vowels, when the sibilant has been developed on Greek soil, *i.e.* the nasal disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. I. E. *s + nasal* in a medial syllable was assimilated to a double nasal in Ionic as in all other dialects. In Ionic compensatory lengthening ensued upon the reduction of the gemination. See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 60¹.

r followed by *σ* is retained in Ionic in Hom. *κέρσαι* (Ψ 337), for **κείσαι* with the *r* restored from that of *κερτέω*, cf. *κεστός < κενστός*. The *ν* of *ἐλνυς* Hippokr. VII 596, 598 is due to that of the oblique cases. *νσ* is also preserved in *πανσελήνῳ* Hdt. II 47, &c., *παλισκήῳ* Archil. 34, where we find the *v. l.* *παλισκίῳ*, and after *ἐν-* in composition, &c.

Whether *ἐνεφ'* Hipponax 85₃ (hexameter), *προσεινέπη* Solon 42₃ is from *ἐνφεπ-* or *ἐνσεπ-* is not certain.

ν + σ becomes *σσ* in *συσσίτια* Hdt., or *σ* as in *συστρατεύεσθαι*, *συσπείδων*; cf. *τῶσ συμπάντων* Halik. 238₄₁₋₄₂. *σνν + ζ-* becomes *σνζ-* in *σνζενγύναι* Hdt. IV 189.

339.] *Varia.*

1. *Metathesis of vowel and nasal* in *κάμπτω* and *κναφεύς*; § 349.

2. There is no *interchange of labial and nasal* in *Μεταγεινίων* (Priene), and *Πελαγειτίως* (Rhodes, Kos). See under *Prepositions* in *DIOLIC*.

Since *μπ* does not become *ππ* in Ionic, *Πό(π)πος*, for *Πό(μ)πος* (Styra 19₁₁), which Meister thinks to defend by citing Boiot. *ἐππασίς* as an analogous case, will not hold ground. Cf. § 336.

3. *Gemination of Nasals.*

Aiolic gemination of *μ* in *ἄμμορος καήξ* Hipponax 2₁, defended by Renner (p. 161) as an Homeric reminiscence, is foreign to the genius of the iambic trimeter as employed by the early Ionic poets. The Hesychian glosses *ἤμμορος* ἄμμορος and *ἤμορίς* κειή. ἐσττε, σημίγη *Αἰσχύλος Νιόβη* (cf. *B. B.* XI 252) create a presupposition in favour of the view that Ionic-Attic once possessed an *ἤμμορος*, which was adopted by tragedy. *φεμερμελίν*

¹ Wackernagel's hypothesis (*K. Z.* XXIX 136) that *νσ* did not become *νν*, when the accent preceded, has not been substantiated.

in Mimn. 144 (cf. Hom. *ἔϋμμελής*) and *ἔμμορεν* in Theog. 234, are not to be adduced as supports of the traditional reading in Hipponax, because of the difference in tone between elegiac and iambic poetry.

The word *καύηξ* found in conjunction with *ἔμμορος* in the Hipponaktian passage, does not appear to be Ionic. See § 242. While it would facilitate our conception of the nature of the Ionic trimeter as the dialect of the people, were *ἔμμορος* to be regarded as an Ionism, neither Sohnsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 86 nor Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* 45, who incline to this view in discussing *ἔμμορος* and forms of similar texture, has taken into consideration the glosses above mentioned which make for the Aiolic character of *ἔμμορος*.

μμ is found in *πλημμυρίς* Hdt. VIII 129, and *κρόμμυα* IV 17, though *Λ* 630, *τ* 233 have the form with one *μ*.

Ionic *ῥμμα* is from *ῥπμα*, and is found *e.g.* in Anacr. 751. *ῥππα* in Aiolic is not well attested.

Ionic varies, as do other dialects, between *ἄνν-* and *ἄν-* in the word for *anise*. Hdt. IX 71 has *ἄννησον*, as Littré reads in Hippokr. II 274, and VIII 170. The dialects vary also between *-σο-* and *-θο-* in the suffix. The latter form appears in Hippokr. VI 558.

The doubling of the nasal in *Ἄννικῶ* Chios (174 C 13, cf. *Ἄννικᾶ* on a tetradrachmon from Chalkidike in the *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XI 43) is due to the fact that the noun is hypocoristic for *Ἀνίκητος*.

340.] N movable.

The inscriptions prove how devoid of authority is the current view in reference to the appearance of the *νυ ἐphelkustikon* in Ionic¹. If we examine the usage of the inscriptions, it is evident that from the earliest period known to us this paragogic letter was in common use both in prose and poetry, before vowels and before consonants. The earlier documents use the *-ν* with greater regularity than the later.

From the sixth century we have the following instances of *-ν* preceding a consonant: Prokonnesos (stelè of Sigeion) 103₁₀, Samos 211, Naukratis I 700, II 701. From the succeeding century there are at least nine cases: Thasos 68, Teos 156 B 33 (two examples), Abdera 162 (metr.), Chios 175 (metr.), Chios 174 C 20, Samos 215 (metr.), Halik. 238₂₁, 241 (*ποιήσεν* in a

¹ Gram. Aug. 669: *ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις προσώποις ἡ νέα τῶν Ἰώνων διάλεκτος καὶ ἐν ταῖς δοτικαῖς πληθυντικαῖς τὸ ν ἐφέλκ. οὐ . . . εἰ μὴ χάριν μέτρον.* Absence of the paragogic letter in Ionic is asserted by Aristarchus junior in Bekk. An. III 1400; cf. Baehm. An. (Max. Plan.) II 57₁₇, 58₃. Much of the confusion as to this point may be due to the influence of the *Κανόνων θησαυρός* of the above mentioned namesake of the great Alexandrian critic.

metrical artist's signature). Between 400-300 B.C., there are Olynth. 8 B 8, Eryth. 199, Mykonos 248 C 10, Iasos 104, 107, cf. *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 2, Zeleia 113₁, 114 B, C, D, E, F, Samos 221. Amphipolis 101, Ephesos 147_{1, 12}, and Pantikapaion, Latyschev II 4. And even at a later period: Halikarn. *B. C. H.* XIV p. 91, l. 1, Eryth. 206 B 58 (after 278 B.C.), Teos 158_{6, 31} (first century) and in the late archaistic copy of the ancient document from Kyzikos 108 B 2. In the Lykian document No. 253, of uncertain date, there is another example. There are a few examples of the non-occurrence of *nu* movable before consonants, which do not deserve special mention.

Before vowels, and from the fifth century, we find *-v* in Teos 156, B 34, B 36; Chios 173, 174 A 17, 20; Samos 212; Halikarn. 238_{10, 18, 240_{30, 45, 63}}. From the fourth century: Phanag. 164_v, Eryth. 200 (metr.), Samos 221₂₀, Mylasa 248 C 10. Eryth. No. 206 offers several instances of this use in the third century (B 47, 48, 58, C 45). All the instances of the omission of *-v* before vowels date from a period when the monuments of the dialect are not free from the suspicion of contamination through Attic influence. Examples are: Phanag. 166₂, 167₂, 168₁, Samos 221₁₇.

Movable *nu* is not uncommon at the end of an inscription. In early documents we find it (on ἐπολέειν Miletos 95, see below): Chalkis 1, Keos 45, 48, 51, Paros 58, Prokon. 103, Samos 215. From a later period: Chios 192, Eryth. 207. Other inscriptions have no such termination, such as Sam. 213, 215 (which has ἀρέθηκε but also ἐπολύσειν), Amorg. 228, No. 260 of uncertain provenance, and No. 21, Western Ionic. In the middle of a clause the same haphazard use prevails. Thus in Thasos 72_{v, 10}, Samos 221₃, Ephes. 147₁, a vowel follows the forms provided with the *-v*. In Teos 158₃ there is no *-v*. In Chios 174 B 6, 17, Zeleia 113 B 2, C 2, E 2, Theodosia 127₃, the words end in *-v* and are followed by a consonant. Sometimes a clause is terminated by a verb with no *-v*, and the next sentence has in the same inscription, now a vowel, now a consonant to introduce the first word of the following clause (cf. Zeleia 113_{3, 13}). The ordinary rule whereby to uncontracted *-εε* of the imperfect *-v* may be added, while the contracted *-ει* may not take the final *-v*, is not without exceptions. The Homeric ἤσκειν Γ 388 finds its analogue in the Milesian ἐπολέειν Bechtel No. 95. Cf. *-ειν* in the pluperfect in Aristophanes, Plato, &c., and ἀπήειν Plato *Tim.* 76 B (before a comma and a word beginning with a consonant).

The supposed absence of the paragogic nasal from the text of Herodotes, and other Ionic writers of prose is generally explained by the assumption that Ionic evinced no repugnance to hiatus.

Now it can readily be shown that the Ionic avoidance of contraction and fondness for hiatus are not so great as is commonly assumed; and Merzdorf has demonstrated that the evidence of the MSS. of Herodotos does not bear out the commonly received view¹. What Herodoteian usage was, we cannot now discover. Doubtless the historian did not adopt any fixed procedure, and any attempt at uniformity in the manipulation of so delicate an instrument of stylistic perfection cannot be expected before Isokrates. But if contemporary evidence has any claims upon our consideration, the peccant letter must be held to have been used far more frequently than it appears in the MSS. The genuine and the spurious writings of Hippokrates, and the fragments of the philosophers, usually follow the rules which regulate the appearance of the nasal in Attic texts². Eberhard has expelled all cases of *-ν* from Arrian, though there is no doubt that a closer adherence to the best MSS. would free Arrian from this and many other pseudo-Ionisms. Lukian's *Λ*, by its omission of *-ν*, shows the influence of contemporary theory. In Eusebios, however, while we find the nasal sometimes omitted before a vowel, it is added even before a consonant.

1. Herodotos never has *-ν* with *πρόσθε*, *ἐμπροσθε*, *ὑπερθε*, *κατύπερθε*, *ὑπισθε*, *ἐνερθε*. Herodas has *πρόσθε* 238, *ὑπερθε* 310, but also *κάτωθεν* and *κάνωθεν* 260, which Rutherford emends.

2. Herodotos has *τοῦτο*, *τοιούτο*, *τοσοῦτο*; never the *-ν* forms.

3. The only rule that may be formulated for the appearance of so evanescent a phonetic element is that it never appears before *τ*, except in the phrase *ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι*. All our modern rules are drawn from the artificial canons of the grammarians, not from the living language. The perversity of modern rule-making is not so marked in reference to *οὔτω*, *οὔτως*.

4. The nasal is not written in *πάλι* Hrd. 252, as frequently in late poets. Compare *πέρυσιν* and *πέρυσι*.

Gutturals.

341.] The Forms with Π and Κ.

The Ionic dialect possesses both *π* and *κ* as in *πῶς*, *κῶς*, *πότε*, *κότε*, and in all connected forms³. In no other department of

¹ It is however correct that movable *-ν* occurs only rarely in all MSS., e. g. I 5 *ἐμαθεν ἔγκυος*, VII 161 *ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας*, VIII 118 *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία*.

² Some of the excerptors of early Ionic who have preserved the original dialectal colouring with some consistency fail to follow any other rule than that in vogue in Attic. Cf. for example Demokr. 13, 207, 201, 41.

Joh. Gr. 235, 240, 241 B, Greg. K. 412. Gram. Leid. 628, Aug. 608, Vat. 694, Birnb. 678, Et. M. 507, Hesych. s. v. *ἀκούων*, Orion 142, Apoll. D. *ἄκουω*. p. 55 (Bekk.), *ἄκουω*. p. 184, Schm., An. Ox. I 247. Some grammarians

Ionic does there exist a wider chasm between the language of the inscriptions and that of literature, the former having no case whatever of the κ forms, the latter having both π and κ . In the poets we find both π and κ , if we accept the somewhat dubious evidence of the MSS., and in Herodotos only the κ forms. There is no evidence that Herodotos adopted the dialect of Miletos in his preference for κ over π , nor is there any actual testimony to a struggle between the two sets of pronominal forms in any portion of Ionic territory, though in the MSS. of poets from Amorgos, Thasos (or Paros if we refer Archilochos to the latter island), Ephesos, Kolophon, and Teos we discover now one, now the other form. The instances of the π forms in the lyric poets are not to be regarded as affording evidence of a period in the history of the dialect when π was in course of becoming κ (a phonetic change unknown to Greek). Though it cannot be gainsaid that no poet of Ionic birth could use either κ or π in the same word, we are unable to demonstrate in all cases which was the chosen form. In any event I regard it as problematic whether any of the instances of the π forms in the MSS. of the iambographs and Ionic elegists (though here the evidence is less certain) are retentions of the original. The geographical extension of the κ forms, the history of their interrelation with those in π , and the possibility of Ionic inscriptions of the seventh century containing forms with κ , are questions that do not at present admit of a solution. There is however no doubt that the older inscriptional forms with π are genuine Ionic, and free from all suspicion of being due to the levelling tendencies of Attic. Much of the apparent confusion in our texts may be due to sub-dialectal preferences as regards κ and π . The existence of such preferences is clear from the Samian *Κυανοψιδών*, mentioned in § 344.

342.] List of Ionic pronominal forms with κ for π .

An exhaustive presentation of all the testimony from the prose literature is not attempted. The poetical and inscriptional forms are given with tolerable completeness. The κ forms are given only when they are supported by MS. authority. Homer has everywhere the labial forms; so too the non-Ionian elegists.

thought the κ forms were Aiolic. *κονεῖν* for *πνεῖν* Schol. Ven. B on Ω 648 (cf. *ἀκουητή* = *ἀπουνητή* Et. Mag. 5020) has the appearance of a form made to order, though, if genuine, it would be an interesting illustration of the change which we observe in *πόσις*, *διακείως*. Demetrios Ixion, *quod* Apollon. Sophist. *Lex.* 131, merely says of $\pi\eta$ that it is Ionic and Homeric.

κου	Anakr. 1 ₄ Hdt. Hippokr. II 3 ₄ Hrd. 1 ₁₀ , 3 ₁₃ , 6 ₁₉ , &c. (<i>δήκου</i> 3 ₉₀ , 5 ₂₁ , <i>δήκουθεν</i> 2 ₂)	που	Amph. 10 ₇ , Zelaia 11 ₃₂₉ Arch. 7 ₃ , Anan. 1 Hdt. Hippokr. II 28 ₂ , 36 ₂ , 67 ₆ . III 19 ₀ (<i>bis</i>)
ὑκου	Hipponax 5 ₁₂ Sim. Am. 7 ₉₁ , 10 ₆ Phoin. Kol. 2 ₁₂ (<i>Sehn.</i>) Kallim. 8 ₅ Hdt. Hippokr. II 7 ₂ , 9 ₀ , 36 ₂ (<i>ὑπου</i> in 22 ₅₃), III 5 ₆ , 5 ₈ Hrd. 3 ₁₃ , 5 ₁₁	ὑπου	Keos 43 ₂₂ , Thasos 7 ₁₄ . Halik. 24 ₀ ₁₁ Vit. Hom. 6
κω	Hippon. tr. 19 ₁ (conj. for <i>χω</i>) Anakr. 33 (MSS. <i>κοτε</i>) Hdt. Demokr. (Clem. Alex. 357 P)	πω	Archil. 25 ₂ Tyrt. 11 ₂ (<i>οὔπω</i>) Theog. 126 ₅ Hippokr. II 3 ₄ Hrd. 7 ₁₁
κῶς, κως	Kall. 1 ₁₂ Hdt. Luk. V. A. 14 (or <i>ὑκως</i>) <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29. Euseb. Mynd. 63 Hrd. 6 ₇₁ , 8 ₅	πῶς, πως	Archil. 12 ₂ Hippon. 8 ₇ Herakl. 27 Melissos 12 (Simpl., Mul- lach <i>κῶς</i>) Hippokr. II 28 ₂ , III 21 ₀ Luk. V. A. 4. Vit. Hom. 14, 19 Hrd. 2 ₅₆
ὑκως	Sim. Am. 7 ₈₂ Anakr. 6 ₃₂ Herakl. 2, 45, 100 Demokr. 20, 41, 208 Hdt. Hippokr. II 7 ₄ , III 6 ₄ , 24 ₂ Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Aretaios Vit. Hom. 21 Hrd. (17 times)	ὑπως	Thasos 71 ₆ (fourth cen- tury) Samos 221 ₁₀ , 18 (after 322 B. C.), cf. Ephesos 147 ₁₇ [<i>ὑπ</i>]ως Sim. Am. 1 ₅ Hippon. 8 ₅ ₅ Vit. Hom. 18 Hrd. 7 ₂₂
κοῖος	Hdt. Aret. Luk. Arrian 35 ₁ Hrd. 6 ₄₈ , 7 ₅	ποῖος	Arch. epod. 94 ₁ Hrd. 2 ₂₃
ὀκοῖος	Archil. 70 ₂ , 3 tetr. Herakl. 2, 23, 126 Demokr. 47 Hdt. Hippokr. III 42, 236 Aret. Luk. V. A. 4, <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29 Euseb. Mynd. 63. Hrd. 1 ₆₁ , 6 ₆₅ , 3 ₅₀	ὀποῖος	Anax. 6 (Simpl.)

κότε, κοτε	Sim. Am. 7 ₂₂ Kall. 1, 2; Mimn. 11, Anakr. 33 in MSS. (Bergk <i>κω τούτ'</i>) Kallim. 93 Hdt. Hrd. 273, 432, 634, 768, 81, &c.	πότε, ποτε	Amorg. Rob. I 160 A Xenoph. 1 ₂ , 6 ₂ Tyrt. 11 ₁₂₅ , 12 ₃₁ Mimn. 12 ₂ , 14 ₅ Theog. 1245, 1256, 1287, 1307, 1331, 1345 Anakr. 85 Hrd. 6 ₁₈₉ , 273 cf. 273 Herakl. 27 Hippokr. II 70, 360, 678, III 44, 90, V 606, 620, 634, 674 Luk. <i>Dea Syg.</i> 29 Arrian 42 ₃
όκότε	Herakl. 36, 73 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 70, 360, 362 (<i>όπότε</i> 2253) Demokr. 47 Vit. Hom. 5	όπότε	Kall. 18 (<i>όππότε</i> , cf. note 1) Vit. Hom. 26
κόςος	Hdt. Hrd. 121, 233, 379, 761, &c.	πόσος	Hippokr. II 678
όκόςος	Phoinix Kol. 2 ₁₅ , 19 Herakl. 2, 5, 18, 64, 91, 104 Demokr. 22, 47, 211 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 86, 90 Philip of Pergam. <i>B. C. H.</i> II 273 Aret., Hrd. 122 Arrian 40 ₁ , Luk. <i>Dea Syg.</i> 29	όπόσος	<i>όπόροι</i> Eretr. 15; Xenoph. 1 ₁₇ Demokr. 13
κῆ	Hdt.	πῆ	Archil. 60
ύκη	Herakl. 73 Melissos 14 Hdt.	ύπη	Sim. Am. 12

Hdt. has also *κόθεν* (Hrd. 6₂₂), *όκόθεν*, *κότερος*, *όκότερος*. In the case of other words the New Ionic of Hdt. presents no variations from Attic as regards the representation of I. E. *g* as *κ* *καίονε* α. ε. γ. *όπώδωπῆ* V 13, *όπώδωπός* VII 218. Xenophanes has *πηλίκος*. In Arrian 42₃ *όκου* is to be read. In Herodas the forms with *κ* are much more numerous than those with *π* (e. g. 223, 563, 627, 722, 44).

1. Forms with *ππ* are not to be called into question, since there is no such thing as an Ionic *όκκότε*. Fick's attempts to expel *όππότε* *κεν* *δῆ* from Kallinos 1., on the ground of the inadmissibility of an Aiolic form in that elegist, are wide of the mark. There is an irreducible minimum of Aiolisms in the Ionic elegy. Cf. also Theog. 531 *όππότ'* *άουόσω*.

2. Bechtel's statement, that $\vartheta\pi\omega\nu$ in Keos 43²² is a proof of Attic influence, is misleading. There is no inscriptional instance of $\vartheta\kappa\omega\nu$ or of any such κ form. All we can say is that the Keian $\vartheta\pi\omega\nu$ is the earliest inscriptional example of a π form. Cf. § 450, 2.

3. A difference between the three divisions of Ionic on the score of the κ forms cannot be established. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 318, proposes to restore the π forms in Archilochos, as a representative of Island Ionic, and because of $\vartheta\pi\omega\varsigma$ upon a Thasiote inscription. In Archilochos the MSS. vary only more frequently in favour of the π form than they do in the case of poets of the Asiatic mainland. I see no reason to refer the κ forms to the influence of the μεταγραφόμενοι. Blass (*Kühner's Gramm.* p. 142) holds that Euboian Ionic also (cf. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Eretria 15₁₀) did not adopt the guttural. Our only evidence as to the nature of Euboian Ionic is that derived from inscriptions. If we argue that because no Western Ionic inscription has κ , therefore Western Ionic had π , a similar line of reasoning would hold good in the case of Island Ionic, and thus call in question the integrity of much of the MS. tradition.

4. The MSS. of Hippokrates varied greatly in regard to these forms according to the express testimony of Galen, who says that Artemidorus Capito edited $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\eta\sigma\iota$, &c. Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 86 ff., has illustrated the erratic conduct of the MSS. by reference to the pseudo-Hippokrateic tracts $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ τέχνης, $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ φυσῶν. In the latter the later MSS. have the κ forms twelve times, Λ not once; from which Gomperz concludes that the κ forms are the result of meddling on the part of the scribes.

343.] By some imitators of Herodotos the κ forms are carefully reproduced. Lukian's only exception seems to be $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ *Dea Syr.* 29. Arrian has, on the other hand, 34 cases of π , but few of κ ($\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ in Λ § 42, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\iota\varphi$ 35 in some MSS., $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ 40). Eberhard adopts Hercher's expulsion of all the π forms in Arrian. In the other pseudo-Ionists we find scattered forms containing κ :—Abydenos ι $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta$, $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\eta$, in the epistles of Pherekydes $\omicron\kappa\omega$, $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, epist. of Herakl. $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$, epist. of Hippokr. 40 cases of κ to 22 of π .

The guttural forms have been given a place even in the Doric of the Pseudo-Timaios: $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ 93 B, 96 E, 99 C, 100 B, C, D, $\vartheta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ 99 A, 101 C.

344.] Other cases of Ionic $\kappa = \pi$ are: $\kappa\epsilon\alpha\rho\omega\psi\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in Kyzikos and Samos (*Berlin. Monatsberichte*, 1859, p. 739). $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Pi\upsilon\alpha\nu\omicron\psi\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ have π where κ is strictly in place. See Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 32, note. On $\kappa\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota$ or $\kappa\acute{\tau}\epsilon\omicron\rho\alpha\iota = \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\iota$, see §§ 169, 246.

345.] K for T.

Only one case deserves notice. In Archil. 14, we read $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, the only instance of this form. See § 716. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ was employed by Hdt. and the pseudo-Ionic writers, e.g. Arrian, *Ind.* 19₆.

346.] Transposition of Aspiration¹ (X=K).

The shifting of χ-κ, θ-τ, φ-π arises from so strong an aspirated pronunciation of κ, τ, π that the *lenues* and *aspiratae* represented nearly the same sound. This phenomenon, though not restricted to Ionic², nevertheless obtained in that dialect the dignity of admission into literature, from which it was usually debarred in other dialects. The Ionic forms are usually original, as in the case of ἐνθαῦτα, cf. ἐνθα. Ionic inscriptions of the best period do not offer instances of the intermediate form with double aspirate such as Χαλχηδών in Attic inscriptions.

κιθών³ = χιτών Hdt. II 81, Samos 22O_{13, 16, 37}, κιθωνίσκος 22O₁₇, cf. κιθωνίσκον C. I. A. II 759, II 11. In Anacr. 59 the Attic form is read by Bergk, following the scholiast on Eurip. II². 334. The form κιτῶν occurs in Sicilian Doric (Sophron 62, Ahrens), and in Attic inscriptions (κιτῶνα C. I. A. II 764).

κύθηρη, κύθηρος, κυθηρίδιον are often cited as Ionic by the grammarians⁴. The MSS. of Hdt. however have χυθηρίδιον V 88, and in Ηιπποκράτης 25 we find χυθηροπόδιον. κυθηρίδιον in Ηιπποκρ. VII 394 in θ (cf. 396) justifies our writing the Herodoteian and Ηιπποκράτεια words with κ. The pseudo-Ionians have κύθηρη, which appears in Herodas, III 1 (found in Stobaios, *Serm.* 78, 6) though in the recently discovered papyrus χύθηρη appears (776). Like forms are found in Clemens Alex. and Josephos. In a late inscription from Oropos (Εφ. ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, ll. 12, 13) we find χυθηρίς.

Forms adduced by grammarians are: κείθιον = χείθιον Eust. 125₃; κώρηκος (χωρεύει) Eust. 1446₁, 1534₇; ἀκάνθιον Greg. Kor. § 28 must be an error for ἀκάνθιον, with which he would compare ἀχάνθιον⁵.

347.] K for X by Dissimilation.

Φρυνικίδης Thasos (L.) 7 A 4 = Φρυνιχιδής which is found in Ηιπποκρ. II 704. Cf. χείμετλον Ηιππον. 194 = χείμεθλον, χύτλον = χύθλον and see B. B. I 65, *Ascoli Kritische Studien*, p. 404, note 2.

¹ Greg. Kor. § 28, An. Ox. I 397₂ ff., Choir. 635₂₆. Even ἔτυκον is derived from ἔτυχον in An. Par. III 183₃₁; similar vagaries occur in An. Par. III 220₁₁.

² Cf. Attic φιδάκη, πάθη in the Common dialect (cf. Eust. 1259₃₆). The fact that the Common dialect adopted the shifting of aspiration renders doubtful the ascription to Ionic of certain glosses, e. g. θωτάζω, τριχός in Περικχίος.

Greg. Kor. p. 414 (cf. 341), Gram. Meerm. 649; Bekk. An. II 793₂₀ κίθωνιον, An. Par. III 571₉, Eust. 468₂₅, 746₁₅; Hesych. κίθων (κιθών?) πάμα πίθων and προκίθωνιον τὸ πρόρινον.

⁴ An. Par. III 571₃₂, Et. M. 454₃, Eust. 468₂₅, 746₁₆, Choir. 635₂₈, Hesych. ἐπικύθηριον τὸ πῶμα τῆς χύτρας. An. Ox. I 366₁₁, Greg. Kor. 341 call κύθηρη Ionic, and Eust. regards the κ form as Sicilian as well as Ionic. Epicharmos has χύτρα according to our sources.

⁵ Cf. An. Par. III 571₁₁, Meerm. 649, Eust. 468₃₃, 746₁₇.

Καλχηδόνητος Hdt. IV 85, 144, V 26 is an older orthography for Χαλκ-, which occurs frequently in the MSS. (Bredow, p. 92). In VI 33 all the MSS. except *R* have Χαλκ-. In Attic inscriptions of the fifth century both Καλχ- and Χαλχ- occur.

With the above mentioned words we may compare Ἀγκιθείδης in Delos, Ditt. *Syll.* p. 513, note 26, which name is derived from Ἀρχίδεος as Ἐκέφυλος from Ἐχέφυλος.

348.] Other cases of Ionic K varying with X.

δέκομαι¹ with its compounds occurs in New Ionic literature, and is also Aiolic, Doric, and Arkadian for δέχομαι the Attic form which is due to analogy². Attic has retained the original κ in δωροδόκος. δέχομαι is however not unknown upon Ionic soil. καταδέχηται in Amphipolis 10₁₉₋₂₀ may be regarded as offering inconclusive testimony because of its late date (358 B. C.): but Teos 156 B 21, one of the oldest stone records of the dialect, by its ὑποδέχοιτο shows that the aspirated form was not unknown to the Ionic of the fifth century. δέχομαι may have held its ground from the Homeric period (Homer has no case of δέκομαι) side by side with the morphologically older form which was generally adopted by literary prose. Instances of δέχομαι before Hippokrates are rare (Hippoxax has προσδέχονται in frag. 8) and not certain. In Hippokrates δέχομαι is often attested, e.g. V 604 (102), 612 (139), 618 (156), II 76, 152, 246, 372, 610, III 50, 258. Lukian has δέκομαι except in *Aslr.* 29, while in Arrian the two forms are about equally divided. δέκομαι is found in Abydenos I, *Vita Homerì* 12; δέχομαι in Aretaios, epist. Hippokr., Euseb. Mynd. 1.

οὐκί Hom., Hdt., Attic οὐχί, which form is used by Herodas twelve times. Cf. Hdn. II 379₂₈ (Choir. 699₅), Et. Mag. 624₁₆, Et. Gud. 428₄, 440₁, An. Ox. I 301₃, 311₂₀, 318₃₃, Bekk. An. I 57₂₀, II 718_{18, 28}, and οὐκ ἔπεται Hesych. Homeric τετυκεῖν, τετυκέσθαι from τεύχω may here be mentioned. Herodas has ἐπιβρύχουσα 6₁₃, where -βρύκουσα would be the Attic form. Zonaras 1512 says that the Attics, Dorians, and Ionians, except Anakreon (88), used μαχλός. Upon inscriptions κ is sometimes written for χ after σ and before ρ: Αἴσκραος Styra 19₁₅₃; cf. Αἰσχρίων 19₁₅₄, Αἴσχρων Thasos 71₁. With this κ, cf. that in the Eleian πάσκοι C. D. I. 1152₈.

¹ Hdn. II 571₁₅, δέκω Eust. 746₂₈, 884₂, 1399₃₆ (cf. 1778₅), πανδοκεύς Eust. 1590₅₁, ξεινοδόκος An. Ox. I 300₂₀. Eust. does not shrink from assuming an ἔκω in Ionic, 1183₁₅. This form is found in Modern Greek dialects but is of course not a survival. A similar vagary as regards δέκα appears in Bekk. An. II 710₅.

² Brugmann *Grundr.* I § 486 note, Osthoff *Perfect*, 284, 299. G. Meyer *Gram.* § 207 sets up the proportion βρέξω : βρέχω :: δέξομαι : δέχομαι. But βρέξω is quite late, and ξβρεξα did not come into vogue before Hippokrates.

349.] K for Γ.

κ is softened into γ, as in Attic, in the following words.

κραφείvs *cloth-corder* Hdt. IV 14, κραφήτιον IV 14 = Hippocratic (II 666) and = Attic γραφείvs, γραφε[ῖ]ον C. I. A. II 817 A 28 (358 B. C.). The older stage of Attic is here on a plane with Ionic, as is seen by κραφείvs C. I. A. IV A 373 F, a document of the sixth century. Herodas has γραφείvs 478. Hdt. has also κράφος I 92.

With ἀνακάμπτειν in Hdt. II 8, cf. ἀναγνάμπτειν in Homer, κνάμπτειν, γνάμπτειν, κνάπτειν in Attic. Hdt. has καμπή I 185, ἐπικαμπή I 180, Hippokr. ἐπικάμπειν. See Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien* V 192. These examples of the variation between an initial tenuis and media before vowels have analogues elsewhere, e. g. Phokian βρυταεύω = πρυταεύω, Kretan κλάγος = γλάγος, Attic Κρίφων = Γρίφων. In two other words of doubtful formation a like phonetic interchange after an initial vowel may be noted. Ἄγισότιον is not better than Ἐκισότιον (§ 129) because of the γ of *Haïmatánuai*, loc. sing., Behistan II 76; Ὁγγήνος, in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros quoted by Clem. Alex. 741 P, recalls the Hesychian glosses Ὁγγήν, ὠγένιος which the ancients connected with Ὁκεανός.

350.] X for Γ.

πρήγμα Chios 174 B 18 stands for πρήγμα. χμ is not from γμ (which is a favourite sound-combination, γ being the guttural nasal), but from analogy of -χμα, -χμος forms (ερεχμός, ἔχμα). The form πρήγμα has been held by Roehl and Karsten to be a peculiarity of the sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai. Bechtel however compares the *v. l.* of B in Archil. 30 *μυριχμένας* for the received ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. also Hesychios' ἐσμυριγμέναι *μυρισμέναι*. Other forms that may be noted in this connection are μεμορυχμένα *v. l. v* 435, διαπεπλεχμένα (*quaedam αντίγραφα* Galen. *tempore*) Hippokr. II 120. Cf. παράδειγμα in Epidaurian, C. D. I. 3325²⁵¹ etc.

Hdt. II 252¹⁷ = Et. M. 151³⁰ ἄρχμενος: —ᾠφειλε δὲ ἄρχμενος· φύλαξαν δὲ τὸ χ δοκεῖ Ἰωνικὸν εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ τὸ ἔργμα ἔρχμα φασίν. Cf. II 149₀ on ἔρχατο. In II 371₆ = Et. M. 371¹⁹ we should expect ἐρεχμός, διωχμός, ληχμός (Antimachos) to be called Ionic, not Aiolic.

351.] Varia.

1. ἐχ for ἐκ before an aspirate in ἐχφέρειν Keos 43₀ is not specifically Ionic. Cf. ἐχ φιλής C. I. A. I 31 A 7, ἐχφέρεισθαι in Kretan, Cauer 117₀. Ionic has ἐκχέειν in 43₂₂.

2. In δεδόκχθαι Samos 221₂₆, we find κχ for χ, i. e. *kh* became κχ. Cf. ὄπφισ = ὄφισ, according to the probable conjecture of Bergk in Hipponax 49₅. In ἐλεγκθέντος Mylasa

248 C 11 we have $\kappa\theta$ written for $\chi\theta$. The pronunciation of h after both κ and τ was difficult, $\chi\theta$ and $\phi\theta$ having in reality but a single h . See § 362.

3. Upon a papyrus couched chiefly in the Ionic dialect and dating from the fourth century B. C. (*Philol.* XLI 748) we find $\tau\upsilon\chi\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$ in line 11, but $\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$ in line 8. In the latter case we have the expulsion, in the former the assimilation, of the nasal, as in Nύφη and $\xi\upsilon\beta\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

352.] $\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma < \mu\iota\kappa-\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, a by-form of $\mu\iota\kappa-\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, is called Ionic by Eust. 217²⁹ (cf. 610²⁵), but is also Aiolic and Doric. It occurs in Herodas 6₅₉ who has also $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 7₄₃. Boiot. Μίκκα has hypocoristic gemination. Cf. Lat. *mīca*, *mīcidus*, Μικίς Naukr. 745.

353.] Γ for Β.

$\gamma\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$ (or $\gamma\lambda\eta\chi\acute{\omega}$) is called Ionic for Attic $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$ (Doric and Boiotian $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\nu$) in Bekk. Anecd. I 30₁₅ and in other grammatical treatises. $\gamma\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$ occurs in the Hymn to Demeter, Hippokratēs, and Herodas, frag. (7). Such a variation between Attic and Ionic in the representation of an original g sound deserves note from its very isolation. On the accent, see Chandler, § 606.

354.] Κορρα.

Q appears in Ionic inscriptions chiefly before \omicron and υ , but also before λ , ρ , and ν . The velar pronunciation of the guttural sound is indicated by the retention of the character reproducing $q\acute{\delta}p\acute{h}$ in the following instances:—

(1) Γλαῦρος , on an amphora from a Chalkidian colony, Roberts I 189 G, Volci I 188 G, Naukratis I 218 (=Rob. I 132 *ter*); Καῖρος Naukratis II 717, 795; καρῶν Arkesine 30=Rob. I 160 D; Ῥαῖρος Naukratis II 778; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ Chalkidian 131; (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ Orop. 18₁₀); $\text{τεσ(σ)ερακαειβῶ[μη]ρονταύτης}$ Delos 58; Δημόδορος Volci, Rob. I 188 A; Λεῶδορος , on a Chalkidian amphora, Rob. I 189 H; Φολοφῶντος Abu-Simbel 152; Φάρη Naxos 23; Διοσφορ- Naukratis I 675-682, II 833-836, &c.; Qo - - - - Chalkidian, Bechtel 13.

(2) Qύρ[α]s , Chalkid. amphora, Rob. I 192 (*a*); λήρυνθος Kyme, Rob. I 173; Ῥαρούλης Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 (*b*).

(3) Qλυτῶ Volci, Rob. I 188 E; Qλύτως Volci, Rob. I 193 (*c*).

(4) Ῥεπιρρήθεος Styra 19₁₀₇ is a doubtful form. Q seems, with this possible exception, to have ceased to be used in the Styrian tablets of the fifth century.

(5) Qύρ[α]s Chalkid., Rob. I 192 (*a*).

Dentals.

On ζ=δ, see § 377.

355.] T for Θ.

αῦτις¹ = αῦθις, epic, Herakleitos 16, Hdt. II 149, &c. Hdt. I 62 has μεταῦτις according to Stein, who reads αὐθιγενέες IV 49, αὐθιγενεί IV 180, αὐθιγενές II 149, and in the same sentence αῦτις. αῦτις occurs Hrd. 173, 527, 63, and by conjecture in Anacr. 29. This form is also Kretan. It is found in the pseudo-Ionists Lukian, e.g. *I. A.* 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63, and Eusebios, § 2. Hippokrates² prefers αῦθις to αῖτις, as his supposititious letters, Aretaios, Abydenos. In Arrian also the Attic form has found a place, while Polybios adopts upon occasion the Ionic form.

Variation between τ and θ is strongly marked in Ταργήλιος. Θαργήλιος. Both forms occur upon the same inscription, Iasos 104_{27, 28} (Τ), 104₁₄ (Θ). Anakreon 40 has the τ form; in Hipponax 37 Ταργηλιώστια is a conjecture, the MSS. having γα.γ- and Θα.γγ-. Ταργηλιών is the name of the month in Delos (cf. *B. C. II.* V 26) and Tenos. Θαργήλια in Arehil. ep. 113 is changed without warrant by Bergk to Ταργηλια. In Chios 174 C 18 we have the name Θαργελέο[s], and in Amorgos, Kyzikos, and Ephesos the name of the month was Θαργηλιών. We know also of Θαργήλια in Miletos.

τευθίς Sim. Amorg. 15 and θευτίς or θεῦτις Hipponax 115, would seem to be mutually exclusive in Ionic. θευτίς was doubtless adopted in Eastern Ionic, though which was the form among the Euboians, on whose coins the sepia appeared, is unknown. Hesychios has θωτάζει· ἐμπαίζει, χλευάζει, i.e. τωθάζει, without attributing to an Ionic source this example of the movement of the dentals. Both Hdt. and Hippokr. have τωθάζω.

Certain words connected with, or forms of, θάπτω and τέθηπα are called Ionic by the ancients: τάφος *burial* and *anazement*, Ionic for θάπος, Hdn. II 38₂₁₁ = An. Ox. I 3977, Apoll. *Synt.* 55₂₁ Bekk., Orion 151₂₂, Choir. 635₂₂ (who calls θρέψω and θρέξω¹ Ionic), Et. M. 748₂₅. Cf. also An. Par. III 577, Schol. Ven. A on IX 193, Et. M. 748₂₅, Et. Gud. 522₂₅, An. Par. III 5710; τεθηπότες Apoll. D. *Synt.* 55₂₁. Hdt. has τεθάφαται VI 103, where R has τετάφαται. ἰτάφη is found in Herodotos (III 10), ἐθάφθη in Sim. Keos 1673.

¹ Greg. Kor. p. 473, Eust. 1175₆; cf. 7^o9₃₆, 1006₂₀, Anecd. Bachm. II 61₂₇ (Max. Plan.) Ὀμηρος καὶ Ἴωνες; Tzetz. *Er. II.* 84₁₁, and on Hsd. *W. D.* 560 (cf. 156), where αῦτις is also referred to the Κοινή.

² Littré adopts αῦθις III 104 (no v.l.), 236 (Aldus alone αῦτις); 242 (αῦτις C), II 82 (αῦτις 2146), VI 92 (αῦτις A M). Littré has certainly gone too far in rejecting the Ionic form.

356.] Θ for T.

On θ in *κίθων, κύθρη*, see § 346.

*ἐνθευτεν*¹, *ἐνθαῦτα* in Hdt. with retention of original aspiration². The form *ἐνθαῦτα* is also found in the very ancient papyrus (*Philologus* XLI 748 l. 6), epist. Hippokr. 17₁₈, *Γράμματα*. 2. On *ἐντοῦθα* Oropos 18₁₇, see § 256. The intermediate stage between *ἐνθauτ-* and *ἐντανθ-* appears in *ἐνθauθοῖ* Attic (C. I. A. IV B 27 B 13; 439 B. C.), if the first θ is not due to the influence of the second. In the Kynnaian *θηφλός* (Roberts I 173) and *ἐθέθην* (Rob. I 174³) the θ's seem to be due to etymological considerations. This phenomenon is not restricted to Ionic, but occurs in Lakonian, Argolic, &c.

M. Schmidt suggests that the Hesychian gloss *Θελεγίνες· οἱ Τελχίνες* is Ionic. This is doubtful on account of the rest of the gloss: *γόητες, πανοῦργοι, φαρμακευταί*.

βάθρακος is stated by ancient grammarians to be the Herodotean form for *βάτραχος* (see §§ 147, 335)⁴. No editor, however, deserts the MS. tradition in Hdt. IV 131, 132; and Pigres, the author of the *Batrachomyomachia*, though an elder contemporary of the historian, does not recognize the form with θ.

357.] Varia.

1. τ for π.

Palatal τ is found in *Τερθεύς* (ὁ Περθεύς παρὰ Ἐκαταίφῃ, Photios). *Πενθεύς* is a clipped-name of *Μεγαπένθης*. *Τελέθριον* in Euboea is the equivalent of *Πελεθρόνιον* in Thessaly.

2. θ for δ in *μηθέν* Hrd. 391, *μηθενί* Teos 158₂₁, and *οὐθένα*, Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A 32, is not specifically Ionic. The aspiration of an original *mediu* is widely known in all the dialects as they approach the *κοινή* stage. A noteworthy instance of θ = δ is *ἠθ' ὀμόλευκτρος* B. C. H. IV 287, l. 5 (Paros).

3. Beyond the pale of regular phonetic change lie *Μιτροδάτης* and *Μιτροβάτης*.

4. τ for δ.

The schol. on Thuk. I 64 makes the curious statement in regard to *Ἀφύτιος* that it is Ionic for *Ἀφύδιος*. Because of the termination, we should rather say. For *ἀτράφραξυς*, Hippokr. VI 560 has *ἀνδράφαξυς*. For *κρατευτής* II. IX 214, the Attic is *κρατευτής* and *κραδευτής*. For *δρύφακτος*, we find *τρύφακτος* in Delos, B. C. H. 1890, p. 397, and in Oropos, *Ἐφημ.* ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 4-5; cf. Hdn. II 595₁, who says that some wrote the

¹ Greg. Kor. 465, Eust. 468₃₂, 746₁₅, An. Ox. I 397₈, An. Par. III 57₁₀, Apoll. *Synt.* 55₂₁.

² *ἐνθαῦθα*, the Attic form, is very common in MSS. of Ionic writers, e. g. Sim. Am. 23, Hrd. 333, epist. Hippokr. 27₂₇, 48, 55; *ἐντεῦθεν* *Vita Hom.* 13, 21.

³ Cf. Attic *ἀνεθέθη* in the same inscription as *ἐνθauθοῖ*.

⁴ See also Eust. 746₁₆, Meerm. 649.

word with δ , and also § 335. The Delian inscription, *l. l.* p. 404, has $\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\alpha$, with which cf. $\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$.

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$ occurs in Homer, Herodas 241, though Ail. Dionysios *gramm.* Eust. 1369₄ says that $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$ and $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$ are the older forms. $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$ occurs in Aristophanes, &c., but all MSS. have the τ form in *Plut.* 541.

5. $\tau\theta$ for θ , &c.

In $\Pi\epsilon\tau\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ on a coin from Ephesos *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16 ($\Pi\text{I}\text{T}\text{Θ}\text{Ε}\text{Υ}\text{Τ}\text{ΟΣ}$) and also Attic (C. I. A. III 908, 1962), the $\tau\theta$ is a development of θ (*th* becoming *þ*). On $\tau\tau$ in another form of this name, see § 361, 2.

6. δ and γ .

$\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in Hom., $\delta\rho\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Hippokr. VI 384 = Aiolic $\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, where γ , softened from κ , becomes δ before ν . Cf. $\acute{\alpha}\delta\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in Kretan, and *dlogy* for *glory*, a pronunciation heard in New England.

7. θ between $\sigma\lambda$ is expelled in $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\eta$ [*s*] Chios 175, a metrical inscription. $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is thus shown to be not necessarily Aiolic, as Karsten held (p. 19). Cf. also $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in C. D. I. 1200, formerly referred to Arkadian, and in Doric (Gregg. Korinth. p. 213, who quotes from Pindar). Elsewhere in Ionic the θ is preserved in this word, e.g. Sim. Am. 6₂.

358.] A dental followed by μ .

1. $-\delta\mu-$ does not become $-\sigma\mu-$: $\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$ ¹ Hdt. III 24 as in Homer, Hippokr., Aret. (but $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha$ 285₆, $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$ 315₁), $\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ Demokr. *Phys.* 1. On $\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$ in Old Attic, see Rutherford's *Phrynichus* p. 160. Whenever δ + suffixal μ seems to become $\sigma\mu$, the σ is due to analogy. $\acute{\iota}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ ² in Hdt. VII 111, Demokr. *Phys.* 1, 5, 9, Luk. *Dea Syr.* 2; $\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ in Aretaios 68₁₁, 212₁₈ and Arrian 4₁₄ (where Hercher reads $\acute{\iota}\delta-$) is from analogy to $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$. In $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\eta$, which is found in Hom., Hippokr., and is the equivalent of Attic $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta$ (C. I. A. II 105_{41a}), $\delta\mu$ becomes $\mu\delta$ and this $\mu\delta$ passes into $\mu\nu$ according to Prellwitz, *B. B.* XVII 172. The name $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ occurs in Thasos (L.) 5, 20 A 4; $\text{Μ}\acute{\epsilon}\delta\mu\alpha$ in Hekataios.

2. $-\theta\mu-$ remains unchanged in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Hdt. II 125, $\acute{\eta}\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ Prokon. 103 (stelè of Sigeion). $\acute{\rho}\nu\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Hdt. V 58, Demokr. 205 (Stob., $-\sigma\mu-$ according to Mullah) seems in accordance with Phrynichos' rule: $\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ θ , $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ σ $\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (CCXCVI, Rutherford). Either this rule must not be taken to hold good in the case of other words, or $\acute{\rho}\nu\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Archil. 66₇, Anakr. 74₂, is an Attic interloper. $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ Kyzik. 111₁₀ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\rho\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Erythrai 201₄ are inscriptional forms not free

¹ Bekk. Anecd. I 56₂₀, Phryn. 160 (R.) $\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu$, cf. Eust. 1570₉.

² Eust. 1570₉ (Doric).

from the suspicion of being Attic, since both documents are to be placed in the fourth century B.C. ῥυσμός may contain the suffix -σμο- which is borrowed from δα-σμός, δε-σμός, &c. At least such an analogical formation came into existence several centuries before the period of Archilochos (Homeric θεσμός). See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 119, Kretschmer, *ibid.* XXIX 429. Many of the occurrences of σμ in nouns have their parallel in σμ in verbal forms, e.g. ἐράσμιος in Anakreon, ὕσμα, κνήσμα, ἔμεσμα, κρεμασμός, θλάσμα, σχάσμα in Hippokrates.

Labials.

359.] Ionic B = Δ of other dialects.

Before dark vowels I. E. *g* became β, before those of light colour δ.

βούλομαι Ionic-Attic = Aiolic βόλλομαι, Arkadian βόλομαι (also Kyrian and Homeric), Pamphylian βόλομαι, Herakleian ἐήλομαι, Lokrian and Delphian ἐείλομαι. In Thessalian βέλλομαι, Boiot. βείλομαι, β is due to the influence exerted by βολλά and βωλά respectively.

ὄβελός in Hom., Ihd., Boiot., Attic (δω,βελία) = ὄελός in Delphian, Megarian, Kretan, Tarentine. ὄβολός in τετρω,βόλου Hrd. 6₄ has its penultimate ο by assimilation to the initial ο.

360.] Ionic B = Γ of other dialects.

βλέφαρον = γλέφαρον in Pindar; cf. ποτιγλέποι in Alkman.

πρέσβυς = πρισγείες, BOIOTIAN § 43.

361.] Relation of Π and Φ.

I. Π for Φ.

Ἄμφιθάλης Delos 55 II 8, is a form parallel to Ἄμφιθάλης 55 V 10, &c., and formed by dissimilation from it; cf. ἀμπέχω and ἀμφίσκοντες ἐνδύομενοι.

I. Eust. 239_{25, 23} holds that πατριά (-ή) is the Ionic form of the Attic φρατρία. πατριά is found in Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 4; cf. πατριά in Ihd. I 200 and Eleian *C. D. I.* 1152 (see Blass *ad loc.*) and the Arkadian πάτρα, *ibid.* 1194. That the spelling without the first ρ is Attic and Doric is apparent from *C. I. A.* II 5991 (fourth century), Chios, *Ditt. Syll.* 360₂₈ (where it is Attic), Delphic (*ibid.* 294 B 77), Andros, *Mithr.* I 237₅, Phokian, Cauet 223 B 14, Koan, *ibid.* 159. The difficulty of identifying the two forms is enhanced by the fact that the inscription from Iasos has πατρίην, not πητρίην. Though in Ihd. I 125 only δ and the Aldine edition have the suspicious φήτην for φρήτην, yet we should expect πη- if the word is connected with φρατρία (Homeric φρήτην). While the expulsion of one ρ is a well-known phenomenon, dissimilation at the

same time of ϕ to π is out of the question. The word has no connection with $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$, $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$.

The Et. Gud. 440, maintains that the Ionians used $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\alpha$ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\alpha$.

2. 'Επίδαλτης in Hdt., and on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kienstmith.*, pl. IV, No. 6, is the original form of the name. 'Εφιδάλτης has an inorganic ϕ . Cf. the Alkaiian 'Επίδαλτης and ἐπίδαλος.

2. Φ for Π.

Φίττωρ in Keos 44 A 7 is the equivalent of Attic Πίθων (C. I. A. I 433, II 22, 434₁₆), the Boiotian Φίθων C. D. I. 850 (Φίττωρ perhaps occurs also in *Mitth.* IX 319, D 71, in an inscription from Keos), and is a shortened form of Πιτθεύς (Πιθειδης Keos 44 A 10, § 357, 5). Cf. Φετταλός in Boiotian = Thess. Πετθαλός.

Κρίσφον in a late Parian inscription *B. C. H.* I 135, No. 48, is an example of the wide-spread inability of the later imperial period to distinguish between *vois* and *aspirata*. The ϕ of the aspirated perfect τετράφαται is claimed as Ionic by Et. M. 366₇.

362.] Πφ for Φ.

In M 208 for ὄφιν at the end of the verse we find ὀφιν in S, and ὀφιν in H. This spelling is furthermore attested by Eust. 900₁₂ (cf. 1577₅₃, 1755₃₅). In Hipponax 49₆ (ἦν αὐτὸν ὄφισ πῶντικρόμιον δῆκη) we may either follow the procedure of Herodian (Villoison, *Anecd.* II 86), who adopted this spelling in Homer, or we may accept that with $\pi\phi^1$, which is defended by σκύφιος Anacr. 82, Hesiod frag. 174 (cf. Athenaios XI 498⁸ A), Delos (*B. C. H.* VII 109, l. 24, 26, &c., a prose inscription), σκύφειον Stesich. 7 (Casaubon), and reinforced by the analogy of Πιτθεύς (§ 357, 5), ὄκχον Pind. *Ol.* VI 24, ὄκχέοντι II 67. Antimachos (78 K) also made use of the form ὄφισ, the length of whose initial syllable is due to affrication. Cf. Ζεφυρή η 119, βρόχος Theog. 1099 &c.; § 351, 357, 5. In Hipponax 49₂ ὄφισ may be either ὄφισ or ὀφισ.

καταπιμέ[υη]s Chios 175₂ is an attempt at a more exact phonetic orthography than καταφθιμ[έ]ρων Keos 43₁, in both cases there being but one *h* after the double labial. Cf. ἐλεγκθέντος under § 351 and *K. Z.* XXVIII 179.

363.] Π for B, and Φ for B.

'Αμπρακιῆται Hdt. IX 28, 31 ('Αμπρακιῶται VIII 45, 47) and so in Thukydides and I. G. A. 70, was later on spelled 'Αμβ-, *mp* becoming *mb* as in Modern Greek. Coins of Ambrakia generally have β (C. D. I. 3185), while Attic inscriptions have β or π. Λεπαιεύς Keos (*Mitth.* IX 274₂₅), a form that is also

¹ Fick conjectured οῦφισ = ὀ φφισ (*Odyssee* 24).

Delphic. On ἡμβλακον Archil. 73, see *A. J. P.* VI 46. Anakr. (141) perhaps used the form ἀστραφή for ἀστράβη.

364.] Varia.

ἀρτοπόπος is called Ionic for ἀρτοκόπος in Bekk. Anecd. I 447₂; = Bachm. Anecd. I 147₂; Hdt. has however (I 51) the κ form.

ὄππότε Kallin. 18, Theog. 531 is not Ionic (§ 342, note 1).

σάμβαλα, for σάνθαλα, and related forms are used by Hippokrat. 18₂, Anakr. 14₂, Herodas 7₆₀, 7₁₂₅; cf. Sappho 98₂, Eumelos *apud* Paus. IV 33, 3, and under ΔΙΟΛΙΕ.

There is no variation in Ionic between φ and θ not known in other dialects. Ἐργόφειμι Styra 19₁₀₀ is a mere slip for -θειμι. Δωροφέα, Rob. I 29, is not an Ionic name for Δωροθέη. φλᾶν occurs in Hippokratēs, and is found in Pindar, Aristophanes, Theokritos, while θλαῦ is also employed by Hippokratēs and is known to Homer, Hesiod, Theokritos, Herodas 2₈₃ (θληῖ contains a Doric contraction). φλίβειν which appears in Theokritos XV 76 and as a *v. l.* in *Odyss.* 17₂₂₁ is used by Hippokr. VI 292, 300, in both of which passages C has the form with θ. The ancient grammarians thought that the φ forms were the property of the Aiolie dialect. θήρ is the Ionic form (cf. Θηρίων Styra 19₁₁₆).

The Spirants.

365.] Yod.

The influence of Homeric ζα < δια has given life to ζάπλουτος even in prose (Hdt. I 32, in the speech of Solon). ζάπειος occurs in Xenophanes 1 and in an epigram from Paros, No. 59 (fifth century). See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 43. ι seems to have become ι in μάλιον Tyrt. 12₆; see § 163. On combinations of yod, see §§ 224, 367, 370.

Sigma.

366.] Adverbs which permit an option of final s refuse the adoption of the sibilant in the following cases in Hdt.: μέχρη, ἄχρη, and ἰθύ, ἰθύς, which are differentiated in meaning. οὔτω occurs before both vowels and consonants, and οὔτως before vowels is rarely attested by all MSS. On the other hand -s occurs in πολλάκις¹ (followed by a consonant) and ἀτρέμας (followed by a vowel). χωρίς has a rare by-form in Doric without s (Thera, Cauer 148 E 8, χῶρι Hdn. I 506₃, who quotes from

¹ Joh. Alex. 377; Hdn. II 220₇, note.

Kallimachos $\chi\omega\rho\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\mu\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, cf. Apoll. *Adv.* 138¹⁵, 162²⁵ Schneider. The inscription from Oropos (No. 18) that has $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ even before a vowel (l. 3) has $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (l. 44). Archil. 37 used $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ and so did Kallimachos according to the testimony of Joh. Alex. 38²⁰ (Hdn. I 506¹⁴, 511²³).

367.] Ionic $\sigma^1 =$ Attic $\sigma < \tau\iota$

in nouns with the suffix *li*, in *i* stems with τ preceding the stem suffix (*κάσις*, *κασίγητος*, cf. *ἐγκατα*), in adjectives in which the ending *io* follows upon a τ contained in the stem, and in the 3rd sing. of $-\mu\iota$ verbs, and 3rd plur. present and perfect. The influence of other forms has frequently caused the retention of $\tau\iota$, e. g. *πατῖ*, *ὀνόματι*, cf. Attic *ναυτία* (= Ionic *ναυσίη*) because of *ναύτης*². Elsewhere τ before accented *i* does not become σ , as it does not in oxytones and paroxytones; while final $\tau\iota$ in proparoxytones is usually assibilated, according to Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXX 565 ff.; whose discussion of the question does not yield wholly satisfactory results. The force of analogy has retained τ frequently in forms where σ is properly in place, e. g. *νότιος* (Hdt., Hippokr.) with the τ of *νότος*. *φάτις* (Herakl. 3) retains its τ either from the influence of *φατίζω* or from the influence of the form **φατεῖ-*; the tendency to dissimilation from *φάσις* being an auxiliary factor in the preservation of the form³. *πλουσίη* has the σ of *πλούσιος*. The Ionic character of *ἄμπωτις* in Hdt. has been impeached by Kretschmer, not only because of the retention of the dental contrary to the rule formulated by him, but also on the score of the unusual apocope, on which see § 715. Less valid is the objection of G. Meyer (that the radical $\pi\omega$ is found in the present in Aiolic alone), since the parent *ῥαῖ* is proethnic, and substantival forms with ω (which need not be derived from the perfect) are the property of other dialects than Ionic. That Herodotos should have adopted a Doric word relating to the sea, as Kretschmer contends *l. l.* 572, passes belief. Ionic-Attic *πλησίος* is an obstinate form, but due, according to the scholar just mentioned, to the influence of *παραπλήσιος*.

368.]

Homeric *ποτί*, Sim. Keos (?) 85¹³ = Avest. *ῥαῖ* is not Doric, notwithstanding that it is the usual form in the dialects of Dorian sympathies. Ionic inherited together with other members of the Hellenic race the proethnically distinct forms *ποτί* and *προτί*. In Doric *ποτί* may lose its *iota* before a vowel, in Homer an elided *ποτί* and *προτί* are unknown.

¹ An. Ox. II 361²² quotes as Ionic the change of τ to σ in *εὐεργεσία* (*εὐεργέτης*).

² *ἀλουσίη* Hdt., Hippokr., *-σία* Eurip., but *-τία* Eupolis (cf. Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 505).

³ Cf. *ἔπτιος* because of *ἔψιος*.

369.] Ionic σ for Attic τ ¹ is found in the following words.

σήμερον in Homer, *Hrd.* 2₅₇ and in the suspected verse of the *Rhesos* (683), from the pronominal stem *lia*, which is also the source of Attic *τῆτες*, of which *σῆτες* is the Ionic form (*Et. M.* 711₄₃). The dialects exclusive of Attic had σ in these words. Cf. Hesychios *τῆμερον* Ἀττικοὶ [τῆμερος] καὶ τῆμερα λέγουσιν. It may be noted that the existence of an adjective *τῆμερος* is evident from the scholiast on *Clouds* 699 (see Jackson in *Class. Rev.* VI 4).

The σ of *σηλία*, attested in Bekk. *Anecd.* I 382₂₅, may be Ionic.

σεῦτλον is the equivalent of Attic *τεῦτλον*, which appears in Hippokr. VI 248, 252, though in II 482 *A* has the σ -form, which is also found in θ in VI 560. Littré reads *τεῦτλον* in the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts. In later Attic the ridiculed *σεῦτλον* found a place, and *σήμερον* was occasionally adopted.

Hesychios reports as dialect by-forms of Attic *τύριζη* and *τύριζα* (Aischylos), *σύριζη* and *σύριζα*. The former at least can belong to no other dialect than Ionic. Kratinos made use of *συριζιμεῖς*.

The relation between *σαργάνη* Aischylos, *Suppl.* 788 (*ἀρτάναις* Dindorf with Lascaris) and *παργάνη* in Hesychios is obscure, though Koegel in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* VII 191 has compared them with Lith. *tvėriū* 'enclose.' Neither *σίλφη* nor *τίλφη* occur in Ionic sources. *τεύμησατο* in Antimachos' *Thebais*, frag. 3 Kinkel, is not Ionic but Boiotian, at least as regards the dental, because of *τεύμησός*. The Doric form would be *σευμάσατο*, the Ionic *σευμήσατο*. Cf. Fick in *B. B.* VI 236 and Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 121. The last named scholar has shown that Ionic *σάω* for older **σάω* is represented in Attic by **ττάω* in *διαττάω*, which was regarded as a compound of *διά* + *άττάω*. This *άττάω* was in fact turned into Ionic *άσσάω* by Archestratos in Athenaios III 111 F (*ήσσημένα*). *έττημένα* *σεσημένα*², so far from being Ionic as M. Schmidt thought, is good Attic and used by Pherekrates.

370.] Relation of Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ to Attic $\tau\tau$.

Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ is = Boiotian, Attic $\tau\tau$ when it arises from $\tau\iota$, $\theta\iota$, $\kappa\iota$ ³, $\chi\iota$, $\tau\phi$, *i. e.* Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ is a secondary sound in these cases.

The position assumed by the Attic inscriptions⁴ (and by those monuments of literary Attic which voice the speech of the people) in favour of $\tau\tau$ makes for the view that whenever we meet with

¹ Cf. Wharton, *Class. Rev.* VI 259.

² Hesychios has *έττησμένα* *σεοσεισμένα*, Photios *έττημένα* *σεσησμένα*.

³ With *έπισσαι* Hekat. 367 (*αἱ έπιγιγνώμεναι τοῖς προγόνοις*), we may compare Vedic *apicyā*, according to Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 122. It is better to explain *μέτασσα* as also containing a κ suffix than to suppose with Giles (*Class. Rev.* III p. 4) that *-ασσα* is a feminine participial termination.

⁴ No inscription in pure Attic, other than a vase inscription, has before 400 B. C. the $\sigma\sigma$ form in cases where there was a possibility of the adoption of $\tau\tau$.

$\sigma\sigma$ in early Athenian literature we have to deal with a direct or indirect influence exerted by Ionic upon nascent Athenian art. Once installed in the poetry of the sixth century, $\sigma\sigma$ descended as an heirloom to tragedy, which felt the influence, not only of Solon, but also of the earlier Ionic poetry and of the beginnings of Ionic prose. Thukydides¹ and the older Attic prose writers who adopted $\sigma\sigma$, though contemporary with Aristophanes and his predecessors (whose $\tau\tau$ bespeaks the language of the marketplace), adopted it through the influence of tragedy and of the rhetorical canons of the day.

The only means of avoiding the conclusion that there is an artistic reason for the difference between the unvarying $\tau\tau$ of the inscrip-tional monuments and the $\sigma\sigma$ of early literature is, with Kirchhoff, to maintain that all the cases of $\sigma\sigma$ in early Attic literature are due to textual corruption. This view shuts its eyes to the true conception of the language of tragedy and of early prose in Attika as standing in sympathy, not only with Doric (in the choral part of tragedy), but also with Ionic. Cf. §§ 22, 61, 375.

371.] Extension of $\sigma\sigma$ in the Ionic dialects.

Asiatic Ionic and Island Ionic have $\sigma\sigma$ for Attic $\tau\tau$ invariably. Whether Western Ionic stood on the side of Attic is not yet clear because of lack of evidence. Thus far $\tau\tau$ has been discovered in *Κεττίης* Styra 19₂₂, *ἐλαττωρ* Oropos 18_{1, 2} (cf. *ἐλασσον* in Hdt., Hipp. II 36, Keos 434), *ἐκπρηττότων* Adesp. 22₆ (an inscription found several miles south of Eretria). The question at issue is whether these inscriptions are not composed under Attic influence. Thuk. VII 57 shows that in the middle of the fifth century there existed some political connection between Athens and Styra, and there are other proofs of the influence of the rising democratic state over the language and alphabet of Eubœia. As regards the leaden tablets of Styra, we find in 19₂₀₃ *Μοφσίδης*, a spelling that bears an Attic aspect. The names *Κίσι(σ)ς* 19₂₈₃ and *Κίσι(σ)α[μος]* 19₂₈₂ are either those of men not Western Ionians or they prove that the above mentioned *Κεττίης* has an Attic $\tau\tau$ ². The Eretrian dialect of Oropos may, by the end of the fifth century, have adopted some Attic spellings. The inscription containing *ἐλαττωρ* dates either between 411-402 B. C. or between 387-377. The Chalkidians certainly did not affect the Attic $\tau\tau$. In Olynthos 8 B we read *πίσισης*. *Πόσσα* in Rhegion 5 is not necessarily Ionic.

¹ In Thukydides there are very few cases of $\tau\tau$ in all MSS.; e. g. *παράττεσθαι* VIII 71, while as a *v. l.* it is not infrequent: *γλώττης* I 138, *γλωτταν* II 68.

² Fick. *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 125 referred *Κεττίης* to Boiotian influence, comparing *Κετ[τ]ῆλος*. Meister writes *Κετῆλος* C. D. I. 875 (epigr.).

ἄττι¹ in Theognis 17, 818, 1200, as in Homer, is from ἄτ + τι.

372.] σσ in the Aorist.

In Ionic poetry we have the following instances of σσ in the aorist, the origin of which, when not derived from σ- or δ- stems, is still involved in obscurity:—Theognis has ἐγέλασσε 9, εἰκάσσαις 127, δπάσση 321, ἀπόλεσαι 323, ἀνύστας 511, ἐικάσαι 543, ἀρεσσάμενοι 762, ὄλεσσα 831. Sigmatic stems are contained in τρεσσάντων Tyrnt. 11₁₄, ἐτέλεσσα Theog. 953, θεσσάμενοι Arch. 11₂, eleg., ἠρήσατο Arch. 30 is not a remarkable form in trimeter. Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar have -σσ- in this verb; and Lukian's ἠρήσατο *deu Syria* 17 cannot be an old form. εἰκάσσασθαι in Hippoanax 79 and ὑποργάσσαι in 84 (both tetrameters) are mere conjectures of Schneidewin and Meineke respectively.

373.] Reduction of σσ to σ.

When to σσ there is a parallel form in σ, σσ belongs in general to poetry. Thus the epic μέσσος is preserved in Anakr. 80, Theog. 331, 994, 1164, μέσσατος 998. Hippo. 127 μεσσηγδορποχέστης should probably be written with one σ; cf. μεσέων Anan. tetr. 59. Sim. Keos 84 has a certain case of μέσσοι. τόσσος Archil. hex. 14 (163 τόση?), Theog. 83, ὄσσος Tyrnt. 11₁₀, Solon 51, Xenoph. 2₁₈, Theog. 93, 996, Hrd. 1₂₇, 2₆₂, 3₈₄; ὀπίσω Tyrnt. 11₁₃, Theog. 735, ἄρρησάσος Theog. 987. ποσί is the prose form (Hdt., Hippokr.), and found in Archil. 58₄ tetr., for which Bergk reads ποσσί. The forms with single σ are employed in prose and in such poetry as reproduces the diction of the epic or of Aiolic. ὄσος, τόσος Hdt., Hippokr. who uses ἐς τόσον VIII 284, ὄσος Chios 174 A 8, Anakr. 74₂; τόσος Theog. 93. Ηόσσα Rhegion 5 cannot be Ionic. Hrd. has ὄσος 1₁₅, 3₁, 3₈₀, 4₁₀, 5₈, 6₂₅, τόσος 3₄₃, μέσος 6₈₁. ὄσσα in Demok. 184 is a figment of Mullach. ὀπίσω Hdt., Demok., rare in Homer.

In many proper names the MSS. of Hdt. vary between σσ and σ after a long vowel; in fact all dialects show fluctuating orthography under these circumstances. In an inscription from Smyrna, *C. I. G.* 331 I₆, in one from Syros, *Ἀθήν.* III 530, l. 18, and in Latyshev II 36₄ we find νήσσος, with which compare Ἀλικαρνησός², -εύς, Ionic forms of the Karian name. In Attic we find -νασίοι, -νασεύς and -νασσεύς, but upon the stones -σσ- regularly (*i. e.* with only one exception). Bredow contended

¹ Incorrectly called Ionic, Greg. Kor. p. 463, who quotes ἄττι κεν εἶπω. The form is of Aiolic texture. At least no other dialect save Aiolic made use of the form in post-Ilomic times.

² See Hdn. I 102₂₁, 121₁₈, 209₃₀, II 80₁₃, 878₁₅, 879₃₆, 891₉.

that Παριησσός was the correct Herodoteian form, whereas Stein writes -ηησός. Cf. Παριησσίου C. I. A. II 609²⁵ (324 B. C.), Aisch. *Choeph.* 563 (MSS. -ηησ-, cf. § 22), 953 (MSS. -ασσ-). Hdn. I 209²⁰ prescribes Παριασσός. -ηησός in Δυριησσός occurs as early as Homer. Stein regards one *sigma* as correct in the Herodoteian Κνώσιος (cf. Kuman. 1892), Ήλυσος, Νήρισαι, Μυλάσιοι (cf. C. I. A. I 233 17 C (447 B. C.)), Νίσαια, Νῦσα, Κυφαρός (so in Attic inser.), Κρισάιοι, Πηδασέες, Πίσαια, &c.; σσ in Ἄμφισσα, Ὀρόησσός, Σαλμυόησσός, Ταρτησσός, Ὑμησσός, &c. Ἰλιωσός and Κορησσός in Stein are incorrect, at least they are not Attic; cf. Ἰλιωός C. I. A. I 210² (429 B. C.), 273 F 16; Κορήσιοι C. I. A. I 229 9 b (451 B. C.), II 17 B 25 (378 B. C.), and 546¹² (350 B. C.), a decree of the Koresians. Late coins of Iasos have Ἰασέων and Ἰαστέων, Head, *H. N.* 528. In Halik. 240⁵⁷ we read Ἰμζράσιωός and in the next line Ἰμζράσιτῶός. On the Karian -ασσός, -ηησός¹, -ισσός, &c., cf. Georg Meyer in *B. B.* X 173-176, 193.

374.] σσ is written for σ

in Ἰσπτιαιῶς Eretria 15¹⁸, Ἀλσσχέλου 266 (probably Ionic), Ἀπίσ-
στασι Pantikapaion, Latyschev II 9, in order to display the
division of the syllables in pronunciation; σσ is written with one
σ in τᾶσθήλας Teos 156 B 35, ἐσθήλην Erythr. 202¹⁸.

375.] Whether T for σσ is a mere orthographical variation, or whether it represents a local pronunciation, is not yet clear. See Roberts I § 75, Riemann *B. C. II.* III 494 ff., Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 141, Ramsay *Class. Rev.* I 10 and references in G. Meyer *Gramm.* p. 273. Halik. 238² Ἀλικαρνατ[έω]ν, but 238¹¹ Ἀλικα[ρνη]σσέων, 238⁶ Ὀατᾶτιος, 238¹⁶ Π[α]ρνᾶτιος with the forms Παρέωσις and Παρέαξις on later documents. This T occurs also in Mesembria and perhaps in Teos (θαλάτης I. G. A. 497 B 23 = Bechtel 156 B 23). The existence of *sampi* may show how easy was the transition from Ionic σσ to Attic ττ. See § 22. No doubt the pronunciation of σσ was much nearer akin to that of ττ than the spelling indicates and the difference was to a large extent purely orthographical. The ordinary modern pronunciation of σσ as pure sibilants and of ττ as pure dentals cannot have been the ancient pronunciation, nor did the Aischyleian actor who had σσ before him in his score pronounce very differently from his hearer who wrote ττ.

¹ This is to be distinguished from the Ionic form of the Karian -ασσος, *c. g.* in Ἀλικαρνασσός, which is still preserved in coins of the second century B. C., cf. Head, *H. N.* 526. In the ancient inscription No. 238 it is noteworthy that, though the dialect is Ionic throughout, at the outset the name of the inhabitants of Halikarnassos should be given with the form in *ā*, notwithstanding that the ending of the genitive is -εων (a certain reading).

376.] εσσι in non-sigmatic stems

is foreign to the genius of the Ionic dialect. The transference of -εσσι from its legitimate sphere occurs in only two cases in the poets of Ionic birth:—Anakr. 24₁ πτερύγεσσι. Ananias 5₈ ἐχθύεσσιν (troch. tetram.). In Xenoph. 3₅ ἐνπρεπέεσσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ἀγαλλόμενοι παραῆσιν is distinctly preferable (cf. Aristaeus in Kinkel *Frag. poet. eriv.* p. 245). In Solon's ἡγεμόρεσσι (6₁) we have further evidence of the influence of epic diction; cf. § 61. Anakreon may borrow from his Aiolic exemplars, and indeed stands closer to Homer than some of his predecessors. That the trochaic tetrameter is less rigid in excluding the Aiolisms of Homer than the iambic trimeter, may explain the presence of the -εσσι form in Ananios. Theognis with his ἀνδρεσσι 306, πάντεσσιν 373, κοράκεσσι 833 is in still closer touch with Homer than is Anakreon.

Z.

377.] Zeta.

1. Decisive orthographical criteria for the pronunciation of ζ upon Ionic soil are wanting, but indications point to its having been sounded like *zd*. Blass *Aussprache*³, p. 116 ff. brings forward as evidence of this pronunciation rather than that as *ds*, *inter alia* the Homeric Ζέλεια, Ζάκυνθος, in which ζ fails to make position because of the dropping of the initial σ ((Σ)θάκυνθος; not Δσάκυνθος); δαφινός, δάσκιος, where Aiolic would have ζα- (above, § 365); μαζός¹ = μαστός, or μασθός; and Herodoteian Ἀζωτος, not Ἀσώτος.

ὀσδόμενος Xenoph. 1₆, the only example of the so-called Aiolic σδ in Ionic, was rightly changed by Hermann to ὀζόμενος. Whatever the sound of ζ in Ionic, words ordinarily spelled with ζ were not represented by σδ.

2. Variation between ζ and δ. μέζεα occurs in Hsd. *W. D.* 512, and was regarded as an Ionic word for μέδεα. μήδεα by Greg. Kor. p. 535, Hdn. II 372₁₆. The form μέζεα is from μεδι-, √ *mad*; cf. Slav. *maidlo*. Cf. § 139. For ζορκάς Hdt. IV 192 we have the form δορκάς in VII 69; cf. ζόρξ in Kallimachos, Nikander, and see Curtius, *Et.* p. 663. In Zankle we find δ for ζ, I. G. A. 518, where Δά]ρκλην is a probable conjecture. The alphabet is however pre-Samian.

3. ζα = δια- in ζάπεδον Xenoph. 1₁, Paros 39 (epigram of the fifth century), ζάπλουτος Hdt. I 32. Cf. ζάπληθής, ζάπυρος in

¹ Hom. and in tragedy: Hdt. and Hippokr. have both μαζός and μαστός <μαδ-τος. Hippokr. generally has μαζός (variations in the MSS. IV 544, 550). V 118 μαστόι, 318 μαζών (μασθών Galen).

Aischylos. ζα- for δα-, while chiefly Æolic, cannot be held to be the property of that dialect alone.

4. In a Chian document, Paspates 30, we find Ζμάραγδος and the form with σ-.

Supposed change of ζ and γ.

The ancients assumed that *oi νεώτεροι Ἴωνες*¹ changed γ to ζ in δλίζον (*sic*) and πεφυζῶς (Herakleides in Eust. 1643₁, An. Ox. I 366₂₁). Both words occur in Homer and in Nikander, δλίζον also in Lykophon. πεφυζότες seems to be formed from φύζω < φυγίω, which the ancients confused with φεύγω. δλίζων was also called Thessalian (Hdn. II 372₂, Steph. Byz. 489₁₇) and Æolic (Et. M. 270₂₆). δλείζων is Attic, ἄλιον (*sic*) for δλίγον in the Lexicon of Ailios Dionysios Eust. 1160₁₆) was called either barbarous or Ionic. The form δλιον, which has lost its γ, has thus far turned up in the plebeian Attic dialect (C. I. A. II 594₈, and in a fragment of the comic poet Plato, Kock fr. I 644, No. 168), and on Egyptian papyri. It is also referred to the dialect of Tarentum by Hdn. II 295₇ (Et. M. 621₅₁).

Ξ.

378.] Ξ.

That ξ was pronounced more like χs than κs appears from the forms Ναθσιου, ἔθσοχος for Ναξιου, ἔξοχος upon the archaic Naxian inscription Rob. I 25.

A pleonastic σ appears in Θώρηξs Styra 19₂₀₅, ἔξs Chios 174 A 5, cf. ἐξστῶσι Zeleia 113₂₃ and κόραξs upon a Korinthian vase inscription, K. Z. XXIX 168. Similar usage is attested upon an inscription in J. H. S. VI 372 (κύλιξs).

ξ before κ occurs in Hippocratic ἐξκαίδεκα, -δέκατος, and also in Attic ἐξκλινος.

379.] Βρύασσιs Iasos 104_{12, 17, 20} has been corrected upon the stone to Βρύαξιs in order to restore the archaic Karian orthography. In the Halikarnassian inscriptions, Nos. 238, 240, ξ has given way to σσ in every instance. Georg Meyer, B. B. X 177, rightly admits the possibility that the fluctuation between ξ and σσ was purely orthographical and that the sign for ξ had in the older period, as in Kyprian and Lykian, the phonetic value of σσ.

With κιάλλας Teos B 19, cf. κιτάλης = κλέπτης according to Joh. Gram. 242 B. On the introductory ε of ἐξαιθραπέουτος Mylasa 248 A B C 2, see §§ 143, 211 and σαδράπαν in Æolic, C. D. I. 304 A 18.

¹ It is quite unusual for Hdn. to regard as late Ionic a form that is found in Homer. Yet this is what he does in the case of πεφυζότες, if we are to accept Lentz' ascription of the passage II 265₁ to him. In II 798₁₄ Hdn. brings forward another, and as he himself states (II 265₈), less commendable view.

The sound ξ is expressed in the Ionic alphabet by:—(1) Θξ *hs*, *c. g.* Roberts I 25, Naxos; (2) Χξ Roberts I 28, Naxos, Rob. I 17, Paros; (3) Κξ (?) Roberts I 158 B, Amorgos. Cf. the representations of ψ, below § 381. σκ as a means of expressing ξ is claimed for Ionic by Gomperz (*Archaeol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, VI 93) and Ωσκυθίς Bechtel 61 = Rob. I 18 B has been put forward in support of the claim. But an Ὀξυθίς is as difficult to explain as Ὀσκυθίς.

380.] Ionic ξ = Attic κ; relation of σύν to ξύν, &c.

There is no immediate connection between ξυρός and κωρός. The former occurs in epic poetry (and in Attic tragedy), Teos 156 A 3, Herakleitos 62, 70, 91, 92 (this author not adopting κωρός in a single instance), Demokritos *Mor.* 43, Herodotos IV 12, VII 53 (κωρός is more frequently used by Hdt.), Arrian § 20₄ ξυνοῦσθαι, but § 15₂₂ ἀνεκωυόυντο. ξυρός has appeared upon inscriptions from Arkadia and Argolis. Doubtless the similarity in sound between κωρός and ξυρός led to their being confused, though they are in reality different words. ξυρός is from *ξυρός or *ξυρφος. In his *Studia* I 44, Baumeister ventures to connect κωρός with κείμαι and compares κωωνεῖν τῶν in the sense of μιγῆναι. Certainly there are great difficulties in the way of connecting κωρός with Lat. *con*.

Relation of σύν to ξύν. The preferences of Ionic are in the direction of the former form, which is the only one that appears upon inscriptions (§ 715). ξύν is not infrequently handed down in the MSS. of the lyric poets: Archil. ξυλέτε 50 (but σύν 41). The Et. M. 385₀, after alluding to ἐσυνῆκε in Alkaios, quotes ἐξυρῆκεν from Anakreon (146). The MSS. of the fragments of the Ionic philosophers have συν- far more frequently than appears from Mullach's edition; cf. Demokr. 69, 119, 135, 147, 213. In Demokr. we have however ξυρέσιος 58, ξυρχωρεειν 44 (but συρχωρεεται in Melissos 1). In Sextus Empiricus' citation of the *Physika* of Demokritos we find such variations as ξύμπας and σύνυδμεν. In the lyric poets and early Ionic prose it is better to write σύν. In Hippokrates and Aretaios the uniformity with which ξύν appears is indication enough that the dialect of the Koan physician agreed with the usage of fifth-century Attic inscriptions which have ξύν much more frequently (3½ : 1) than σύν. After 410 B.C. ξύν was felt to be antiquated. At that date all the other dialects had σύν. Though the Homeric¹ text has both, ξύν is found in no place where the metre requires the heavier form. The same is true in the case of the Aiolic poets. To the MSS. of Hdt. ξύν is foreign, but ξυνεχέος appears in Philip of Pergamum *B. C. II.* II 273. The pseudo-Ionists generally prefer σύν. In Lukian the proportion is 17 : 5, in Arrian 47 : 10, in Euseb. 4 : 1. The supposititious letters of Hippokrates have ξύν. ξύν and σύν are hereditary forms of the

¹ ξυνδῆσαι Ionic, An. Par. III 13S₂₂, 353₂₁, schol. on A 399.

language from the earliest times. The former does not become the latter in any historical period of Greek. A theory as to the ultimate interrelation of ξ and σ is put forward by Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 415 ff.

$\delta\iota\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$ ¹ Anakr. 88, Hdt. IX 74, and $\tau\rho\iota\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$ Hdt. IX 85 are not of like origin with Attic $\delta\iota\tau\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (C. I. A. II 59,323) and $\tau\rho\iota\tau\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, the endings being unconnected. The Ionic forms in $-\xi\acute{o}\varsigma$ are from $-\kappa\tau\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ (* $\delta\phi\iota\kappa\tau\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$, * $\tau\rho\iota\kappa\tau\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$).

381.] Ψ .

ψ is represented by $\pi\sigma$ in the alphabet of Amorgos, Rob. I 158 D, by $\pi\psi$ in that of Priene, Bechtel 144, and by $\psi\sigma$ in Styra 19₂₆₃.

The interrelation of words with initial ψ to those of similar texture but beginning with σ or the breathing, is still obscure. Thus $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\acute{\omega}\chi\epsilon\iota\omega$ is New Ionic for $\psi\acute{\omega}\chi\epsilon\iota\omega$. Whether $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omega$ in Hippokr. VII 344, the reading of θ for $\psi\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omega$ *white lead*, belongs to this category is difficult to say. Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 420 ff. has proposed to refer to the parent Aryan the variation between ps and s , and between ks and s .

382.] The Combinations $\rho\sigma$, $\lambda\sigma$.

$\rho\sigma$ remains undisturbed in Ionic, as generally in Older Attic:— $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omega$, $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ Hdt., $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Arch. 55, as Elmsley reads for the vulgate $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$, $\mu\upsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$ Arch. 29₁, $\tau\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ Sim. Amorg. 39 (cf. § 128), $\tau\upsilon\rho\sigma\eta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ Hdt., $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\eta\upsilon$ Thasos 68₁, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ C. I. G. 2374₅₅ Paros (cf. Bekk. An. I 446₃₀ = Bachm. An. I 146₅), $\kappa\omicron\rho\sigma\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}$, the name of an island opposite Samos (from $\kappa\epsilon\rho\sigma-$), $\acute{\omicron}\rho\sigma\omicron\pi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$ Samos 220₃₅, in the dative plural of ρ stems, e.g. $\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}$ Archil. 137₁, by analogy to the case-forms showing $-\rho$. On $\pi\rho\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, see § 334. $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\sigma\eta$ occurs in Herodas 77₁.

$\rho\sigma$, $\lambda\sigma$ in the post-Homeric verb are rarely retained. A few instances recall the Homeric retention of the liquid. $\eta\lambda\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\upsilon$ Sim. Amorg. 17, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\sigma\eta$ Herodas 24₅, 77₅ (cf. 357), $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\sigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$ 357. This poetic and Ionic verb either retains the sigma or appears under the form $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\rho\sigma\alpha$ is used by Homer, Hesiod, Hdt., and in tragedy. Herodotos has also $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$; Hippokr. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\sigma\alpha$. Hippokrates has $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta\varsigma$ IV 108, $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ IV 296, whereas in VII 52 $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota$ is the correct form, which is also a *v. l.* in IV 108.

Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) has suggested that in primitive Greek $\rho\sigma$ and $\lambda\sigma$ remained $\rho\sigma$ and $\lambda\sigma$ when the accent preceded, but in case the accent followed they were treated as $-\nu\sigma-$, except when a consonant originally followed the $\sigma-$, i.e. the liquid disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Cf. Solmsen *K. Z.*

¹ Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 434, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677₅₆.

XXIX 352 who shows that all the verbs with stems in ρ or λ, which assimilate ρ or λ with σ, are formed by the suffix -ξε-, -λο- (with the exception of δέρω and φιλέω) and that the assimilation in the aorist is due to the influence of the verbs in -νω and -μω, which regularly suffer assimilation and compensatory lengthening. On σ in combination with ν, see §§ 161, 337.

383.] The Combinations σρ, σλ.

Initial σρ or σλ became in Ionic as in other dialects ρρ, λλ, which were reduced to ρ, λ. Medial σρ or σλ became ρ or λ with compensatory lengthening. Forms with medial ρρ or λλ are due to analogy.

384.] σ in conjunction with μ.

σμικρός, μικρός¹. The former form occurs P 757, Hymn Aphrod. 115 (elsewhere μικρός), Theognis 14, 323, Anax. 1, 15, Demokr. 24, 184, Hippokr. II 646 (Galen μικρός), 652 and often. In Herodotos Stein edits σμικρός even when the MSS. agree in presenting the other form.

μικρός is found in the epic (four times), Anakr. 171, Theog. 607, Herodas 743, and in Iasos 1055, an inscription of too late a date to afford proof of the existence of this form in official Ionic². The pseudo-Ionists are very inconsistent. σμικρός is found in Luk. *Dea Syr.* § 16 (which section also has μικρός, a form found five times), in Arrian five times (μικρός three times), Eusebios and Eusebios Myndios once each. The variation between σμικρός and μικρός, as that between σκορδίνημα and κορδίνημα³, στέγος and τέγος, σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι, is due to the operation of the laws of sentence-phonetics, the final sound of the word preceding the word in question deciding the appearance or non-appearance of the σ. In other cases σμ was either retained without variation or the μ forms were adopted to the exclusion of those with σμ. On Homeric φιλομμειδής see under AIOLIC. Whenever medial -σμ- appears in Ionic or other dialects, it is either due to the workings of analogy or is from -τσμ-.

385.] σμ in non-Hellenic words.

In the Hellenization of words of foreign stamp a σ has been prefixed:

Σμέρδης Hdt. III 61, &c. Cf. Μάρδος, Μάρδης *Persai* 774, Assyr. *Bardis*.

σμάραγδος Hdt. II 44; μάραγδος late. Cf. Skt. *marakata*, borrowed from a Semitic source.

¹ See note on Greg. Kor. p. 500. On μικρός see § 353.

² All Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries have μικρός, except *C. I. G.* 2139 (from Aigina and dating about 403 B. C.). σμικρός is frequent in the tragic poets and in Plato.

³ Greg. Kor. p. 553: κορδίνημα (γράφεται δὲ καὶ σκορδίνημα).

σμήρη Hdt. VII 181, Aiolic *μήρα*. Archil. 30 has *ἔσμυρισμένας*. Cf. *μήρον* Archil. 31, Hdt. III 22.

Digamma.

386.] Like all other dialects in some period of their history, Ionic possessed *F*¹. It is the only dialect that generally permits compensatory lengthening to attend the disappearance of the spirant after λ, ρ, ν. The dialects of Doric texture, contrary to the generally received view, when they retained the sound long into the historical period of the language, often suffer the loss of *F* without compensation. Cf. the relation of Kretan and Argive *τός* to *τόος*. In Aiolic, assimilation of *f* to the preceding liquid was followed by a reduction in poetry of the geminated sound. In Attic, *δέρη* and *κόρη*, *στενότερος*, *κενότερος*, *μᾶνότερος* surely indicate the quondam presence of *F*². But the activity of *F* in the earliest period of the history of Ionic is indicated in other ways than by compensatory lengthening in *δειρή* and *κούρη*, *στενότερος* and *κενότερος*. In *πελλίς* Hipponax 38 B, Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. XI 495 C, D, we find that *λF* could be assimilated to *λλ* when the accent followed *λF*; and that, as in *πελιξ*, the liquid alone remained when the accent preceded *λF*. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 47. Furthermore, *aF* became *av* before a consonant, e. g. *ἔκασα* (*-άμην*) Hdt., *κέκανμαι*, *ἔκκασόμενος* Hippokr. According to the schol. Victor. on Il. XV 421 *δανλός* was a form used by the *νεώτεροι Ἴωνες*. Of this form there is no trace in literature, though we have *δεδαυμένωρ* in Simonides of Amorgos, fr. 30, from the base *δασ-*. *καύης* or *καύηξ* in Hipponax 2, may be passed by, not so much because of its conjunction with the Aiolic *ἄμμορος* (Ionic *ἤμμορος*?) but because the form itself has not yet been explained; cf. § 242.

387.] Digamma in literature.

Traces of initial *f* in the Ionic lyric poets (elegists and iambists) are extremely rare:

Archilochos 1: *Ἐνναλίω ἄνακτος* bears the stamp of an epic formula, though not occurring in Homer (cf. Il. II 651, XVII 211). Plutarch read *Ἐνναλίω θεοίου*, but this is not preferable to the other reading merely because of the quondam existence of

¹ The ancient grammarians, as far as they recognize the existence of *F* at all, testify to its presence in Ionic. Trypho (παθ. λεξ. II, *Mus. Crit.* 113) : *προτιθένται δὲ καὶ τὸ δίγαμμα παρὰ τοῖς Ἴωνι καὶ Δωριεῦσι καὶ Λάκωσιν, οἷον ἀναξ φάναξ, Ἑλένα φελένα*. Cf. Bekk. An. III 1168, Priscian I 13. As the sign for *six*, *f* must have been used by the Ionians. The name *στῆ* is a bit of Byzantine imbecility.

² On Attic *κούρη* and *Μουνιχία*, see § 75.

F in *ἄναξ*. I regard the coinage of such phrases as *Ἐρναλίῳ ἀνακτος* by the Ionic elegists as on a plane with the imitation by the Ionic Homeridai of old-time epic formulae. Thus, in the later additions to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and in the *Hymns*, we find instances of the apparent observance of digamma, though at the period of these poems the labial spirant was an obsolescent, if not an obsolete, sound. In *ἦ δέ οἱ κόμη* Archil. 29, and *οὐδέ οἱ γέλωσ* Sim. Amorg. 779, the case is different, since the metre is iambic, which is the organ of the popular dialect. *ἦ δέ οἱ σάθη* Archil. 97, is from an epode, but the metre is also iambic. In Sim. Amorg. 780 we find

οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ὀρά̃

but immediately below, v. 82

ὄκως τιν' ὥσ μέγιστον ἔρξειεν κακόν.

In *Mimnermos* 12, we find in VL *ἴνα οἱ θοδὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἴπποι*, but in BP *ἴν' ἀλήθοον*, a reading which justifies Bergk's *ἴνα δῆ. γλωσσοσά δέ οἱ διχόμυθος* occurs in a fragment (42₁) of one of the μέλη of Solon.

In *Theognis* many instances of the observance of *F* occur in words such as *ἴδιος* 440, and *ἰσπεφάνων* 250, which do not have *F* in Homer. The digammated word occurs also in combinations with other words, which cannot be called Homeric formulae. In *Theognis*, Hartel and others have even found traces of a written *F* as in *κίδιον* 440, *μετ'*, or *μεγ' οἶνος* 413, *εὐγεργεσίης* 548, 574. Sitzler¹, who holds the opinion that *F* was not entirely extinct in the older elegists, suggests with much probability that its retention in *ἄδου* 52, *ἀνακτα* 987, *ἔργα* 1167 is due to the pressure exercised by the local dialect of the poet. There can be no question that Megarian speech retained the spirant longer than Asiatic Ionic.

In *Herodas* 418 we read *ἐπ' ἠπίλας σὺν χεῖρας, ᾧ ἄναξ, τίνας*; in 6₃ *ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ εἰς* at the beginning of a verse which has probably suffered some loss.

388.] Elsewhere in the lyric poets of Ionic birth the evidence against the presence of *F* is very strong.

1. Iambic writers, including the elegiacs and trochaics of Archilochos.

Archilochos: *ο' οἶνος* 2₁ (el.), *ο' οἶνον* 4₃ (el.), *διώραμνον οἶνον* 77₂; *ἔσσεται ἔργον* 3₃ (el.), *κορωὸς ἔργων* 39₂, *ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμοσιν* 70₃, *σὺν δ' ἔργ'* 88₂; *τις ἀστῶν* 9₁ (el.), *μετ' ἀστῶν* 63₁; *Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος* 10₁ (el. Bergk's conj.), *κλέθ' ἄναξ* 75₁, *Διονύσιω' ἀνακτος* 77₁, *χαῖρ' ἄναξ* 119₂; *ἐν εἴμασιν* 12₂ (el.); *κατ' οἶκον* 33,

¹ *Jahrb.*, vol. 125, p. 507.

ἐν οἰκίῃ 39₁; ἐν οἴκῳ 66₅; κακὸν οἰκαδ' 98; ἦδ' ἄτη 73; ἔωθεν ἑκάστος 83; οὐδένητι ἐκητι 84₁; πόλλ' οἴο' ἀλώπηξ 118; καὶ (F)ύλαος 119₄.

Simonides Amorg.: οὐδὲν εἰδότες 1₄; πάντα δ' εἰδέναι 7₁₃; οὐδὲν αἴτε 7₁; ἐν εἴμασι τ' ὦν 7₂; ἐν ἀφθαλμοῖσ' ἰδεῖν 7₃₂; οἱ δ' ἑτέων 1₈; ἀν' οἶκον 7₃; ἐξ οἴκου 7₆₀; λιμὸν οἰκίης 7₁₀₁; συνοικητήρα 7₁₀₂; κατ' οἶκον 7₁₀₄; οὐδ' ἐς οἰκίην 7₁₀₆; ἐν εἴμασι 7₅; ἐκπεσόντες εἴμασι 21; ἐχθροῖσιν ἴσα 7₃₆; πρὸς ἔργον 7₄₈; δούλι' ἔργα 7₅₈; δ' ἔρδει 7₅₅; μέγιστον ἔρξειεν 7₈₂; δι' ἄστεος 7₇₄. πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσιν 7₇₄ (ἀνθρώποις B); ἐν γυναιξίν ἦδεται 7₉₀; θυμηδεῖν 7₁₀₃; δ' ἕκαστος 7₁₁₂.

Hipponax; συνόκησας 12, ἐς τῶκλ' ἐλθῶν 20₂, ᾠκει 47 (first foot); οὐδ' ἀμ' εἶπεν 20₂, ἀνείπεν 45; ἐλθὼν ἦδιστα 29₁, ῥόδιον ἦδύ 58; μοιχὸς ἀλῶνα 74; θαϊμάτια 83; Σιμώνακτος 55 B.

Ananias; καθεῖρξαι 31, κηχέται 56.

Herodas; δ' οἰκῆω 2₂₂, δ' οἰκίης 4₉₂, ὄντιν' οἰκίης 4₁₂, δὲ τὰ οἰκί' 2₅₂ (*scriptio plena*); ἀλλ' ἔργ' ὀκοί' ἐστ' ἔργα 6₆₅, κάκ' ἔργα 3₈₂; τοῦργον 4₃₂, οἱ ἔργα 4₆₇, 7₁₈, ἐκέινον ἢ ἔργα 4₇₆ with synizesis, χρησῖμ' ἔργα 7₁₆. There is no F in ἔκητι 2₇₇, ἑκάστου 3₁₅, 4₆; σάφ' οἴδ' 3₁₃, τ' οἴδε 3₅₃, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει 5₇₈.

2. Elegists.

Kallinos; ἐν δ' οἴκῳ 1₁₅.

Mimnermos; τοῖς ἵκελοι 2₃ proves nothing unless we read, as is probable, τοῖσ' ἵκελοι; φέρετ' εἵκελος 14₁₁; ἄλλοτε οἶκος 2₁₁; δ' ἔργ' 2₁₂; δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι 7₁; ἄσπετος ἰδρώς 5₁; Νηλίου ἄστῃ 9₁; ἀφ' Ἐσπερίδων 12₈; μιν ἴδον 14₂; βᾶξις ἰέμενοι 16. The following passages prove nothing: ἔαρος 2₁, ἠριγένεια 12₁₀, εἰδότες 2₄, ῥοδοδάκτυλος 12₃, ἔργον 14₁₁.

Xenophanes; δ' οἶνος 1₅, τις οἶνον 4₁; ἀλλ' εἰκῆ 2₁₃; φάσθαι ἔπος 6₃; τῶνδ' οἶδα 7₄. ὣς οἱ 1₂₀ proves nothing.

Phokylides; περιδρομος εἶδος 3₄; ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι 3₇, διδασκέμεν ἔργα 13, καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν 12₂.

3. Melic poets.

From his sympathy with the Aiolic poets we might expect in Anakreon a more persistent survival of *digamma* than in other Ionic poets. But the following instances occur of forms that once possessed but have lost F: ὠναξ 2₁; οὐκ εἰδῶς 4₃, Σίμαλον εἶδον 22, μ' ἐσιδῶν 25₁, δ' οἶδα 45₂, οὐδὲν εἰδέναι 75₂; οὐδ' ἀστοῖσι 15₂; ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι 18; ᾠνοχόει 32, φέρ' οἶνον 62₁, δ' οἶνον 63₄; παρ' οἴνῳ 63₃, πλέψ οἰνοποτάζων 94₁ (el.); μεθύοντ' οἰκαδ' 56; σκύπφον Ἐρξίῳνι 82₁; ἐπίστιον 90₄. εἴλυμα 21₆ may stand for ἐF-λυ-μα.

Solon may be adduced as evidence not merely for the absence of F from the Attic of his day and generation, but also for the attitude of the early elegy towards its Ionic models.

ἐπ' ἔργμασι 13₆₅, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα 43₇, παύει δ' ἔργα 43₃,

ἔργιος ἔργα 13₁₀, κάλ¹ ἔργα 13₂₁, ἀναίτιοι ἔργα 13₄₁, μιν ἔργα 13₄₁; πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον 13₅₇, οὐδ' ἔργειν 27₁₂, ἕτερος ἔργε 40; σύνοιθε 4₁₅, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν 13₆₅, δεινὸν ἰδεῖν 13₆, ἔθηκεν ἰδεῖν 13₂₂, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν 13₂₄; πολυήρατον ἄστν 4₂₁, χρόνος ἄστοις 10₁; ἔρχεται οἰκαδ' ἐκάστω 4₂₇, εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος 11₅, ἐφ' ἐκάστω 13₂₃, οὐξίωμ ἕκαστος 13₃₁; ἔθηκεν ἀναξ 13₃₃, ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσων 19₁; Κύπρις ἰουτέφανος 19₄; ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιω 27₂, δέκ' ἔτη 27₁₄; τῇ δ' ἔκτη (?) 27₁₁; ἔχοντας ἦθη 36₁₂.

In 4₁₁, 13₁₂ ἀδίκους ἔργμασι, in 13₃₆ κούφαις ἐλπίσι the short form of the dative is correct.

For οὔτι or οὔτε of the MSS. Hermann, read οὐ ἔ in 13₂₇ αἰεὶ δ' οὐ ἔ λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρόν. In 13₆₇ ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν occurs. Both cases fail to prove the existence of *F*.

Cases of internal hiatus resulting from the disappearance of *F* and preserved in poetry for all time will be found enumerated in the sections upon Vowel Contact.

389.] The disproportion² between the cases of the retention of *F* and those of its neglect is proof enough that the sound was practically dead in Asia Minor at least by the year 700 B. C. and in Attika by the commencement of the sixth century. The evidence presented by one species of lyric reacting upon that presented by another, enforces this conclusion. The cases of retention in the elegy are no matter for wonderment. It is surprising that, with all the dependence upon the *largo fivore* of epic language, there were not more cases of the apparent survival of the sound. It is in iambic poetry, whose affiliations are so different from those of the elegy, that we are surprised to discover traces of the appearance of *F*. As regards the *Foi's*, Fick's suggestion that δέ οἶ were practically pronounced under one accent (δέοι) would play havoc with the digammated pronoun in Homer and Pindar. μηδὲ εἰς in Hipponax 28 is a 'fixed combination,' it is true, but that is just what δέ οἶ is not. Nor is the parallelism of ἄλλοτε ἄλλος Phokyl. 15, Solon 13₇₆, 15₄ in place. Such an hiatus in the *elegy* needs no special defence. The history of οἶ and kindred forms in Pindar³ shows pretty clearly that in Doric poetry this pronoun was a stronghold of the *F*. In the choral parts of tragedy (*Trach.* 649, *Elektra* 196) we still find an echo of the epic and Pindaric use. Perhaps the constant

¹ Bergk καλὰ ἔργα. As the elegiac poets regard the penult of καλός as *anceps* (καλόν Solon 13₂₁), and as a substitute is necessary for the κακά of the MSS., κάλ¹ is here preferable to καλά. But see Sitzler, *Studien z. d. Elegikern*, p. 7.

² Excluding Theognis and Herodas, *F* is retained in the elegy 2, in iambic poems 4, in the melic of Solon 1: it is violated in the elegy 24, in iambic poems 53, in the melic of Anakreon 17, in the melic of Solon 1.

³ Heimer, *Studia Pindarica*, p. 47 ff.

apparent hiatus before the word in the epos influenced the construction of nascent iambic verse, or the hiatus is a survival of the period antecedent to that of the 'founder' of iambic verse¹. The Simonideian οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν recalls E 650 ὅς ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαστα, where the ictus alone would account for the retention of the length. The older poetry held fast to the prose quantity of the εῦ- in εὐεργός, -εργής, -εργεσίη.

390.] Digamma upon Inscriptions.

1. Asiatic Ionic.

There are no examples. It is useless to cite all the words from the older inscriptions where initial *F* might have been placed. A few noteworthy instances are Ἀναξίλειος in Miletos, Bechtel 93 (not much later than 600 B. C.), Ἀναξιμάνδρον 94 (of the same date), Ἴστια[ῖος] 97 (between 520 and 504 B. C.); Erythrai Ἐκαταίης 198 (fifth century); Chios 174 Α₅ ἕξς, C₂₂ κο[ῖ]ροπίδης, D₅ οἰκίην, D₁₇₋₁₈ τοικ[ό]πεδον (fifth century); Teos 156 Α₃ ἰδιώτηι, B_{21, 23} εἰδώς (fifth century).

2. Island Ionic (Kyklades).

A. Naxos. Upon a dedicatory inscription from Naxos, *B. C. II.* XII (1888) p. 464, written βοαστροφηόον, we read, according to Homolle:

Fi[φ]ικαρτίδης : μ' ἄ : νέθεκε : ho : Νάησιος : ποιέσας.

The inscription dates, according to Homolle, from the second half of the seventh century before our era; a conclusion adopted by Schoeffer in his *De Deli insulae rebus*, p. 20 (Berlin, 1889).

B. Naxos. On the base of the Apollo colossus dedicated by the Naxians at Delos, dated by Kirchhoff at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the fifth century (see Roberts, I § 35) we read (Bechtel 25 = Rob. I 27 = I. G. A. 409):

τ]οῦ ΑFΥΤΟ λίθον εἴμ' ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ σφέλας

i. e. ἀφύτοῦ, as was read by Bentley, and is read by almost all scholars, with the exception of Roehl (θάευ), and of Bergk and Wilamowitz, who equates θαφυτοῦ with θαητοῦ, i. e. θανμαστοῦ, and compares θωντὰ ἔργα Hsd. *Asp.* 165.

C. Amorgos. An early *abecedarium* I. G. A. Add. 390 = Rob. I 159 B contains Γ.

3. Western Ionic (Euboia).

A. Chalkidian vase inscriptions of the fifth century (from Magna Graecia):

Fiώ Roberts, I 190 C.

Ἵφατίης Roberts, I 190 L.

Γαρυφύνης Roberts, I 191 C.

¹ Arist. *Poet.* 4.

Digamma has in each case the form Γ , except Rob. I 190, 2 c $\text{EIO} = \text{F}\iota\acute{\omega}$ (?).

B. From Rhegion, a colony of Chalkis :

Φοικέων and *ῥσσα*, *Φοι* (for *ῶς σαφοῖ*), cf. Bechtel 5, Rob. I 180, I. G. A. 532. The *F* has the same form as in the *abecedarium* of Amorgos.

Φοικέων Rob. I 181, I. G. A. 533.

These forms occur upon a marble block found at Olympia, dedicated by Mikythos of Rhegion after 467 B. C., when he migrated from Rhegion to Tegea. The second *Φοικέων* is, according to Roberts, not by the same hand as the first, and is dated by Furtwängler after 450 B. C.

1. *F* $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota[\sigma]\rho$, conjectured by Blass in Bechtel, No. 6 A, occurs in an inscription written in the Eleian dialect by the artist. The donor of the gift to Apollo wrote in Ionic (Bechtel, 6 B); cf. No. 215.

2. In Hyele (Velia), a colony of Phokaia, we find $\text{ῤελητέων 172 I (450-400)}$ and $\text{ῤελητῶν 172 II (350)}$. This orthography proves merely that the Phokaian *v* was *u*(oo), not *ü*. The name of the city is Oskan and not connected with *φέλος*, whose *F* is not above question. Antevocalic *F* does not become *v* in Ionic.

391.] Upon the examples of Chalkidian *F* Tudeer¹ bases his contention that *F* was still alive in Euboian Ionic when Chalkis sent its colonies to the West, and that in Euboea itself it was lost between the eighth and the sixth centuries. But it can readily be shown that none of the inscriptions cited under Western Ionic are free from the suspicion of containing a non-Ionic element. *Γαρνφόνης* contains a Doric \bar{a} ²; cf. *Nāts* Rob. I 190, 2, and *Χώρα* or *Χόρα ibid.* 1 K. And if we read Ῥφατίης , as seems probable, the initial part of the name is Doric for *Ουατίης*, as Fick has shown (*Odyssee*, p. 10). An *Ουατίας* is known as the name of the brother of Memes, tyrant of Kyme. Fick explained the ingression of the Doric forms on the supposition that the vases containing these non-Ionic forms were manufactured in Himera, and that the speech of Himera was a mixture of Chalkidian Ionic and of Doric³. But whether the vases in question were made in a Chalkidian colony or in Chalkis itself is a moot point that cannot be decided until ampler excavations in Euboea place us in possession of richer material. Meanwhile it should not be overlooked that from other cities of the West we possess vase inscriptions in mixed dialect, and that in Attika itself, as Kretschmer has shown, *K. Z.* XXIX 391 ff., there was a part of the population engaged in various handicrafts which

¹ *De Digammo*, p. 5 ff.

² Not as Kirchoff, *Alphabet*,⁴ p. 126, thinks, a peculiarity of Chalkidian Ionic.

³ Thuk. VI 5 : *φωνή μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δαρίδος ἐκράθη.*

did not speak pure Attic. Kretschmer has collected a considerable number of inscriptions upon Attic vases which are in the Doric dialect, and concludes that the Chalkidian vases mentioned above came from Attika. At all events, whether the explanation of Fiek or that of Kretschmer is correct, the infusion of Doric phonetics into the Chalkidian vase inscriptions is sufficient to undermine our belief in the presence of *F* in Chalkidian Ionic, be it the dialect of a colony or of the metropolis. A similar line of argument militates against the Ionic character of *Φοικέων* and *Φοι* in the inscriptions from Rhegion. Rhegion was settled by Chalkidians and Messenians (Herakl. Pont. fr. 25). In I. G. A. 388 the name of the Samian Pythagorês appears in the Doric form of *Πυθαγόρας* under the influence of the Rhegine dialect¹.

392.] Finally, the cases of *F* upon the inscriptions from Naxos. *Φι[φ]ικαρτίδης* is by no means a certain transcription.

On the sign supposed to be *F*, Homolle says: '*Semble en effet porter à sa partie inférieure un troisième trait qui en ferait un E;*² *mais on se persuadera aisément que c'est là un simple accident de la pierre; car la ligne n'a ni la même longueur, ni la même direction que les deux traits supérieurs* [this is not clear from the facsimile]; *elle n'a plus non plus la même netteté.*' The third character may be either ⊕ or ⊙. The fourth would seem to be *Y*², but of the shaft to the left the editor says again that it seems an error: '*non seulement parce qu'il manque de netteté, mais parce qu'il viendrait butler beaucoup trop haut sur la haste verticale.*'

Φιτιάδας is attested in Boiotian inscriptions (C. D. I. 488, six times), but *Φιφικρατίδης*, cited by Homolle from C. D. I. 713 A₁, is not above suspicion. The inscription begins ΦΙΚ-, which Keil read *ῥι|φι-*, a name known to us from Nikander and Suidas. The *duclius literarum* at least permits in the present case the reading *Εἰθικαρτίδης*. *Εὔθυκράτης* is no uncommon name. Upon one of the Styrian lead tablets, I. G. A. 372₁₁₃, the first *v* of *Εὐθύμαχος* has the form of *ι*, where *Εἰθv-* should doubtless be read. Cf. Boiot. *Εἰθυκράτους* C. D. I. 814₁₁ (with non-Boiot. -*ους*). The *ει* of the Styrian name is perhaps due to dissimilation from *ev* because of the *v* of the following syllable. *Εἰλειθυῖει* § 225 may be so explained.

Above all suspicion, however, is the Naxian *F* in *αῖῦτοῦ*, though none of the other letters upon the inscription are characteristic either in form or in use (Kirchhoff, *Alphabet*⁴, p. 86).

393.] The peculiar position occupied by the *F* in *αῖῦτοῦ*, singular

¹ The chief ancient authority on the existence of the *F* was Trypho, who wrote a treatise on the dialect of Himera, Rhegion, &c. If Trypho's ascription of *F* to the Ionians (παθ. λεξ. § 11) is based upon its presence in the above cited inscription or in the fragments of Stesichoros of Himera or of Ibykos of Rhegion, it builds upon an insecure foundation.

² This is not indicated in the translation of Blass' *Aussprache* by Mr. Purton, who has added *Φιφικαρτίδης* to the note of the German edition.

enough in a word that did not have the spirant¹ originally, is rendered the more unique from the fact that all other Naxian inscriptions, except that referred to above, have lost the letter². The Attic *ναφν*[*πηγός*] C. I. A. IV C 373²³⁴ and *αφύταρ* *ibid.* IV C 477 P, the exact parallel to *αφύτοδ*, show beyond all doubt (1) that *αφύτοδ* is not a slip of a stonecutter who intended to engrave ΑΦΤ but could not forbear inserting the Υ; (2) that the spelling *αφν* was an attempt to represent the sound *au* (i. e. *a + u*) more suitably than by *av*, i. e. *a + ü*³; (3) that the sound of the diphthong *au* could not, in the opinion of the stonecutter or of those who entrusted him with the work, be adequately reproduced by *af*⁴, and finally (4) that the Ionic of Naxos and the Attic of the sixth century B. C. possessed the character *F*. But from the *F* of *αφύτοδ* and *αφύταρ* it by no means follows that the sound *F* was still alive among Naxians and Attics. The disappearance of *F* in Attic, though occurring in the period subsequent to the Ionic migration eastward, is yet early enough to permit us to assume that its use in the sixth century was an archaism. The letter was held fast by its use as a numeral. But its ordinary, its natural phonetic use was gone. Α *δέρφη* in the sixth century was an impossibility, an *αφύταρ* a possibility. Upon the *αφύταρ* inscription *F* is absent from *ιδείν* and *ήργασατο*.

394.] How soon after their settlement in Asia Minor the Ionians lost *F* is not certain. But by the sixth century in Naxos at least the sign was old-fashioned. One portion of Ionic territory abandoned its possession sooner than another. The speech of the Kyklades, which still shows traces of its preservation, may be demonstrated on other grounds⁵ to have been conservative. Hence, even if *φικαρτίδης* should be correct, it does not follow that contemporary Eastern Ionic possessed the sound. There can be no doubt that by the close of the eighth century *F* must have disappeared from the ordinary speech of the Ionic Dodekapolis.

The connection between this conclusion and the attitude of the Homeric poems towards *F* cannot be dealt with here⁶. There seems no reason for the belief of some scholars that wherever we

¹ *αφός* from *α-φ-το*; cf. Skt. *u*. The *au* is pan-Hellenic; cf. Doric *αῦς*.

² *Δεινομένεος* Bechtel 23, *Δειναγόρης* 24, *κΟρη* 23, and *έκηβόλωι* 23, 24.

³ Blass, *Aussprache*³ 74. Actual diaeresis of *au* is not to be assumed, despite Kirchoff.

⁴ In Pamphylian we find *αφτραῖσι*.

⁵ In the differentiation of the *ε*-sounds, in the retention of the rough breathing.

⁶ On the Ionic character of *F* in Homer, see Fritsch in *Zeit. f. Gym.-Wes.* XXXVIII 612, Caer in *Jahrb. d. phil. Vereins* X 294, Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXIX 390 ff., XXXI 285, 442, Brugmann, *M. U.* V 43, Monro *Hom. Gram.*⁴ § 405, van Leeuwen, in *Mnemosyne* XIX 149.

have a trace of *F* in the epic, the verse in question is Aiolic. That the loss of *F* in Ionic-Attic preceded its disappearance in Aiolic is no proof that the presence of the spirant in Homer is an Aiolism. In the earlier period of the Ionic cultivation of the epos *F* may have been a living sound in certain parts of Ionia, while in others it may have passed out of existence. We do not know that the diction of Homer reflects any single Ionic dialect. In the later accretions to the poems the Ionic rhapsodes may have imitated the effects produced by *F* without being conscious of its existence. The *F* controversy, so far as it concerns Homer, is to a great extent interwoven with the question when an oral was abandoned for a written transmission.

395.] Combinations of Digamma.

Fρ (initial) becomes *ρ*. There are no indications of the spelling *βρ*. Medial *Fρ* becomes *ρρ* in ἄρρητος, ἀπόρρητος in Hdt., ἰσόρροπος in Hdt., Hippokr., but ἔρεξα, &c., Hdt. ἐ-*Fρύ*-s became ἐρῦς in all dialects (*ε* is a prosthetic vowel).

ρF, *λF*, *νF*, *μF* lost their *F* with compensatory lengthening § 224, 253, 254. The assimilation of *κF* to *κκ* is younger than that to *ππ*. *φάρμακκος has become φάρμακος (§ 162). On μικκός see § 353.

τF becomes in Ionic *σ*, as in σέ, τέσσερες = Skt. *catvāras*. On σείω (§ 219, 4), see Brugmann *Gr. Gr.* p. 32.

Initial *σF* becomes (1) *ʼF*, then *h*, and (2) perhaps *σ*. ἴσος (Homeric ἴσος) is from **FισFος*. In Herodas 393 for ἴσῶι of the MSS. we may read ἴσῶ' ἄν, but ἴσ' ἄν is preferable.

The Breathings in Ionic.

396.] The Ionians, who introduced the sign Η (*Heta*) to denote the rough breathing, at an early period adopted ψιλότης. The Ionians of the Dodekapolis were the first to use Η as the mark of *ē* (*Eta*). *Heta* was the name for η in all non-Ionic countries (including Attika) which retained the rough breathing until the year 400 B.C. After that time the use of Η for η, and not for *h*, led to the adoption of the name ἦτα, which is originally Ionic.

397.]

Ionic ψίλωσις is attested by the ancients, who drew no accurate lines to mark its extension in Ionic territory.

Apoll. Dys. *Synt.* 5519 ἐπεὶ τὰ ψιλὰ μετατιθέασιν οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ τὰ δασέα εἰς ψιλὰ κ.τ.λ.; Eust. 15649 ψιλωτικοὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ Ἴωνες οὕτω καὶ Αἰολεῖς, cf. 92044; Tzetz. *Ex. H.* 6220 οἱ Αἰολεῖς τε καὶ Ἴωνες πάντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δασυνόμενα ψιλοῦ(σι) καὶ διὰ ψιλοῦ συμφώνου ἐκφωνοῦσιν, cf. 11927. The following list contains the chief

examples of words adduced by the ancients in proof of the adoption of the *lenis* by the Ionians. No account is here taken as to whether or not the ordinary aspirated form is due to the loss of an initial spirant. Many of these words are also called Aiolic by the grammarians.

αἰρέω in ἀπεῖλεν Aug. 669. ἀποαιρέω Schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlinear). ἀνδάνω in αὐτῶδης Apoll. *Pron.* 94 C, ἄδοι Eust. 1561⁵¹. ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18. ἄλλομαι in ἄλτο An. Ox. III 401²⁹ Aiolic or Ionic. ἄμαξα Eust. 913⁴⁷. 1263². 1372¹⁴. 1387⁹. 1636²⁸. Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Doric. Aiolic. Ionic. κοινή). ἄρμα Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156. *Chil.* V 726. *Posthoma.* 65. *Ex. II.* 78³ (Hippon. 42). ἀφή Tzetzes, *Chil.* V 726 (κάφη Hippon. 7). ἔλιξ Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Attic ἔλιξ). εἰλίσσω (εἰλίχατο Hdt. VII 90) Eust. 234¹¹. ἔνη Eust. 1866¹². ἦλιος in ἀπηλιώτης¹ Hdt. IV 22. Apollon. in Hdn. II 379²³ (Choir. *Dict.* 698³¹). II 839²⁸ (Choir. *Dict.* 878², An. Ox. IV 374³, cf. 198⁵), Greg. K. § 18, Apoll. *Pron.* 3 A, *Adv.* p. 139¹⁴ (Schm.), Eust. 833, 1562³⁸, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156, 413, ἀρήλια Eust. 833, 1562³⁸ (ἀπηλικέστερος Hdt. III 14 but ἀπηλικέστερον = πρεσβύτερον Greg. Kor. § 134). ἑορτή Et. M. 351⁵⁰. ἔπηλις Eust. 1562³⁸, Arkad. 31¹². ἦμος Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 412 (παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικῶς καὶ δασύνεται). Ἥφαιστος Apollonios in Hdn. II 839²³ (Choir. *Dict.* 878³, An. Ox. IV 374⁴). Ἰεσθαι Suidas s. v. πρόκα, Hdt. VI 134 (ἰεῖται often occurs in the MSS. of Hdt.). ἰκνέομαι in ἀπικόμην &c. Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. § 18, Vat. 699, Aug. 669, Birnb. 678³⁰, Et. Gud. 428³, 439¹⁰⁰, An. Ox. I 318²³, Et. Mag. 624¹⁰. ἰρεύς Eust. 1623⁶¹, cf. 515²⁵. ἰρηξ Eust. 920⁴⁴ (but ἰρηξ Greg. K. § 66, who quotes Hesiod), 1248⁴⁵, 1734¹⁷. ἵππος in ἐπ' ἵππων Leid. 629, ἐπ' ἵππων Joh. Gr. 235, Vat. 694, λεύκιππος Eust. 832, 524³⁸, 1562³⁷, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156. The asper in ἵππος is due to that of the preceding article. ἐπίσταμαι Apollonios in Hdn. II 839²⁷ (Choir. *Dict.* 877³⁴, An. Ox. IV 374⁴), Et. Mag. 364⁵³. ἰστία in ἐπίστιον Hdn. II 379²³ (Choir. *Dict.* 699¹), II 146 (on Z 265), An. Ox. IV 198⁶³, Greg. Kor. § 89, Eust. 1562³³, 46. ἰσός in αὐτόδιον Eust. 1562³⁷, 1605¹². οἶος Greg. Kor. § 18. ὀμίχλη Et. Mag. 624¹⁴, Et. Gud. 428², An. Ox. I 318³³. ὀρᾶν Joh. Gr. 235, Leid. 629, Vat. 694 (ἐποράν), Joh. Gr. 240, Aug. 668, Birnb. 678¹³, Apoll. *Synt.* 55²² (κατορῶ). ὀρκος in ἐπιορκῆσαι Scholiast Ven. A on IX 193. ὄς in ἀπ' ὄν Aug. 669. ἀπουρίσαι Eust. 1282¹⁵, cf. 1774⁵⁶. ὄρα in καταράιζεται σεμνύεται Hesych. (Ionic?); cf. Et. M. 448⁴⁵.

398.] Spiritus asper in the Inscriptions.

Since the inscriptions offer the most valuable evidence for the presence or absence of the rough breathing in Ionic, all

¹ On ἀπηλιώτης see § 410.

examples which afford absolute proof of the use of the *asper* (*i.e.* actual presence of *h* or aspiration of a tenuis) will be adduced below. Only from the inscriptions previous to 403 B. C. will be cited examples of words which might have been provided with the *asper*, but are without it, and from those of a later date only cases of aspirated tenues. Roberts' method of aspirating such old Ionic inscriptions from Asia Minor as are free from all taint of Atticism is not to be defended. Certainty in so elusive a matter as the placing of the correct *spiritus* cannot be expected in the later inscriptions. Bechtel puts the *lenis* in quite late documents provided they contain some Ionic form. In many of the inscriptions from the fourth century which contain Attic forms the same scholar adopts the *lenis*, while in others he uses the *asper*. All Κοινή inscriptions should have the aspirated forms.

A divergence in the treatment of the initial *spiritus asper* between the divisions of Ionic constitutes one of the chief marks of sub-dialectal difference. Only the Asiatic Ionians adopted ψιλότης. The dialect of Western Ionic and that of the Kyklades have retained the rough breathing.

Medial σ upon its disappearance left an intervocalic *spiritus asper*, which, if the initial syllable of the word was provided with a *lenis*, was in Attic and some other dialects transferred to the beginning of the word. Thus εἶω is from *εἶώ < *εἶσω Lat. *āro*. Asiatic Ionic must be regarded as rejecting, the dialect of the islands and of Euboea as adopting, this phonetic principle. In Asiatic Ionic *ἱερός* or *ἰρός*, in Thasos and Siphnos *ἱερός* resulted from **ἱερός*, **ἰέρος*.

399.] Asia Minor, including the Ionic of the Dodekapolis and of the colonies, even when these are islands such as Iasos, Leros, Teos, Chios, Samos, Samothrake. Care will be taken to notice whether the dialect of the islands differs from that of the metropolis.

The Ionians of the East, *i.e.* those included under this division, had lost the initial *asper* at the time of our earliest inscriptions from Asia Minor, while all the other Ionians had preserved it.

Miletos: Θ in the older group of Milesian inscriptions never denotes *h*; and Η in the younger group is likewise always used for η. In the Abu-Simbel inscription, however, Θ may denote either *h* or η (Θαγήσεμμος, ΓΘλεφος), though not all forms capable of receiving the *asper* are provided with Θ. But there is nothing to show that those words in the Abu-Simbel document which receive the *asper* were written by Milesians; and the evidence of Η(μ)βις ο Φολοφώνιος makes for the assumption that all that part of the inscription which is the work of Ionians is to be written without the *asper*. 93 οί, Ἥγησανδρος; 94 οί; 96

ἡμέας; 97 Ἰστια[ῖος]; 98 ὄ; cf. also Roberts I 132 *bis* from Naukr. (ὕπ[οκρητῆ]ριον), and 132 *ter* from Naukr. (ὄ), Bechtel 237, *Ἡρης Naukr. I 447 is to be read Ἡρη not Ἡρη, cf. No. 689. ἀπ' ἐκάστου occurs in 100₂. In 102₂ Bechtel writes ἱερῆ, since the coin is of the fourth century; cf. likewise ἱερῆ in Pantikap. 123, and Ephesos 150, both late inscriptions.

Prokonnesos: Η is used for η only. 103 ὑποκρητήριον, τοῦρμωκράτεος and ἡθμόν (cf. ἀπηθέω). Roberts' question as to the propriety of writing ἡθμόν is otiose, although Ηηθμόν appears on the Attic copy. This copy has several cases of Η. In later times, at least, ἡθμός was the proper form; cf. Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. I 1294 (quoted by Roberts).

Iasos: No. 104 dates from about the middle of the fourth century and its forms may receive the Attic *asper*. No. 105 is also Attic in colouring.

Kyzikos: In the second part of 108 (dating perhaps from the first century B.C.) Bechtel writes the *lenis* because of its archaistic character. But the contemporary dialect of Kyzikos must have followed the Κοινή usage.

Priene: In No. 144, about 350 B.C., from the territory of the Παριώνιον, we find κατάπερ, though Bechtel writes the *asper* on initial vowels. This κατάπερ is not decisive as to the deaspiration of Ionic in Priene in the middle of the fifth century. See below under *Chios*.

Ephesos: Η is used for η throughout in No. 145. καθάπερ in No. 147₁₁ occurs in an inscription almost entirely Hellenistic. ἐπεξῆς 148₃₄ dates, according to Dareste, from about the period of king Mithridates.

Kolophon: ὄ with no sign of Θ in No. 152 from Abu-Simbel, Roberts I 130 E: Πά(μ)βις ὁ Ολοφώνιος. Roberts' ὄ is incorrect.

Smyrna: ἐφ' ἴση in *C. I. G.* 3137₇₅ is late.

Teos: Ἐλεσίβιος ὁ Τήιος in No. 155 from Abu-Simbel. Roberts' (I 130 B) Ἐλεσι- and ὄ are incorrect. In No. 156 (middle of the fifth century) Η is used throughout for η, never for *h*. The sole trace of aspiration is καθημένον (B 31). *C. I. G.* 3094₁₂ has καθ' ἔτος and Le Bas-Waddington 87 ἀφ' ἴσου (both late inscriptions). In No. 158 which contains scarcely a remnant of Ionic, we find, line 20, ἀπήγησιν despite καθάπερ lines 4, 25, καθισταμένοις line 32. See below under *Chios*.

Abdera: Ἐρμηῆ and Ἐρμοστράτου in No. 162 = Rob. I 143. Η is used for η throughout. Cf. the coin legends Ἐπ' Ἐρμωκρατίδew 163₃, Ἐπ' Ἡραδότου 163₅, [Ἐ]π' Ἡροφάνε[ος] 163₆ (see on *Erythraî* below), Ἡγησαγόρης 163₄. Ἐρμηῆ occurs in No. 171 Lampsakos. Ἐρμῆew 180 Chios, but Ἐρμῆαι is written in *Eryth*. 204₁₄ (about 354 B.C.).

Chios: Η is employed in No. 174 = Rob. I 149 to denote η.

There is no sign of the *spiritus asper*. In 174 A ἡ 's line 2, Ἐμμώνωσαν 2, Ἐμμώνωσις 4, ἕξ 5, ἐβδομήκοντα 7, ὄση 8, ἑκατὼν 13, οὐροφύλακες 15, 19, οἱ 18; in 174 B πέντ' ἡμέρη[ι]σιν 5, ἡμέρων 15, and δ' τι 20; in 174 C ἡ 3, ὁ 10, Ἰκέσιος 14, Ἰγεπόλιος 14, ἑπτακοσίων 18 and 25; in 174 D Ἰ[κ]εσίου 14, ἐνός 19. In 175=Rob. I 150 we find ὀδόν.

μεθέληι 174 A 11 is to be explained as *καθημένον* in Teos, *κάθοδον* in Halikarnassos, *i.e.* by the assumption that in a compound the original rough breathing is preserved, whereas, when occurring in the uncompounded form, an aspirated word becomes subject to the influence of later phonetic laws of Ionic and suffers deaspiration. Cf. *καθημένη* Sim. Am. 7₉₀, *κάθοδος* Anacr. 4₃₆, *καθεύοντα* Hippon. 61 (attributed by Schneidewin to Hipponax), *καθεύδει* Anacr. 88₂; *καθάπερ* and *καλισταμένοις* Teos, *καθημένων* on an Ionic papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XL1 p. 746). That this principle, differentiating the simple from the uncompounded words, did not obtain throughout the length and breadth of the dialect is clear from the numerous forms in Herodotos and from Teian *ἀπήγησιν*. Both of these forms must be held to be innovations, not survivals. *ἀφήγησις* was the old compound, which, existing side by side with uncompounded words in ἡγ- from ἡγέομαι¹, became *ἀπήγησις*. So too with *ἐπίμερον* in Sim. Am., *κατάπερ* in Priene, Halikarnassos. See Fick *B. B.* XI 247, Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 98. The same principle may account for such forms as *καθεύδω* in Sappho.

Maroneia: Ἐπὶ Ἠγησαγόρεω 196, 10, Ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδω 196, 11.

Erythrai: In 206 A 14, 36, 42, B 14, 45, 50, 60 we find ἐφ' ἱεροποιῶν, but ἐπὶ ἱερο[ποιῶν] C 14, cf. C 8. This shows that the non-clision of the ι does not prove that the vowel of the following word began with the *lenis*.

Samos: Θ and Η are employed to denote η. *τήρηι* 211, Ἰφαιστίων 212. Roberts has the first correct, the second wrong, as also [Ἡ]ραγόρης ὁ in his No. 154=Bechtel 213, where read [H-] and δ. No. 216 *ὄρος*, not ὄρος, since there is no Η on the stone (Attic ΗΟΡΟΣ is found in C. I. A. I 493 ff., also in Samos I. G. A. No. 8). Cf. § 253. No. 221₃₂ with *καθότι* is from 322 B.C.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Samian origin, see § 400): In 228=Rob. I 158 A, Ἀηρσίων is read by Bechtel Ἀρσίων, by Roberts Ἀηρσίων, which is a new and strange name. Ἀρσίων (with aspirated ρ) is the hypocoristic form of Ἀρσίνοος. Bechtel compares Φθράθσο=Φράξον in Rob. I 25 (Delos).

Halikarnassos: Η is used for η, not for *h*. Bechtel 238=Rob.

¹ Even in Doric we find such names as Ἀγησίλαος with the *lenis* of ἄγω, in contrast to Ἀγηστρατος from ἄγεται. Cf. Ἀγίω Bechtel 131, 11, from Oibia.

I 145 has δ 1, δ , Ἀλικαρνατ[έω]r 2, ἱέρη[ι] 3, ἰσταμέ[ρον] 5, ἀπ' οὔ 18, ἄδος 19, κατάπ[ε]ρ 19, ὄρκω < ι > σ[αι] 20, ὄ τ[ι] 20, οἶ 21, ὕστερον 22, ὄρκον 24, ὄρκοῖν 26, ἡμί[ε]κτον 26, ὄρκον 27, οἴτως 29, ὅτε 30, ὕστερον 31, ὥστε 34, ἱερά 36, Ἀλικαρνησσ- 40 and 41, ὄς 43, ὄρκια 44, κατόπερ 43. The only form that indicates *h* is κάθοδον 40, on which see under *Chios*. In No. 246₅ we find κατιδρυθέντος on a stelè of unknown period. All the other inscriptions from Halikarnassos are certainly late.

Mylasa: *C. I. G.* 2693, c. 4 has καθ' ἔτος. See above under *Teos*.

Adespota: No. 255 with TETEPEI=τήτηρηι has been referred by Bechtel to an Asiatic-Ionic source on account of the absence of the aspiration. Cf. τοῦτέρου Simon. Amorg. VII 113, Hippon. tr. 18₃. See § 134, note, Roberts I p. 374.

In No. 260=Rob. I 166 we read ῥαψωιδός, though the ultimate provenance of the inscription is uncertain. There is no H.

400.] Kyklades (Island Ionic).

Naxos: Θ and Π represent (1) the *spiritus asper*, (2) the short or long *e* sound related to an original A (see § 166). (1) In No. 23=Rob. I 25 $\Theta\kappa\Theta$ βόλωι stands for ἐκη⁻¹. Aspirated *ρ* and *hs* for *χs* occur in $\Phi\Theta\text{P}\Lambda\Theta\Sigma\text{O}$ (Φράξων). In No. 24=Rob. I 26 A $\text{EKH}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$ there is no denotation of *h*; No. 26=Rob. I 28 HO . Cf. Roberts §§ 33, 35. (2) Νικάνδρ Θ , $\Theta\kappa\Theta$ βόλωι, ἰωχαίρ Θ , ρούρ Θ , κασιγνήτ Θ , Δεινοδίκ Θ ο, ἀλ(λ) Θ ωρ in No. 23=Rob. I 25; Δειναγόρ Π s, Εκ Π βόλωι in No. 24=Rob. I 26 A; Ἀλεξ Π ρωρ, ἐ Π σί Π σεν in No. 26=Rob. I 28; Καριών Π R. I 29.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Naxian origin, see § 399): Π denotes both *h* and η . No. 31=Rob. I 160 B $\text{H}\Pi$ ποκράτης, $\text{H}\Pi$ ποκλήs: No. 33=Rob. I 160 F ἡλ[ω]s where in $\text{H}\Lambda$ the Π stands for *hē*. Π represents η in $\Delta\text{H}\muαινέτ Π s$, $\mu\eta\text{H}\mu\alpha$, $\tau\text{H}s$ in No. 29=Rob. I 158 D; $\tau\text{H}s$ in No. 32=Rob. I 160 C, also in Rob. I 159 B (an *abecedarium*), and in the very obscure inscription, Rob. I 160 A: Φαιστυλί Θ s (?), $\sigma\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{H}\nu$. In *B. C. H.* VIII 24 (10. 16) καθ' ἐνιαυτόν is due to the analogy of καθ' ἔτος with inorganic *h* from *f*.

Keos: H denotes η (pan-Hellenic). In No. 40=Rob. I 31 A, H by an error stands for E in ἀνθ Θ Hσταν; see Roberts *ad loc.* In No. 41=Rob. I 32, $\chi\rho\upsilon$ σ Π ρ, κατ Π ξ', and $\text{H}=\acute{\eta}$ are quite doubtful; in No. 42=Rob. I 31 B, $\Xi\epsilon\upsilon\text{H}\Pi$ ρετος, $\text{E}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\text{H}\mu$ ος: in No. 46=Rob. I 33 B, [A]φροδίτ Π ι, ἀνέθ Π κεν. We find but one word in the older inscriptions (apart from the doubtful $\acute{\eta}$ mentioned above): Ἰστ Π ιι (Bechtel No. 45=Rob. I 33 A) which must be transcribed Ἰστίη. No. 43=Rob. I 32 A

¹ The initial Θ is not an error for BE but a peculiar sign, used elsewhere (Delos and Oropos), for $\acute{\epsilon}$.

(after 420 B.C.) has no sign for the *asper*, Η representing η (=ā) and η < ε + α, except in διαραρθΗ₁₇, θάρΗ₂₃.

Delos: Η stands for *h* as in Naxos and Oropos. Cf. No. 53 = Rob. I 24 Α ΗΚΗΒΩ[λωι], where Η also represents η < ā.

Paros: Η appears for η only. No. 58 = Rob. I 16 has -εβδο- [μη]ροντούτης, έχσεποίησεν: No. 59 = Rob. I 17 ΔΗμοκῦδης, ΤελεστοδίκηΗ, σΠισαν, κούρηΗ, γενεΗν, ἀΠμοσύνΗ: No. 60 = Rob. I 15 μΗτΗρ, θυγάτηρ, ποίΗμα: Rob. I No. 18 ἀρ]έθΗκεν. ἐφηβήην 67 is from Roman times. Rob. I No. 19 = *I. G. A.* 406, a boundary stone, has ΗΟΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΕΡΟ. If this is Ionic the transcription must be Ηοῦρος not Ηόρος. It is unfortunate that upon no Parian inscription before 403 B.C. do we find any word capable of aspiration¹; else we might settle the question whether Rob. I 19 contains an example of Η = *h*, or whether ΗΟΡΟΣ is Attic ὄρος and the boundary stone of Attic provenance² (as the Samian ΗΟΡΟΣ *I. G. A.* 8, cf. C. I. A. I No. 493 ff.). The absence of Η from ΙΕΡΟ is to be noticed, because in Siphnos (Rob. I No. 20) we have ΗΙΕΡΩΝ and in Thasos ΗΙΡΩΝ for ΗΙΡΩΝ (No. 70 = Rob. I 23).

Thasos: Η denotes η, e.g. in ΝυμφΗισιν, ΝυμφΗιγέτηΗ, θΠαν, &c. in No. 68 = Rob. I 22. ἄμ is expressed by ΑΜ in the same inscription (cf. § 292, 3). In No. 70 = Rob. I 23 we find ΗΙΡΩΝ which stands for ΗΙΡΩΝ (cf. ἱρόν Bechtel 71, and ἱερέα 71,) rather than for ΙΕΡΩΝ, as Roberts (I p. 61, note 1) assumes; cf. ΗΕΜΙ for ΕΙΜΙ in Theodosia, Bechtel No. 125. In *J. H. S.* VIII 402, a document of the fifth century, Η denotes ē.

Siphnos: Η represents *h* in Ηιερόν (Bechtel No. 88 = Rob. I 20), the only inscription of ancient date. Were others extant, Η would express η as well as *h*.

Lastly, we must examine the inscriptions of—

401.] Euboeia.

A. Chalkis and Colonies.

Kyme: Η represents *h* twice: in Ηυπύ Bechtel 3 Α = Rob. I 177 Α, and in Βός Rob. I 173. η is expressed by Ε in the oldest inscriptions free from any encroachment of the Ionic alphabet.

Rhegion: Η represents *h* in ΗΟΣΣΑ Rob. I 180 (but see § 373). In the parallel inscription, Rob. I 181, the same word has no Η, the only letter preserved after χρημάτων being Ο. ΠΗγυρος occurs on a coin legend, hence Π[η]γυρος in Bechtel

¹ Except perhaps -εβδο[μη]ροντούτης No. 58, though here the medial *h* was scarcely to be expected.

² The latter supposition is more probable than to hold with Kirchhoff and Roberts I § 29 that the Η is an archaism similar to that found on Attic boundary stones of a later period. Fick places the inscription at the earliest about 400 B.C. because *asper* and *lenis* appear.

6 B must be without H=*h*. In Bechtel No. 6 B, Ionic H is used for η [Γλ]αυκίης, Ἐρμη, and there is no sign for *h*: O stands for ό, Ἐρμη for Ἐρμη. This inscription is later than 450 B. C.

Bechtel No. 13=Rob. I 179 is of Chalkidian origin. In lines 7 and 11 we find Θότι, line 8 Θεο, line 9 Θαιρεί[σ]θω. Rob. I No. 183 contains Ηιπ(π)οδρομία: it is a Chalkidian inscription from Gela.

We may here insert the vase inscriptions: Ηιππολύτη Rob. I 188 B, cf. Ἐχλιππος Rob. I 189 (Ῥόπιος with no Η, 188 K), Ηιπ(π)αίος 190 I G, Ηίπ(π)ος 190 II Λ, Ηηρακλῆς 191 B and also 192 B.

B. Eretria and Styria.

Eretria and Oropos: Under Eretria we may class Oropos No. 18, where (line 18) we find ἀθημερόν, ἀφ' ἐκάστων (line 35), ἐγκαθεύδειν (line 36), ἐγκαθεύδοιτος (line 39), καθεύδειν (line 44); and finally Ησπέρης (lines 46-47)=Ηεσπέρης¹, the sole instance of H on the stone, which is certainly older than 377 B. C. This case of Η is an archaism according to Wilamowitz in *Heracles* XXI p. 98.

Styra: Bechtel No. 19 contains the following names in point: Εὐπάγης 108 (the only example of medial Η in Ionic inscriptions), Ηεσχατίων 110, Ηνπεύ(ρ)ων 111, Ηηγεμονεύς 200, Ηιππώτης 373, Ηομήριος 374 (cf. *I. G. A.* 372). E in No. 19 represents ε, η (pan-Hellenic), η < *ā*, spurious EI, and (rarely) genuine EI (12, 265). No H is found in Ἐρμόκριτος 371, nor in Ῥαῖβος 82, Ῥύμβις 299.

Certain *adespota* may be referred to the Ionic of Euboeia or of the Kyklades on the score of possessing *h*. Bechtel No. 265, found near the Parthenon and dating before Ol. 80, has Ηνιός, but Ηγέλοχος. No. 266 is also classed as Ionic by Bechtel. In line 4 we find Ηνύς.

Spiritus Asper in Literature.

402.] The Iambographic Poets.

Iambographic poetry best reproduces the speech of the people. Cf. Fick *Bezz. Beitr.* XI 246 ff.

Archilochos: Archilochos has retained with but two exceptions the influence of the *asper*. These exceptions are ἐπ' ἡμέρημ 70₂, where most of the MSS. have ἐφ', and ἐπ' ἡβης 115. The *asper* appears in ὑφ' ἡδοῆς 102, ἐφ' ἡπατι 131 (. . . παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ

¹ On Θ or Η=*hē*, cf. Naxos 23, Delos 53 ἐκηβόλωι. In Styra 19₂₀₀ HE is=*hē* (Ἡγεμονεύς). Ηεσχατίων occurs 19₁₁₀.

διὰ δασέος Athen. III 107 F), θῆτέρηι 93, Γλαῦχ', ὄρα, or Γλαῦκ', ὄρα 54 by force of the punctuation. In verbs compounded with a preposition (which prove but little if the rule upheld § 399, under *Chios*, be here available): ἀφελκε 42, ἐφέπων 132, ἐφήμερος 214, κάθημαι 87, καθιερει 116. The evidence of Parian or Thasian inscriptions is in itself not sufficient warrant for ascribing to Archilochos a thoroughgoing use of the *asper*.

Simonides of Amorgos: ἐπίμερον 751, τούτερον 7113, but χῶς 241, τοῖθ' ὄρα 7, ἐφήμεροι 15, καθήμενη 7, and ἀφείσα 241. In view of similar inconsequencies in other poets, it would be an over-refinement of criticism to explain ἐπίμερον in contrast to ἐφήμεροι, by referring it to the character of the settlement of Amorgos, i. e. by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians¹. As Simonides was by birth a Samian we might expect a constant disregard of the *asper*. Naxian influence alone could have introduced the rough breathing.

Hipponax: κάφη 71, ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος 131, τούτερον 183 ('Ἴωνικῶς'), ὀδύνη 'πιαλεῖ 21 B, κώπόλλων = καὶ ὁ 'Απ- 31, ὀπόλλων = ὁ 'Απ- 45, ἐπ' ἀρμάτων 42, κατ' ὕπνον 89. The *asper* however appears in ἀγέϊ 11 (where its existence is improbable, cf. § 156), θαίματα 83, κοῦχ ἀμαρτάνω 83, and in ἀφέω 75 and καθεύδοντα 611 (see above, § 399). As an iambic poet of the Asiatic mainland, Hipponax represents with tolerable fidelity the speech of his countrymen.

Ananios has γνοίη χ' ὄσφ in the choliambic fragment No. 3, but κήμερης 510 (tetr.), cf. Chios 174 B 14. καθιέρξαι occurs in 31.

In *Herodas* we observe nearly sixty cases of the presence of the *asper*, and only twenty of the *lenis*. The *asper* has been misplaced in χῆρωτες 704.

403.] Elegiac Poets.

Instances of deaspiration in the texts of elegiac poets from the twelve cities are extremely rare: Xenophanes 210 has ταῦτα κ' ὄπαντα, according to the majority of the MSS., though Bergk follows B in reading χ' ὄπαντα. In 219 we find τούνεκεν, a form which is however also epic (Hesiod).

The elegiac poets usually accept the aspirated forms through inability to break with epic tradition: Mimnerm. 127 ἐφ' ὄδωρ, 12, ἀφ' Ἐσπερίδων and ἀφικόμεθα 92; Xenophanes 117 οὐχ ὕζρις and ἀφίκουο: Phokylides of Leros has οὐχ ὁ 11.

404.] Melic Poets.

In the melic poets there are scarcely any traces of the placing of the *lenis* for the *asper*: Anakreon has ἔσκατορῆς 16 (Apoll.

¹ ἐπίμερον and ἐφήμεροι have a parallel in Herodotos' ἀπικέσθαι by the side of ἀφικέσθαι in Xenophanes.

Synt. 75), ἐπίσπιον 90₄, but οὐκέθ' ἤδη, κάθοδος 43, καθεύδει 88₂, λευκίππων 12 B from original ἵππος.

405.] Herodotos.

In view of the unanimous testimony of the inscriptions of Ionic Asia Minor as to the loss of the rough breathing, it is imperative that the text of Herodotos should be made to conform to the dialect of his day. The influence of an initial rough breathing may however be admitted to a certain extent. In compounds it has aspirated a preceding tenuis; though in numerous instances such forms as ἀπίκετο may be justified with the same propriety as the Teian ἀπήγησις, on which see § 399, under *Chios*.

The following instances of the occurrence of the *lenis* or variation between *lenis* and *asper*, deserve notice. Words with an initial *F* are expected to show the *lenis*.

ἐδῶλια I 24 in *C b*. ἔργω, ἔργονυμ: ἐσεργυῦσι II 86, κατεργυῖσι IV 69, κατέργοντες VI 102, εἶργε III 136 (*v.l.* εἶργε), ἐργεσθαι VII 197 (*v.l.* εἶργ- and εἶργ-): ἐρκτήν is however found IV 146. ἔρξαν V 65, ἀπέρξαντες IV 62, but ἐρῶν IX 103 (*P* ἔ-), ἐρῶσεκε VII 33 (*P*); cf. Sim. K. 5₂₀ ἐρῶη: οὐ ἐρῶν in Hesiod, see Rzach's *Dialekt d. Hsd.* p. 359. ἐσμός V 114. ἦώς though ἔω is a frequent *v.l.*; ἐωθινός occurs in III 104; in ἦώς, as in other words here mentioned, the *lenis* is original (ἦώς < ἄνωτος). ἦρκας II 67, cf. Eust. II. 920₄₄: τὸ δὲ ἦρηξ ἰωνικῶς ψιλοῦνται, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἦραξ θασύνεται. In III 76, despite ἦρῶων in MSS. *Rd*, we read with Stein the form with the *lenis*. ὄλμος, οἰλος, οὐρίζειν. ὄρη *head, care* III 155 (ὄρη most MSS.), as in the tragedians. ὄρη *season* II 4, I 32. εἰλίσσω has the *asper* II 38 according to Stein, as εἰλίχαστο VII 90, though Eust. 234₁₁ wrote εἰλ-: cf. Tzetzes on *Hesiod, W. D.* 450: τὸ ἐλιξ Ἀττικοὶ θασύνουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ψιλοῦσιν. ἰστίη has the *asper*.

The non-aspiration of ὑπέατι in the MSS. of Hdt. IV 70 deserves notice, as the deaspiration of words with initial *v* is extremely rare in the Greek dialects, with the single exception of Aiolic. Cf. ὑδρίαν I. G. A. 321₄₅, ὑπεδέξατο C. I. A. I 442₅, ὑπαργύρω C. I. A. I 165₆, 173₄, ὑπάργυρα C. I. A. I 32 B 28; see Roberts I § 43. This *lenis* appears before *v* only in those dialects whose *v* was the old sound *oo* (*u*).

406.] Occurrences of tenuis for aspirate in Herodotos.

The MSS. of Herodotos have the tenuis (1) before an initial guttural spirant and (2) not infrequently in compounds.

1. A final tenuis is not aspirated:—οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι I 5 (cf. § 348), and so also in the case of ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό, and ἀντί¹ (Bredow, p. 203 ff.).

¹ ἀντ' ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18, who also cites οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν.

2. In compounds whose tenues are due to the influence of the lenis of the uncompounded word.

ἀπαμμένους II 121 (δ); ἀπηλιώτης IV 22 (§ 397); ἀπικνέοντο IV 125, cf. ἀπίξονται Charon 9 (§ 397); αὐτημερόν II 122, VI 139; ἐπέδρης I 17, *v. l.* ἔδρης, ἐπέδρην V 65 (ἔφεδρον V 41); ἐπεξῆς II 77; κατά=καθά I 208 (elsewhere κατὰ τά, but καθ' ὡς IX 82) where Kirchhoff would prefer κατ' ἄ; κατὰ περ I 118, 131, 169, κατύπερθε II 5; κατίσαι II 121 (ε), cf. II 126; κατηγοέοντο IV 125, ὑπηγεομένης Demokr. 92. All MSS. have καθεύδουσι in Hdt. IV 25, with which we may compare καθεύδει II 95. Stein has κατ- in both cases. In VIII 49 the MSS. have ἄφ-, Stein ἀπεῖτο. Dindorf incorrectly conjectures ἀπήσειν in VII 193 for ἀφήσειν, since there is an obvious reference to ἀφήμι in order to explain Ἀφεται.

In the Herodotean crasis of ὁ+αὐτός to ὠντός (§ 258) we find the *asper* vanishes; cf. τοῦτερον (but θάτερα IV 157 and οὔτερος I 34).

407.] As the case now stands it is impossible to discover the exact usage of Herodotos as regards compounded words; and it will continue to be impossible until we are placed in the position of being able to control by the inscriptions the form of each word whose second component part originally began with the *asper*. In fact, as we know that κάθοδος is a legitimate Ionic form of the fifth century, it may be doubted whether ἔφεδρον in Hdt. V 41 is not correct and ἐπέδρης I 17 a fictitious form¹. Great as are the limitations in respect of our knowledge of the Ionic *asper*, it should be recognized that to write ἐπέδρης in one case and ἔφεδρον in another (as the editor of Dietseh's text does), is not in accordance with probability, whatever may be said for the advisability of such a procedure from the point of view of the textual critic who has not the courage to disregard MS. evidence.

408.] The Asper in Hippokrates.

Hippokrates usually employs the *asper* in the same way as the Attic. οὐκ ὑπέστρεψεν II 664, according to Ermerins, where Littré (with *A H G I*) reads οὐχ; οὐκ οἶον II 74 (Littré οὐχ), οὐχ ὑποδέχεται II 76 in both Ermerins and Littré. In VII 96 for ἐφ' ἄμαξαν, a *v. l.* is ἐπ', cf. Homeric ἐπ' ἄμαξαν M 448 (see § 397), VII 326 κώμφαλός=καὶ ὁ ὄμφ. (in θ). On ἀπ' ὄτειν in II 74, see Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 77, where other forms are discussed: ὑπ' ὄτευ VI 34, VI 98, ὠντός VIII 588, ἀπίκηται VII 8, ἀπικνέεται VI 390, ἐπόδοισι VI 508, μετεωῦτοῦ VI 114 (in *M*), where other MSS., except *A*, have μετ' ὠντοῦ.

409.] Pseudo-Ionists.

Arctaios has the *asper* throughout, or with such insignificant

¹ See Thumb, *Asper*, p. 58.

exceptions as not to disturb the usual Attic practice. The medical writers form a pronounced exception to Herodotos and his imitators. Lukian: *Dea Syria* ἀπικνέομαι very often; but ἀφῆς *I. A.* 6, &c.: ἐπικνέεται § 15, with ἐφ- three times, κατ- three times, κάθηται § 16; κατ' §§ 17, 44; μετήσομαι § 18; ὑπηγέονται § 57, ὑφ- § 46; ἀντ' § 12; οὐκ § 52.

In the *De Astr.* there are nine cases of ἀπ in composition and ἀπ' ἡμέων § 21; μετέποντα § 13.

Arrian: ἀπηγέομαι, ἀπικνέομαι in all ten times, with φ four times; ἀπ' § 3, the only certain place; ἐπέιναι § 11; ἐφ- four times; ἐπ' § 32, ἐφ' five times; κατ- twenty-seven times (κατάπερ, κατόπερθε, κατοράω, κατορμίζονται, κατηγορούμενως, κατήκω), καθ- thirteen times; κατ' §§ 11, 29, 30, καθ' four times; μεθ- not μετ-; ὑφ- not ὑπ-; οὐχ ὅ § 5.

Abydenos: ἀπίκατο 1; καθορμίζονται 1; μετίει 1.

Eusebios: ἀπεστήκεε 8; ἐπ' 5; προσεκατάετο 8; κατ' ὅτω 5; καθ- twice; οὐκ ἀμαρτεῖν 2, ἀπ' 6.

Eusebios Myndios: ἀπ'- but once and no case of ἀπ': ἐπησοείην 1, ἐφ- twice; ἐπ' 44, 63, ἐφ' twice; κατηγορούμενους 63, καθ- twice; οὐχ 14, 36, 53.

In the supposititious letters of Herakleitos κατ- occurs once (12). These letters have ἀφ', as that of Thales.

Vita Homeri: ἀπικνέομαι twenty-three times, ἀπηγέομαι §§ 22, 23, ἀπικνέομαι, κατήμενος § 9, κατίζων 10, 12; elsewhere καθ-. So also ἀφ', μεθ'.

410.] *Varia.*

In Attic we find a few instances of the *lenis* that may be ascribed to an Ionic source: ἀντήλιος *Agam.* 519, *Aias* 805, ἀπηλιώτης *Kykl.* 19 and in prose and inscriptions. ἐπημαξευμένῃ occurs in *Antiq.* 251. Even Aristophanes has ἀπηλιαστής *Aves* 110. See § 397.

ἐποδώκει, the reading of the vulgate *Persai* 656, cannot be defended as an Ionism of tragedy, and is to be abandoned on other grounds.

In late inscriptions we find the *asper* even where Classic Attic has the *lenis*: καθ' ἐνιαυτόν *B. C. H.* VIII 2410, 16 (Amorgos), ἐφ' ἴση *C. I. G.* 313775 (Smyrna), ἀφ' ἴσου *Le Bas-Waddington* 87 (Teos), καθ' ἔτος *C. I. G.* 309412 (Teos).

Sentence Phonetics.

411.] *Assimilation of Consonants.*

The assimilation of a nasal to the consonant of the following word is very common.

ν becomes μ before π; Kyzikos 1119, Zeleia 11325, Naukr. 139 C, Ephesos 1476, 12, Abdera 162, Erythr. 206 B 58, Samos

221¹¹, Halik. 240¹³, 21, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 41, 47, Mylasa 248 B 7, 8; No. 261. *r* becomes μ before ϕ : Zeleia 114 F, Eph. 147⁶. *r* becomes μ before β : Halik. 240³⁸, Eph. 147². *v* becomes μ before μ : Eph. 145, Chios 174 C 24, Erythr. 206 A 25, Halik. 240⁵¹. *r* becomes γ before κ : Ephesos 147^{14, 16}, Teos 158²⁰, Chios 174 C 22, Erythr. 206 A 47, B 29, Halik. 240^{16, 18, 25, 34}. *r* becomes λ before λ : Halik. 240^{8, 23, 31}¹ ('Ελλιμένιος Thas. (L) 8₈, cf. *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 18). *v* becomes σ before σ : Halik. 238⁴¹. κ becomes γ before β in *ἐγβαλεῖν* Teos 158²¹. (¶ the variations in Herodoteian MSS. between *Ἐκβάτανα* and *Ἀγβάτανα*. κ becomes γ before δ : Chios 174 B 22 (*κάγδικασάντων*), Head *H. N.* 504. κ becomes γ before λ : Samos 220³⁵ (*ἐγλείπει*). We may also notice *Ἀνκάος* on an Ionic vase *C. I. G.* 7375, *Ἐγκαῖρος* Styra 19¹⁸⁵, *συνγράφη*², *J. H. S.* VIII 402²¹ Thasos. In Herodas we find *-νγ-* 177, *-νπ-* 190, *σύγφιλγγε* 525.

DECLENSION.

412.] The Dual.

By the fifth century the use of the dual in the literary monuments of Ionic had entirely passed out of existence. Recent editors of Herodotos are rightly unanimous in extirpating the two cases in which all the MSS. agree in its retention: I 11 *δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἴρεσιν*, 91 *ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγγόρεε*. Elsewhere *δύων*, *δυοῖσι* are the forms adopted. While the inscriptions have no instance of *δυοῖν*, *δύων* occurs in Chios 174 D 14, a document which however inflects the numerals after the Aiolic norm. Hipponax 29 has *δύ' ἡμέραι* as might be expected. Hippokrates avoids the dual with such persistency that it may be doubted whether he employed it at all. All of the examples quoted from the Hippokratic corpus are found in the treatises of the younger school. These are VI 472 *δυοῖν διαφόρουν . . . συμφόρουν* where the MSS. have *διαφόροις* or *διαφόρων*: VII 120 *ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν* (θ has the pl.): VII 128 *τῶ ὀφθαλμῶ ποτιέτόν τε καὶ ἐξέχετον* (θ has the pl.): VII 138 *δυοῖν*: VIII 54 *ἀμφοῖν*: VIII 76 *τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν* in θ (*v. l.* has the pl.): VIII 326 *τῶ πόδε* (θ has the pl.), *τοῖν ποδοῖν* (not in θ), *τῶ μηρῶ* (θ has the pl.), *τοῖν σκελοῖν* (*τῶν σκελέων* in θ): in IX 84 we find such an anomaly as *δυσὶ γαστέραιν*: VIII 144 *τοῖν σφυροῖν* but θ has *ἐκ τῶν σφυρῶν*: VIII 236 *τῶ*

¹ But τὴν Δ- 240⁵⁹ ἐν Δ- 240³⁹ 97.

² Cf. ΣΥΝ for ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ, Ephesos, Head *H. N.* 495, Samos *ibid.* 516.

χείρε (θ has the pl.). As regards the Ionic writers of the Renaissance under Hadrian, Lukian *d. S.* § 30 adopts ὀργνιέων δυοῖν, Arrian δυοῖν § 7, δοκίμω ἄνδρε § 17, ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν 16, τοῖν σκελοῖν 14 *bis*, ἐκατέρω 14. Aretaios writes once τῷ πόδε, but not elsewhere where pairs of the parts of the body are spoken of. These cases of the occurrence of the dual must be regarded as deviations from normal Ionic in the direction of Attic. See § 573 for the dual in conjugation.

413.] Gender, &c.

1. The grammarians regarded as Ionic the use of the following words as feminine : ἡήρ Eust. 775¹⁵, 1566¹⁴, κίων 1390⁴⁸, 1399⁵⁰, 1923⁵⁷, ἔλαφος 1652⁵⁶, ἴπποι (cf. Et. M. 473³²), κύνες, ἡμιόνοι 877⁶², 1390¹⁹, ἔλλος 1390⁴⁸, ὄνος Et. M. 473³⁵, ὄρνιθες Eust. 1126¹⁶, βοῦς Et. M. 473³⁶, Eust. 1390¹⁸, σῦς, χοῖρος 1752¹⁴⁻²⁶, Athen. IX 375 C, χῆνες 1876¹⁵, ῥινός 679⁴⁵, 1926⁵¹. ῥοῖζος too is feminine in Ionic according to Eust. 1631², Schol. i 315 and Photios II 135; ἀστράγαλος (but cf. Anakr. 46) Bekk. Anecd. I 454²⁵ = Bachm. Anecd. I 154²¹. In comparison with Doric, Ionic has to show a larger number of nouns whose feminine gender awakened the attention of the grammarians. Occasionally the use of the masculine for the feminine is noticed, as in the case of ἄσβολος in Hipponax (Bekk. Anecd. I 17²²); ἄρριχος when masculine is Ionic, when feminine Attic: Et. Mag. 149³⁰, Bachm. An. I 146 (Bekk. An. I 446), cf. Eust. 1163¹⁹, 1533⁵⁸, Schol. Arist. *Aves* 1309. Joh. Gr. 240 holds that ἔσπερος (Hom.) is Ionic for ἔσπερα, cf. ὁ τιάρης Hdt. I 132, τιάρη VIII 120. ὁ κόγχος is found in a Delian document, Ditt. *Syll.* 367¹⁷⁹. In Hippokr. VI 198 ὁ φάρυξ where θ has the fem., so VI 212. An Ionic change from the fem. to the neuter is claimed by the An. Par. III 156¹³ on the score of παρειά; *ibid.* III 464¹⁸ κέλευθα for κελεύθους.

2. Such forms as *νιέες*, *ἐρίηρες*, *ἐρυσάρματες* for *νίολ* &c. are called Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. K. 444, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

3. ϕ is archaistic in all post-Homeric monuments, as indeed it is in Homer. *θεόφι* in Naukr. I p. 63, No. 28 (Παρμενίσκος *θεόφι*) is perhaps the only occurrence of ϕ in a prose document. This inscription is not necessarily Ionic.

Â Declension.

414.]

This declension embraces masculines in $-\eta\varsigma$, feminines in $-\eta$ and $-\tilde{\alpha}$, where other dialects have $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ (Attic $-\eta\varsigma$ in part), $-\tilde{\alpha}$ (Attic $-\eta$ except after vowels and ρ) and $-\tilde{\alpha}$. The dialects vary considerably in their adoption of the forms in $-\tilde{\alpha}$.

Masc.	Fem.	Plur.
$\eta\varsigma$	$\eta, \tilde{\alpha}$	<i>αι</i>
$\epsilon\omega, \epsilon\omega, \omega, \epsilon\nu, \epsilon\omicron\varsigma, \epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$	$\eta\varsigma, \eta\varsigma$	$\epsilon\omega\nu, \epsilon\omega\nu, \omega\nu$
$\eta\iota$	$\eta\iota, \eta\iota$	$\eta\iota\varsigma\iota, \eta\iota\varsigma, \alpha\iota\varsigma$
$\eta\nu, \epsilon\tilde{\alpha}$	$\eta\nu, \tilde{\alpha}\nu$	$\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$
$\eta, \tilde{\alpha}$	$\eta, \tilde{\alpha}$	<i>αι</i> .

In the following discussion of the cases of the singular, especial attention is directed to the occurrences of Ionic $\eta =$ Attic \bar{a} after ρ and vowels. Most of the inscriptional forms are enumerated and the date of the ingress of the Attic \bar{a} noted. On forms where η was preceded by ϵ , see § 263. For cases of the presence of Ionic η in Attic, see § 72.

Ildt. has η $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta$, η $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\eta$, η $\phi\omicron\nu\eta$. There are many words which end in $-\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ s instead of $-\alpha\rho\chi\omicron$ s. Hippokr. and Ildt. have η $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ and $\tau\omicron$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron$ s. $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ Ἀβδῆρα , not η Ἀβδῆρα , is the form in the Ionic of Ildt.

415.] Nominative Masculine (Inscriptions).

The inscriptions have generally preserved throughout the fourth century the specifically Ionic η after ρ and vowels. See § 172.

1. After ρ : Ἀθημαγόρης Teos 161 (2), Δειναγόρης Naxos 24, Ἰηησαγόρης Abdera 163 (4), Samos 217, Ἀρισταγόρης Ephesos 151 (1), Δημαγόρης 151 (2), Πυθαγόρης Samos 226 (1) bef. 350 B. C., 262 Asiatic Ionic (after 408 B. C.), Thasos (L) 10 B₂, Head *II. N.* 512, 518, Πρωταγόρης Halik. 240₂₂ and in several other examples from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre dating from 300–275 (first and second periods according to Bechtel).

The Attic \bar{a} has forced an entrance in Νικαγόρας Eph. 147₂ (300 B. C.), cf. Νικαγόρης Thasos (L) 710; Ἀν[α]ξαγόρας Smyrna 153₁₂ an inscription which is almost Attic. Ἀρισταγόρας Thasos 82 A 5 (225–200 B. C., cf. Ἀρισταγόρης Thasos (L) 4 B 9 about 300); Φαναγόρας Erythrai 206 B 55 (after 278 B. C.), cf. Φαναγόρης Thasos (L) 6 D 8 (about 300 B. C.); [Ἡ]ραγόρας Thasos (L) 14 A 11 and in eight names in $-\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha$ s on the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (15 C 11, 20 A 9, 16₁₃, 18 C 8, 18 C 6, 18 B 13, 19 B 8, 15 A 5, 15 B 5, 15 A 10, 16₆); Ἀθηναγόρας Klazom. Head *II. N.* 491.

In No. 215 = Rob. I 156 we find $\text{Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν}$ attached to an offering of Euthymos, a Lokrian ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου. As this Pythagoras is called by Pausanias (VI 6 4 ff.) an inhabitant of Rhegion, he doubtless belonged to the Samians who came in 494 B. C. to Sicily (Ildt. VI 23) and became subjects of Anaxilas of Rhegion. Cf. Loewy (*Insch. gr. Bildhauer*, No. 23) and above, § 172. Πυθαγόρης in 261 is the name of an immigrant Ionian in Salymbria, a colony of the Doric Megara.

2. After ι : Ἀστίης Styra 1917₃, Κριτίης 195₆, Χαροπίης 1915₁, Μικρίης 1925₂₅₈, Πυρρίης 1929₂₉₃, Σωσίης 1944₅, Δουρίης 21, Euboeian Ionic. Ἐστίης Erythr. 206 B 16, Ἰσσωίης Halik. 240₄₂, Αἰνησίης Thasos (L) 35, Γλαυκίης Rhegion 6 B, Εὐκόίης Keos 44 B 9, Πανσανίης Thasos 78 B 3, Μνησίης Thasos 75 B 9, Πα[μ]φαίης Thasos (L) 19 A 6, Ἀντίης Rob. I 190, No. I, E, Τυαίης Latyshev II 202.

Attic $-\iota\alpha\varsigma$ is found e.g. in Παππίας Mykonos 92₂₁ (Makedonian period), Πασίας 104₂₅ and Φανίας 104₃₀ Iasos (before 353 B. C.), Ἀντωνίας Eph. 150 (time

of Hadrian), Ἰππίας, Πανσανίας Smyrna 153₃₁ an almost Attic inscription, Κριτίας Thasos 82 A 7 (225-200 B.C.), Ἐστίας Erythr. 206 A 9 (cf. 206 B 16 Ἐστίας), Πανσανίας Perinthos 234 B 42, and Thasos (L) Νικίας 11 B 4, Ἀμφίας 12 A 4.

3. After ε: Αινέης occurs on a Chalkidian amphora in Rob. I 189 F.

4. After υ: Παναμύης Halik. 238₃₁, gen. Παναμύω see § 429; Σληύης Naukr. I 235, name of a barbarian Ionized.

Attic ā occurs in Μαρσίας Iasos 104₇ (before 353 B.C.).

5. Other nominatives in -ῆς: Ἀριστῆς Erythr. 206 B 21, Ἐρμῆς¹ Samos 220₃₂, Ἀθηνῆς on an Abderite coin in the British Museum (*Catal.* 71, No. 48), Λε(ω)πῆς Keos 44 A 5, Ἠγῆς Chios 179, cf. Ἠγίης in Hdt., Ἀπελλῆς Iasos 104₁₅. For other forms, see § 263, 3. On the development of the declension of the hypocoristic -ās, -ādos for -ās, -ā, see below, § 546.

If Ἠγέας and Ἐλπéας Keos 44 B 4, B 16 are not Attics, these two names are the two earliest examples (except Πυθαγόρας, above under 1) of the expulsion of the Ionic sound. The document is perhaps older than 400 B.C. It is highly probable that these individuals are not Ionians. The name Δημέας Delos 57 is from a much later period (second century). On Μικᾶς Thasos (L) 14 A 7, Ἠρᾶς Thasos (L) 18 C 3, see § 165, note. On supposed cases of -εās in the Styrian lead tablets, see § 157.

416.] Nominative Masc. (Lyric Poets).

Ἐρμῆς Hippon. 55 B; Ἀπελλέης Anakr. 72 B is not different from Ἀπελλῆς cited under § 415, 5. Μεγίστης in Anakr. 41 may be read Μεγιστῆς (cf. Μεγιστᾶς upon Attic and Boiotian inscriptions). Ἀναξαγόρας Anakr. 105 is corrupt.

417.] Nominative Masc. (Prose).

In Hdt.² Ἐρμῆς, βορῆς (*e.g.* VI 44 no MS. has -έης), Ἀριστῆς, Πυθῆς, &c., § 263, 3. Αινείης Menekrates in Dion. Halik. *A. R.* I 77 (Jac.).

418.] Nominative (Accusative) Feminine in -ά.

The Ionic dialect, while presenting many traces of resemblance to Attic and other less closely connected idioms in respect of the retention of -ā in the nom. fem., pursues a different path from Attic especially in the treatment of abstract nouns in -ενη from -εσ- stems. When Ionic has -ᾶ, this termination is not the property of this dialect alone.

¹ In ζΗΞ ~ ϜϜΗ on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunstmythol.* pl. IV, No. 6, ΗΞ is a dittography.

² Greg. Kor. § 1 Ἀρχίης.

Examples of $-ā$: $τόλμα$ ¹ Hdt. VII 135, and Eurip. *Ion* 1264, *Androm.* 702, and in Plato, whereas in Doric we have $τόλμα$, Pindar, *Ol.* XIII 11, and so *Ion* 1416 (?). Cf. schol. Ven. on Γ 130. *βασίλεια* is referred to § 177. *μοῖρα* in Hdt., Anaxag. 5, Archil. 19, Mimn. 6, Solon 20, 1303, Tyr. 7; *μοῖραν* Sol. 2718, 112, Sim. Am. 7104, 114, Sim. K. 516, Demokr. 194, inserip. adesp. No. 265 in Bechtel's collection, cf. § 439 II A. *νάρκα* Hippokr. VI 368, VIII 310, 312 (also in Menander, no. 498, Kock).

In many cases this $ā$ is difficult of explanation². Many words belong to the class of which *μοῖρα* is an example, the iota of the pre-Hellenic suffix *-ia* having been transferred to the radical syllable (*μορ-ια, μοῖρα*). Thus *ζεφύρα, σφιρα* are to be derived from $-ῥ-ια$. Where there is a variation between a short and a long vowel as in the case of *τόλμα*, it has been suggested that the form with $ā$ is due to the influence of such doublets as *ἀληθειᾶ* and *ἀλήθειᾶ*. It is, however, by no means certain that the confusion between $-iā$, the nominal suffix, and $-iā$, the adjectival suffix (§ 174), is older than the creation of a *τόλμα* from *τόλμα*.

Whether *χάραδρα* Hdt. IX 102 or *χαράδρα* (Stein, Holder) is the correct form is not clear. *C* has *χαράδραν, P* *χαράδρην*. The same variations recur in the case of the name of a Phokian town, VIII 33. Here *R* has *Χαράδρην*.

In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. have retained, in opposition to their procedure elsewhere, the forms in $-ειῖ, -οιῖ$. Thus we find *εἰρένεια, ὄδεια, ἐπιμέλεια, ἐμμέλεια, περιφάνεια* (§ 176), *διάνοια, διάνοιαν, εὔνοιαν* (§§ 178, 441). Hdt. has both *Φώκαια* and *Φωκαίη* according to the MSS. (§ 179).

Adjectives in $-us$ have feminine $-εια$ or $-εα$, § 219. Hdt. has *δασέα* III 32.

419.] Hyper-Ionic η for ā.

The maleficent ignorance of the late grammarians and scribes did not fail to lay its hands upon the $ā$ which was a genuine heirloom of the Ionic dialect. To these sciolists η was the one unmistakable sign of Ionic lineage. Not only was the $-ā$ after ρ attacked by them, but also the $-ā$ in the feminine of nouns and adjectives where it follows upon ι . The dialectological treatises

¹ *τόλμη* in Hdn. I 255¹⁶, 324²¹, II 426, cf. Bekk. An. I 66²³ (*τόλμη καὶ τόλμα, πρόμνη καὶ πρόμνα*). It is not elsewhere attested. Joh. Gr. 241 *χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἀνατελλομένη τῆ ἀντι τοῦ ἠΐωνες, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκτετατομένῃ*. Cf. Phrynich. I.) p. 331.

² See Misteli *K. Z.* XVII 177, XIX 119; Osthoff's *Forschungen*, II 25; Brugmann, *M. U.* II 201, *Grundr.* I § 639; Wheeler's *Nom. Accent*, 35 ff.; Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 64, Johansson, *K. Z.* XXX 411.

of Gregory and the Gramm. Meermannianus are the heirs of this error. Gregory § 10 (cf. § 45 and Gramm. Vatic. p. 696) says τὸ *ā* εἰς *η* τρέπουσιν . . . Ἡρα Ἡρη, σφαῖρα σφαίρη: the Gramm. Meerm. p. 650 Ἡρα Ἡρη, χῶρα χῶρη, ἄραι ἄρη, σπείρα σπείρη, where dialect forms are confounded with pan-Hellenic formations (σφαῖρα, σπείρα). In Hdt. I 204 all the MSS. have *μοίρη*; in IV 120 *ἰ* has *μοίρη*, and so too the Aldine edition which generally accepts the perversities of the hyper-Ionizing movement. In II 17 it alone has *μοίρη*. *μοίρη* recurs in Lukian's *Astrol.* § 10, *μοίρη* Euseb. § 9. *νεαίρη* is found in the pseudo-Hippokrates VII 312, 316, 320, where, however, the Vienna codex *θ* (the oldest MS. of Hippokrates) has *-ρα*. *εἰρή* is found in III 212. In Hdt. IV 120 the Aldine edition has *μῆ*, a form repudiated by the MSS. of the historian, though occurring in Hippokrates¹ and Aretaios. Hyper-Ionic *οἰσμή* appears even in Solon XIII 46, where no MS. pronounces in favour of the genuine Attic and Ionic form. *οἰδεμῆ* is also found in Lukian *Syr. D.* 19, *Astr.* 27, 29. In the inscriptions there occurs no case of nom. or accus.; *μῆς* Olynth. 8 B 13 is Attic. *μῆς* Sim. Am. 2 (conj.), Herodas I₄₁, 770, *μῆ* Theognis 664 (in *A*), Herodas 5₆₆, are the genuine Ionic forms which were the starting-points for the creation of the hyper-Ionic *μῆ*. In the vulgate of Herodas III 1 we find *μῆ*.

In the fem. of adj. from masc. *-vs*, Hdt. usually has *-εα* (§ 506). *εη* is found in some or all MSS.: *τρηχέη* IV 23, *τρηχέην* IX 122, *βαθέην* I 75, *δασέη* IV 109, *δασέην* IV 21. Hippokr. has *δέξέη* VI 172 (*θ*), 174, VIII 132, *δέξέην* 178, 180, *θηλέην* VIII 274 (*-ιαν θ*). *βαθέην* even occurs in Homer, Π 766 (Nauck *βαθύη*). *παχέην* is found in the MSS. of Sim. Amorg. 31 B. The pseudo-Ionists not infrequently have *η*. Lukian *Syr. D.* *ἡμισέη* 14, *θηλέην* 15, 51; Arrian, *πλατέην* 16, *τραχέη* 23, 37 (cf. 32); *βαθέην* 27; Eusebios § 5 *ἰδέη*, Euseb. Mynd. 63, *εἰρήη*. Cf. *τρηχέην* Anth. Pal. VII 315.

If in the one passage in an inscription where such an *η* form appears (Latyshev II 370):—

Ἡδε[*ι*]η κείμαι, θυγάτηρ τε ἄμα μοι Φιλον[*ικη*]
μημήνην [δ'] ἔστησε[ν] Σάτυρος Π[*ι*]σ[*τ*]οξένο(υ) [ᾧδ]ε.

the form Ἡδε(*ι*)η were certain, the forms adduced above might stand on a better footing. While the omission of the *ι* presents no difficulties (cf. Ἡδέα C. I. A. III 2324, 3186), Aschik's limitations as an epigraphist are such as to throw suspicion upon his transcription. Aschik himself suggested Ἡδ[*ιστ*]η. As Latyshev remarks, the *ο* for *οτ* in the genitive would permit us to place the inscription in the fourth century; a date much too early in my opinion

¹ *μηδεμῆ* II 180 (*μῆ* in 2269), *μῆ* VIII 334 (*μῆ* *θ*), *οἰδεμῆ* II 648 (*-αν A*), II 658 in but one MS. All have *μῆ* II 664, as Herodas I₂₂, 61, 572.

for the emergence of the hyper-Ionic η . Until the stone is rediscovered, no weight should be attached to its evidence.

• 420.] Ionic η = Attic α .

Old Attic with its $-i\alpha$ in abstract nouns was like Ionic with its $-i\eta$. Since, so far as we can make out, Ionic rarely, if ever, adopted the $-i\alpha$ termination (§§ 175, 178), there is a divergence between the two allied dialects, which has been brought about by the transference in later Attic of the ending $-i\alpha$ from the feminine adjectival stems to the category of abstract nouns. We are never certain when we find a form like ἀλήθεια in later Ionic that it is not due to the influence of Attic; though no reason may be adduced why Ionic should have refused to admit the innovation which changed to such an extent the character of the prose speech in Attic. ἱρεΐη is attested as Herodoteian (§ 177), despite ἱρέεια in Homer and other dialects. On Ἰστυαίη, Μηδέειν, see § 179.

Mimn. 96. Hdt. I 15, 149 have Σμύρνην; so *Vil. Hom.* 5 (but Σμύρνα 2). σμύρνη is found in Hdt. III 107. πρύμνη¹ may be an adjective form from πρυμνός (Brugmann, *Berichte d. sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, 191). πρύμνᾱ on this view might be an analogue of πρῶρα, though it may have been formed as other words in $-\alpha$ (above). πρῶρην Hdt. I 194 (cf. VII 180) is clearly erroneous.

For the Attic form πείνα, we find an apparently Ionic form πείνη in Plato *Lys.* 221 A, *Phil.* 31 E; cf. Trypho in Apoll. *Conj.* 228. Schm. (quoting ο 407). Hdn. II 456₁₀ = An. Ox. II 302₁₈, Et. Gud. 74₃₄ and Schanz' *Proleg.* to Gorgias p. VII. With the form πείνη we may compare πέζη mentioned by Hdn. II 372₁₀ = An. Ox. I 339₁₂ (cf. I 368₁₉). πείνη and πέζη are not hyper-Ionisms, but genuine Attic formations whose η still resists satisfactory explanation.

421.] Inflection of γέᾱ, μνᾱ̄ = Attic γῆ, μνᾱ̄².

The following forms of the word γῆ occur:—

(1) γαῖα, found in Homeric and Old Ionic γαῖαν Mimnerm. 12., Kallinos 14. (2) γέα does not occur in any case of the singular, but is attested by γέαι Zeleia 113₄₀ (shortly after Granikos), γέων Hdt. IV 198³, γέαις Mylasa, C. I. G. 2693 F 9,

¹ πρύμνη is found in the tragic poets and in *Wisps* 399.

See Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* IX 225, Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 146, XXXII 349, Fick, *B. B.* XI 250, Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 54, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 264, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 126, Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 19, 39, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183 ff. The last named scholar proposes to explain the interrelation of Ἀθηναία and Ἀθηνᾶ in the manner described above.

² γέων A B R, γέων C, γέων P, γαῖων dz.

according to Le Bas, No. 414, γέας Chios 174 C 12 (fifth century). Halikarn. 240₃ (not much later than 400 B. C.), Mylasa 250, C. I. G. 2693 F 6 according to Le Bas, No. 414, Latyschev II 353, in an inscription from the Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. quoted by Bechtel, p. 147, Olymos 251₆ and Le Bas 338 (both late), Zeleia 114 F, and in a fragment of Demokritos preserved by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 304 A. The nom. γέη is not found in any part of Ionic. (3) γῆ = γᾶ in Doric, Eleian, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c. and = δᾶ in Doric, ζᾶ in Kyprian, occurs in Hdt. I 193, Herakl. 21, 23 (?), 76 (?) in Pherekydes of Syros in a fragment quoted by Diog. Laert.; in γῆς Herakl. 68, cf. § 430; in Teian γῆι, 156 B 9, γῆ Herodas 2₂₅; in γῆν Herakl. 8. Hdt. I 30, Teos 156 A 6, Iasos 104₃₁, Erythr. 204₁₆, Halik. 238₉, 240₇, 12, 16, 18, &c., Amphip. 10₄.

μνέ[α] is a probable conjecture, Paros 62, μνῆς Herodas 77₁₀, 11. μνῆν Herodas 251, 52, μνέαι Hdt. II 168, VI 79, μνέων Hrd. 222, μνέας Hdt. III 13, 89, μνέας Hrd. 790. μνᾶ is found in μνᾶς Hipponax 20₃, Hrd. 521, Thasos in *J. H. S.* VIII 402, l. 10. μνέες is a strange reading in the *Syria Dea* § 48. Cf. ἡμμυμῆτων Paros 62, δίμνεως Hdt. V 77.

The explanation of these forms is as follows:—

*γᾶf-ī-ǎ	*μνᾶ-ī-ǎ	Nom. *γᾶf-ī-ǎ	*μνᾶ-ī-ǎ
*γῆᾶ	*μνῆᾶ	Gen. *γᾶῖᾶς	*μνᾶῖᾶς (cf. Lokr. μναιᾶτος).

From γῆα, μνῆα, Ionic γέᾶ, μνέᾶ may arise directly, and from gen. γᾶι, the Old Ionic nom. γᾶῖα; from μνᾶῖς > μνᾶῖς comes the Ionic nominative μνᾶ, contracted from *μνᾶῖ (cf. Δανᾶ, from Δανά(ι)η, found in the Hekataian Δανᾶ, § 273). Attic μνᾶ is derived from *μνᾶᾶ by a similar transference of the weak case-form into the nominative. Ionic γῆ is to be derived from *γῆη, whose final η is due to the influence of that of γᾶῖς. γῆη became *γέη by shortening of the first η before the second η. The former presence of f in the word for earth is probable, less certain in μνᾶ.

In compounds we have γεω- derived from γησ-¹; γαιο- (§ 211) from γᾶι- the weak case-form; and γειο- from γηιο-. δίμνεως is derived from -μνησ-.

422.] Nominative Feminine in η after ρ and vowels (Inscriptions).

Νικάνδρη Naxos 23, Οοίρη Naxos 23, Ἀρισταγάρη Erythr. 206, C 38, one of the few Ionisms in 206, Μηρισιδώρη Amorgos 39, Βιττάρη Priene. *Mith.* XVI 291. Ὀλβίη is a form preserved till late imperial times (§ 173), Μιλησίη 99 Miletos, Ἐκαταη Parion 115, Ἴωνή Pantikap. 121, Κο]μοσαρή Phnag. 167, Ἴρη Naukr. 447, 841 ff., ἱερῆ Pantikap. 123, Ephesos 150, time of

¹ γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is suspicious. Ionic γεω- has forced its way into a Doric poem of Theokr. I 13 = V 101.

Hadrian, < ἱερε(ι)η, cf. Hdt. ἱρείη I 175, V 72 (§ 177), Κλεαγόρη Eretria, *A. J. A.* VII 247 (No. 2), Ζωβίη *ibid.* 249 (No. 20). Δωροφέα Rob. I 29 (fifth century) is not Ionic. In Chian inscriptions in Paspates' *Glossary*: Ἀρτεμισίη 13, Σαμίη 13; in Latyschev II: Ἰτίη 97, Λειμείη p. 310; Ἰκεσίη Teos, *Mitht.* XVI 296. Attic -iā in Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121, Κασταλία Phanag. 168, &c.

423.] Nominative Feminine in η (Lyric Poets).

Uncontracted -έη in adjectives is unusual even in -αλέη, *e. g.* Ἀρχαλέη Hippon. 99, with which cf. ἀργαλέη Anakr. 435, κερδαλέη Archil. 895 (-ῆ in Ammon. and An. Par.). ἀργυρέη is the correct form in Anakr. 33 according to Bergk, and Roszbach, *Metrik* III 567, ἀργυρή according to Miller in the *Anthologia Lyrica*⁴ No. 29; the latter form is correct. πορφυρέη Anakr. 23. Archil. 191 has σνκῆ in an epigram (Renner -έη).

424.] Nominative Feminine in η (Prose).

Hdt. has σιδηρέη I 39, a form obsolete in the Ionic of the fifth century (see under Accus.). On ἀδελφή, see § 263, 1. κενεή in Aret. 146 is from κενεφός. For διπλήη, in all MSS. of Hdt. III 42, we must read διπλήῆ¹, which occurs in Hippocrates (§ 263, 3, b).

425.] Genitive Masculine.

The form of the genitive in Ionic possesses a peculiar interest both from the variety of its formation and from the interrelation of vowels. -ᾶο is Homeric, Boiotian and in a few cases Kyprian, -ᾷ is Doric and Aiolic, an ᾷ which must have differed in pronunciation from that of τιμά. Homer's -εω is generally diphthongal, and in Ionic the ω is without effect upon the accent.

426.]

The Ionic genitive according to the grammarians:—(1) -εω preceded by a consonant, ἀγκυλομήτω An. Par. IV 86₂₈, Et. M. 111₂, Et. Gud. 518; [Αἰνείδω Et. Gud. 520;] Ἄλτω Eust. 1225₂₉ (cf. schol. Nik. Alex. 8), the only instance in Homer of dissyllabic -εω. Read Ἄλτα, C having Ἄλταο; Ἀρχίω Greg. K. 384, Ἀτρείδω Hdn. I 408₁₂ = An. Ox. III 228₁₃, Hdn. II 313₆, 314₄ = An. Ox. I 347₂₉ = An. Par. III 115₃ (Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί), Hdn. II 679₂₃, II 267₁₀ = An. Ox. I 157₂ = An. Par. III 338₇, Hdn. II 665₂₉ = Choir. 120₃₀, An. Ox. III 231₂₉, Choir. 134₁₈, An. Ox. I 91₁, I 19₃₂ (-έω), I 248₆, II 404₂₂, Et. M. 153₄₈, 53, Et. Gud. 519, 83₂₀, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. K. 385, Meerm. 655, Eust. 13 init., schol. V₁₁. A on B 461, O 214; ἀλητέω Hdn. I 408₁₃ = An. Ox. III 228₁₂; Θαλέω Hdn. I 408₁₅; Κασέω An. Ox. III 228₁₃; Κόμω Hdn. II 679₂₃, An. Ox. 231₂₈, Choir. 134₁₈; Λαέρτω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; Λαερτιάδω Joh. Gr. 242; μύκω Hdn. II 679₂ = An. Ox. III 231₆, Choir. 139₃₁, Bekk. An. 1399; Ξέρξω

¹ Bredow proposed διπλόη, a form found in Hippokr. III 186, 250.

Hdn. II 313₆ = An. Ox. I 347₁₅ = An. Par. III 115₃ ('Ιῶνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί', Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Excerpt. Birnb. 677₂; 'Ορέστω Hdn. I 408₁₅ = An. Ox. III 228₁₄, An. Ox. I 19₃₂, I 20₃, Et. M. 153₁₅, 52, Et. Gud. 83₂₉; Πέρσσω Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677₃; Πηλειδew Hdn. II 267₁₀ = An. Ox. I 157₃ = An. Par. III 338₇, An. Ox. I 9₁₁, Et. M. 153₁₉, 154₅, Et. Gud. 5₂₀, Eust. 13 *init.*, Meerm. 655; Πηληιάδew Hdn. II 314₅ = An. Ox. I 347₂₆ (cf. 346₂₇), An. Par. III 115₉, 299₃₃, Eust. 12 *ad fin.* Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Birnb. 677₉; Πηλειάδew (*sic*) Meerm. 655, Vat. 695; Πριαμίδew Hdn. II 314₅ = An. Ox. I 347₂₅, Hdn. II 655₂₁ = Choir. 120₃₀, An. Ox. II 404₂₂, An. Par. III 115₉; τοξότew Joh. Gr. 241 B.

(2) Forms with a vowel preceding -ew: Αίνειew Hdn. I 408₁₃, cf. An. Ox. III 229₂₅, Hdn. II 665₁₇ = Choir. 120₂₅, An. Ox. I 9₁₁ (-έω), Et. M. 153₁₉, Eust. 13 *init.*, Greg. K. 385; 'Ασίew and 'Ασίw Hdn. I 52₁₅, I 408₁₈, II 243₃₂ = Schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479₁₄, An. Ox. I 19₃₂, I 20₈ ('Ασίw), Et. M. 153₁₅, 53, 154₁, Et. Gud. 83₂₃, 27, schol. Ven. A on B 461, Greg. Kor. 385; Βορέew and Βορέw Hdn. II 317₃₂ = schol. V on H 238, cf. II 705₂₈, An. Ox. I 20₇, Et. M. 153₅₆, Et. Gud. 83₃₄, Eust. 444₂₇, 994₂₇; Ἐρμείew and Ἐρμείw Hdn. I 408₁₄ = An. Ox. III 228₁₆, An. Ox. I 20₄, Et. M. 153₅₀, 53, Et. Gud. 83₃₀, Eust. 13 *init.* 444₂₈, schol. Ven. A on O 214, Ἐρμείw schol. Nik. *Alex.* 8; ἐϋμμελίw Hdn. I 52₁₅, I 408₁₆, II 243₃₂ = schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479₁₅, Et. M. 153₅₇, Et. Gud. 83₂₃, Eust. 444₂₇.

427.] Genitive Masculine (Inscriptions).

The following list of inscriptional forms does not include nouns which are elsewhere declined in part according to the -ew declension, *e.g.* 'Αρταξέρξης Myl. 248 A B C 1, names in -πειθης, -φάτης, -άλκης, &c., which may be found § 527. Other cases of the admission of -ew or -ew have been inserted. Inscriptions whose date is quite doubtful have been omitted. The forms in -ā and -ov are not Ionic, and those in -ew, -ew are due to the influence of sigmatic stems which have affected the accusative as well as the genitive singular. On the -w forms, see below. The -ew forms are not yet satisfactorily explained. Bechtel (*B. B.* X 282) claims that this -ew is in reality an Ionic spelling for -ew (cf. § 246) and that this -ew represents -ew by a change of -w to -o. The fact that no example of the change of final ew to ew is known in Ionic or any other dialect, does not increase our sympathy for Bechtel's explanation of ἐθεόρεον, θεοροί, &c.: that ew, which originally arose from final -ew, forced its way into a medial syllable. See § 287. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, endeavours to account for -ew by assuming that the w of -ew became o under the influence of the final o in the ending of the O declension (ἴπoo).

	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΥΣ
VI Cent.	Δειροδίκεω Naxos 23 Λαμψαγόρεω Amorgos 29		
V Century	Λυκκίδεω Rhegion 6 B Κ[ρ]ιτωνίδεω Paros επιγρ. 60 Ἐρμοκρατίδεω Abd. 163 ₃₅ Ἀπολλωνίδεω Halik. 238 ₁₁ -ίδεω Milet. 96, Rob. I 136, cf. Kirch. ⁴ 26 Μολπαγόρεω Abd. 163 ₈ Πρωτέω Abd. 163 ₁₃ Πυθέω 256, unc. loc. Θεικυλιώνε[ω] Halik. 238 ₇ [Μ]εγαβάτεω Halik. 238 ₁₁ Ἡραγύρεω Samos 213 Φαναγόρεω Perinth. 233 Ἀρχαγόρεω Halik. 240 C D	Ἀσίω Chios 174 C 27 Ἄντικῶ Chios 174 C 13 Πυθῶ Chios 174 D 4 Λυσῶ Chios 174 D 17 Πα]ναμύω Halik. 238 ₁₂₃ 240 A 11 Μικινῶ Halik. 240 A 38 Ἀρχαγορῶ <i>ibid.</i> B 3 Βρώλω Halik. Ditt. <i>Syll.</i> 6 D 22	
IV Century	Ἐρμέω Amorg. 230 Ἐρμέω Sam. 220 ₃₁ (this form also Chios, Paspates 34) Ἐρμίω Chios 180 Ἐχεκρατίδεω Amorg. 35 epigr., perhaps third cent. Μορμυθίδεω Milet. 99 Ἀπολλωνίδεω Chios 176 (and Paspates 43) Στρατωνίδεω Naukr. Bechtel, 139 C Ἡρακλείδεω Maron. 196 ₁₁ Φάνεω Iasos 104 _{11, 50} Φάνεω Abdera 163 ₁₇ ἱππάρχεω Kyz. 111 Σκύθεω Phanag. 164 Ἀθηνέω Maron. 196 ₈ Ἀπελλέω Maron. 196 ₇ εὐεργέτεω Myl. 248 C 9 Ποίκεω Teos 157 ₅ Ἡγησαγόρεω Maron. 196 ₁₀ Ἰ[σ]αγόρεω Kyz. 109 Ἡραγόρεω Samos 218 Νυμφηγέτεω Samos 219 Μάν[ε]ω Pantikap., Lat. II 116 Ἀτώτεω <i>ibid.</i> II 164 Σπιθάμεω <i>ibid.</i> II 381 Εὐαλκίδεω <i>ibid.</i> II 154 ¹	Πανσανίω Abd. 163 ₁₆ , and Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace II, No. 57 Πακτύω Myl. 248 C 3, 13	Ἡρακλείδευ[ς] Keos 49 Οὐλιάδευς Iasos 104 ₇ Φοινικίδευς Iasos 104 ₂₇

EOΣ	Α	ΕΤ	ΟΤ
Λεάδεος Olyn. 9 Παιρισάδεος Panti- kap., Lat. II 9	Μεννέα Iasos 104 ^{11b} ²⁶ Ἀμύντα Iasos 104 ^{21, 21} Διονυτᾶ Ias. 104 ²⁸ Ἀθυναγόρα Iasos 104 ⁴³ Μανίτα Myl. 248 C 2 [Καλλία C. I. G. 2121 Knidos?]	'Αρ]χηγέτευ Eryth. 201, smaller side, l. 6 Π]ειθεῦ Eryth. B. C. H. IV 160, No. 10, l. 1	'Ερμίου Eryth. ²⁰⁴² 'Α]ντιαγόρου Kyz. 1116

	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΥΣ
III Century	Φιλανίδεω Thasos 77 A 5		[Ἡ]γη[το]ρ(δ)εὺς Thasos 77 A 14
	Ἀλκίδεω Th. 75 A 11		Λεώδεω Th. 77 B 7
	Νικίδεω Th. 75 B 1		Ἀμφικλείδεω Th. 77 B 10
	Ἀπολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 15		Ἀριστείδεω Th. 77 B 13
	Λεωνίδεω Th. 78 C 13		Θεοτιμίδεω Th. 81 B 14
	Κοσμίδ'εω Th. 79		Φαση(ρ)ίδεω Th. 82 A 6, Th. (L.) 6 B 1
	Πειραντίδεω Th. 80		Θρασωνίδεω Th. 82 A 13
	Φιλόξενίδεω Th. 81		Ἀγλαΐδεω Th. 82 B 12
	Ληΐδεω Th. 81		Ὀνομασικλείδεω Th. L. 6 C 11
	Φρυγικίδεω Th. (L.) 71		Διο[σ]κουρίδεω Th. (L.) 11 C 11
	Βραττίδεω Th. (L.) 7 B 9, 10 ₅		Ἀλκιάδεω Th. (L.) 12 C 6
	Εὐαλκίδεω Th. (L.) 310		Πυλάδ[ε]ῦς Th. (L.) 13 ₁₀
	Θουανίδεω Th. (L.) 46		Ἰππαγόρευς Th. (L.) 3 B 2
	Νικίδεω Th. (L.) 8 ₉		Πυθαγόρευς Th. 81
	Ἀλεξίδεω Th. (L.) 9 ₁₂		Λυσαγόρευς Th. (L.) 11 A 6, 11 C 10
	Φιλιστίδεω Th. (L.) 10 ₁₂ , 12 B 9		Νικαγόρευς Th. (L.) 12 A 6
	Ἀναξαγόρεω Th. 75 B 7		Παγγήθεω Th. (L.) 6 C 7
	Πυθαγόρεω Th. 78 A 6		Δημεῦς Th. (L.) 11 A 3
	Ἀθηναγόρεω Th. 79 (cf. Μανδραγόρεω Paspal. 1, Chios)		
	Ἡραγόρεω Th. (L.) 3 ₄		
	Σφοδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 4 B 7		
	Λεαγόρεω Th. (L.) 7 ₁₀		
	Σημαγόρεω Th. (L.) 8 ₃		
	Πρηξαγόρεω Th. (L.) 10 ₆		
	Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 12 B 11		
	Χάρμεω Th. 75 B 3		
	Κάννεω Th. 80		
	Ἀριστέω Th. 81 B 10		
	Θαλέω Eryth. 206 B 46		
	Βεδαύρεω Th. (L.) 3 ₂		
Τηλεφάνεω Th. 51			
Πρόκεω Th. 10 ₁₀			
Ἀγίεω Olbia 131 ₁₁ (III C?)			
II Century and later	Μηδικέω Kyz. 108 B 1.	Μενώνδω } Eretria, Χαιρίω } Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff.	
	Χάρμεω Teos 160		
Πόρκεω Maron. 195.			
Ἰππάρχεω Kyzik. Mitth. X 202.			
Φαρνάκ. ὦ Lat. II 299 late epigr. with Doric forms)			
Ζεύξεω Eretria, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff.			

ΕΟΣ	Α	ΕΥ	ΟΥ
Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos 73	Χαιρέα Thasos (L.) 14 A 6	Ἄριστευ Eryth. 206 B 9	Ἐρμού Eryth. 206 B 43
Ζεφυρίδ[ε]ος Th. (L.) 2	Πειθία Th. (L.) 14 A 12	Ἄκεσ]τευ Eryth. 206 A 33	Φαναγόρου Eryth. 206 B 56
	Ἄπολλᾶ, Κλεανδρίδα Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2	Πυθευ Eryth. 206 C 35, and Smyrna 15325	Πυθέου Eryth. 206 C 15
			Καλλίου Eryth. 206 C 20
	Ἄνδρ[ι]α Delos 56 _{ss}		Ἄσκληπιάδου Paros 67
	Χειρέα Th. (L.) 15 A 9		Πυθέου Delos 56 _{ss}
	Ἄρκεσίλα Th. (L.) 18 C 12		Προκλείδου C. I. G. 3105 Teos
	Ἄναξίλα Th. (L.) 20 A 15		Ἐρμαγόρου Pharos 87
			Ἐρμού Teos 158 ₂₂

The above tabulation shows that $-\epsilon\omega$ holds its own until the fourth century. At this period its supremacy was attacked by other forms of Ionic complexion, as $-\omega$, $-\epsilon\nu$, $-\epsilon\nu\varsigma$. The last mentioned form is due to the desire to give an Ionic stamp to $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, which had made its way in from Attic. On the other hand the purely Attic forms in $-\omicron\nu$ gradually gain power. That so few examples of $-\omicron\nu$ appear under the head of the third and following centuries is due to the fact that only such inscriptions as contain any trace of Ionism however slight have been taken into account. By the end of the third century $-\epsilon\omega$ is practically dead. The ending $-\tilde{\alpha}$ is non-Ionic and in place on inscriptions in the names of Dorians only.

C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (about 400 B. C.), the only Attic inscription showing a form in $-\epsilon\omega$, contains a list of banished Thasiotes. The Rhodian $\Sigma\alpha\mu\tilde{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ is due to the influence exercised by Ionic upon the native dialect. The Ionic $\Sigma\alpha\mu\tilde{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ (for $-\delta\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$) occurs C. I. G. 2534.

$\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, read by Prof. Gardner on an electrum stater, Rob. I p. 177, cannot be correct. If not $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, the Ionic form of the seventh century would be $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega$.

428.] Genitive Masculine (Lyric Poets).

The genuine Ionic poetical form is $-\epsilon\omega$, which in the lyric poets, as in Hesiod, must always¹ be read as one syllable (even when a short vowel precedes), except when $-\epsilon\omega$ is reduced from $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$. Besides $\epsilon\omega$ we meet with (2) the epic (Aeolic) $-\tilde{\alpha}\omega$, (3) the Doric $-\tilde{\alpha}$ only in the Megarian Theognis, and (4) a few cases of Attic $-\omicron\nu$ which must give place to $-\epsilon\omega$ in case the poet is of Ionic stock. In the late parts of Theognis this $-\omicron\nu$ may be defended.

1. $\epsilon\omega$.

A. Iambographic Poets.

Archilochos: $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$ 25, $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega$ 47 (trim.), cf. § 438, I, $\text{Ἄρ}\epsilon\omega$ 48 trim., $\Lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$ 70 tetr.: on $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$, cf. Bergk on No. 104 and § 233. $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omega$ 28 is merely a conjecture of Elmsley. The MSS. have $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, cf. § 531, II 2.

Hippoxax: $\text{Ἀττ}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ 15₂, $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$ 15₄ trim., $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\omega$ 64, $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\omega$ 77 for the incorrect $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu$ of Eustathios.

Herodas: $\text{Αἰ}\tilde{\rho}\omicron\epsilon\omega$ 1₃₂, $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega$ 3₁, $\text{Μ}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon\omega(?)$ 4₃₆, $\text{Ἀπ}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 4₇₃, $\pi\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\rho\kappa\tau\epsilon\omega$ 5₄₂, $\beta\upsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\omega$ 6₈₈, and so $\text{Ἀκ}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega$ 3₆₁; probably $-\epsilon\omega$ is reduced from $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ in $\text{Πυθ}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 1₇₆. The only exception to the rule stated at the head of this section is presented by $\text{Πρ}\eta\acute{\xi}\iota\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ 4₂₃ ($\omicron\acute{\iota}$ Π. $\pi\alpha\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$), which is a contaminated form.

¹ On the exception $\text{Πρ}\eta\acute{\xi}\iota\text{-}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ Herodas 4₂₃, see under I A below. $\Phi\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\omega$ is also an exception in Latyshev II 299, a very late epigram. Here the open $-\epsilon\omega$ was a necessity.

B. *Elegiac Poets.*

Tyrtaios: Μῖδεω 12₆, Κινύρεω 12₆, Ταυταλίδεω 12₇.

Theognis: Αἰολίδεω 702, Ἀῖδεω 703, 802, 1124, Βόρεω 716.

Solon: Ἀῖδεω 24₈ and πολυτέχνεω 13₄₀. The recurrence in Solon of the Ionic elegiac form ought to guard us against substituting therefor the Attic forms. Anakreon too has Ἀῖδεω 43; (melic) and Αἰγείδεω 99 (eleg.).

Phokylides: 1 Φωκυλίδεω Bergk, as elsewhere, *v. l.* -ῖδου; 3 Φωκυλίδεω, Stobaios -ῖδου, 4 Φωκυλίδεω, Stob. -ῖδου, 5 *vulgo* -ῖδου, 6 -ῖδεω.

Σμερδίεω (-υυ-) occurs in the pseudo-Simonideian epigram 184₈.

2. -ᾱ, an imitation of epic usage¹, cf. § 446, 3: Ἀῖδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906. Αἰήταο Mimn. 11₅. Πίσασο Xenoph. 2₃, 2₂₁.

Αἰήταο, the only example of -αο from an older poet of Ionic birth, is, however, not to be suspected because the verse immediately preceding has been lost. Αἰήτεω τε πόλιν is therefore an otiose conjecture. τελέων in the same fragment is an exception to the tendency to contraction. In the MSS. we often meet with -αο as *v. l.*, *c. g.* Tyrt. 12₆.

3. Doric -ā in Theognis: Εὐρώτα 785, 1088.

4. Attic -ov(?).

Archilochos is said by Eust. II. 518₃₃ to have used the genitive Ἄρον "κατ' Ἰάδα διάλεκτον." This is scarcely correct, and Bergk reads Ἄρεω (frag. 48), though he does not change μολοζήριτον Πίρροναξ 77. Phokylides' name appears as Φωκυλίδου in MSS. of Stobaios and Strabo (see above on -εω). ου often occurs as *v. l.*, *c. g.* Theog. 702. In 1014 the pseudo-Theognis has Ἀῖδου. This form was not possible in the elegy before the rise of Attic poetry.

429.] Genitive Masculine (Prose).

1. -εω from nominatives in -ης preceded by (a) a consonant or (b) any vowel except ε. Examples: (a) Hdt. Ἰσαγόρεω, Λευτυχίδεω, Ἄρταβύτεω, Κρητίνεω, Μάνεω, Κανθαύλεω, Ἀμύντεω (cf. Ἀμύντα § 427), Ἐπιάλτεω, Ξέρξεω; Hippokr. Ἀνταγόρεω II 664, but Ἀγλαΐδου same page, Φρυνιχίδεω II 704, Οἰκέτεω III 60; Demokr. Ἀῖδεω *Mor.* 54; Herakleitos Τευτάμεω; Xanthos Ἀλνάπτεω, Σαδνάπτεω, cf. Müller, *l. II. G.* I p. 40 b; Pherekydes of Leros Βρόντεω, Στερόπτεω. Ἄργεω 76, Αἰήτεω 60. Lukian uses no other form except -εω, while Arrian in the *Indikè*, and Eusebios

¹ Greg. Kor. 611 is corrupt: Αἰακίδαο γὰρ Ἰωνικῶς καὶ Αἰακίδεω Ἀττικῶς. The more accurate grammarians thought that the Homeric -αο was either Aiolic or Boiotian, but Tzetz. Ex. II. 117₂₆ opines that ἐκατηβελέταο is Ionic, -εω Attic.

Myndios are not so conservative in following Ionic usage. The *Iliu Huiou* has $\epsilon\omega$ throughout (6, 17, 38). Even in the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) we find, together with Aiolisms, Ἀλυάττεω.

(b) After ι : Hdt. *ρευηρίεω*, *Πανσανίεω*, Ἀσίεω, *Λυδίεω*; Uranios 12 *κοχλίεω*, cf. Ἐρμίεω in Chios and Beehtel, *Ion. Inscr.* p. 109.

After υ : Hdt. *Μαρσύνεω*, *Πακτύεω*, *Πρωτοθύεω*.

After ω : Hdt. *Κώεω*.

After *ai*: Hdt. Ἄρταχαίεω.

After $\epsilon\iota$: *Αἰνείεω* Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. p. 77 (Jac.).

After $\epsilon\upsilon$: Hdt. Ἀλεεύεω.

2. If, however, the $\eta\varsigma$ of the nominative was preceded by ϵ , $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ in the genitive is avoided by the hyphaeresis of one ϵ (or, what is practically the same thing, by the contraction of $\epsilon\omega$ to ω) in order to escape the hiatus¹. In confirmation of this explanation, which was adopted by the ancients², the following forms are cited from Hdt.: Ἀριστέω, Ἀνδρέω, Πυθέω (found in Herodas), *βορέω*, Ἐρμείω: *βορέω* from Hekatt. 67; Ἐρμείω from Lukian. *Syr. d.* 38 *Astr.* 20, Euseb. *Mynd.* 63, cf. Homeric Ἐρμείω, *βορέω*: Ἐρμείω hymn *Herm.* 413, *Aphr.* 149. In § 263, 3 it is shown that the nom. of these nouns in the fifth century was not $\epsilon\eta\varsigma$, as is generally assumed, but $\epsilon\eta\varsigma$. No form in $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ is permissible. Dindorf's *βορέεω* is a creature of his imagination deriving no support from the statement made in *An. Ox.* I 207, &c.

If with these Herodoteian forms cited in 1 *a* and 2, we compare those known to us from inscriptions, certain noteworthy differences come to light. Whereas Hdt. has *Πανσανίεω* VIII 3, the inscriptional form is *Πανσανίω*, and whereas Hdt. has *Πακτύεω* I 158, the Mylasian document has *Πακτύω*. From the fifth century there is a considerable number of inscriptions which place the termination ω from $\epsilon\omega$ < $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ after consonants, *iota*, and *upsilon* beyond peradventure, whereas in the text of Hdt. there is no instance of the contraction of $\epsilon\omega$ derived from $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$. That the inscriptions in no wise impeach the validity of the Herodoteian $\epsilon\omega$, is clear from Ἀσίεω and Πυθέω. Between Πυθέω and Πυθῶ there can be no radical difference. The ω form, so far from being a distinct grammatical innovation designed to dislodge the older form in $\epsilon\omega$, is probably nothing more than a difference of writing to express more exactly the pronunciation. In fact the extent of the pronunciation of $\epsilon\omega$ as ω in the speech

¹ Cf. Bennett's *Cyprian Dialect*, p. 29. When $\epsilon\epsilon$ is followed by a vowel, hyphaeresis of one ϵ never takes place in case $\epsilon\epsilon$ was originally separated by *f*. Cf. Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 323 note.

² Eust. II. 994₃₇ τὸ δὲ Βορέω Ἰωνικόν ἐστί, συνηκοπὴν ἐκ τοῦ Βορέεω. Cf. § 426, 2.

of the people eludes observation; but it was no doubt more widely diffused than might be inferred from our texts. We have already noticed (§ 428) that a dissyllabic $-\epsilon\omega$ is not found in any genuine fragment of older Ionic lyrical poetry.

It has been held¹ that the Homeric forms Αινείω E 534. ἔϋμμελίω Δ 47, 165, Z 449², and the inscriptional Ἀσίω , Παναμίω , Πακτίω , &c., warrant our formulating the rule that whenever $-\epsilon\omega$ is preceded by any vowel (not merely by ϵ) it becomes $-\omega$. So long however as we have Ἐρμείω and Ἀγίεω in the stone records, it is futile to maintain that the numerous instances of $-\epsilon\omega$ after ι and υ represent the efforts of the grammarians and copyists to foist upon Ionic prose a form foreign to the idiom of the dialect.

In Attic literature $-\epsilon\omega$ occurs only in the case of an Ionic name or in that of a name which passed into Attic through an Ionic source. *E.g.* Θαλέω Plato *Rep.* X 800 A, Τήρεω , Πυθέω Thuk. II 29, Καμβύσεω Xen. *Κυροπ.* I 2, 1 ($-\omega\upsilon$ Dind.).

The tendency to introduce Homeric forms into the text of Herodotus appears in Γηρυνάω in the Romanus, IV 8.

Attic $-\omega\upsilon$ appears in Βορέω ³ III 102 (C), IV 51 in R (and so in Arrian *Ind.* 2) in Μαρσίου VII 26 and Ἀριστέω IV 15. Stein follows the MSS. in editing Κυνέω VI 101. In VIII 11 *ABsv* have Αίσχραίου (adopted by Stein the rest Αίσχρέω).

Occasionally the MSS. of Hdt. have $-\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ by transference to the $-\epsilon\varsigma$ declension, *e.g.* Σιτάλλεω\varsigma IV 80, where Stein reads $-\epsilon\omega$ with P, Ὀράνεω\varsigma III 71, 84, 88, 144. Ἀστυνάεω\varsigma is the regular form in Hdt. Ἵστάνης is inflected according to the consonantal declension though Ὀτάνης , &c., have also forms of the $\hat{\text{A}}$ declension.

430.] Genitive Feminine (Inscriptions).

The genitive feminine has $-\eta\varsigma$ after ρ (Σέρρη\varsigma Hdn. I 371₆): Ἥρης Samos 226₂, Naukr. Bechtel 237. In fact the form Ἥρης was kept in the language of dedications long after it had disappeared from the speech of the people. Thus the Samian Ἥρης 226₂ dates from the time of Augustus or Tiberius⁴. Cf. §§ 172, 173. The Attic Ἥρας occurs in Samos 220₃₀₆ (346-45 B. C.), 221₃₇ (322 B. C.), Ἥρας Τελεείας Erythr. 206 C 15 (after 278 B. C.). See Head, *H. N.* 517.

After ι : δασείης Zeleia 114 E 4, Μητροζίης Latyschev II 248, cf. p. 306, [Θεοδο] σίης *ibid.* II 8, γερουσίης Ephesos (Wood's

¹ So Erman in Curtius' *Stud.* V 294 ff., Fritsch, *Stud.* VI 126. This is also the view of Kirchhoff.

² Ἀσίω A D and Aristarchos in B 461, added to this list, is now often read Ἀσίω as in C. See Leaf *ad loc.*

³ Cf. C. I. A. I 321₂₉, and Hesychios s. v. Βορροῦ , Hdn. II 649₂₅.

⁴ Genitives in $-\rho\eta\varsigma$ occur in a very late period of Ionic, *e.g.* κοσμητήρης in C. I. G. 3002, and in Wood, *Discoveries*, App. 8, No. 14. Even in the MSS. of the New Testament such forms as σπείρης , μαχαίρης appear. See § 173, footnote.

Discoveries, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. C.); of the same period *προθυμίας* l. l. No. 21. Quite late forms are *ἰππωνίης* Kyzik. 108 B₅ (first century), *Μαιαυδούης* Kyz. 112 (first century), *Λυκίης Κορη. Inser. Sem. I, No. 45, pl. 8.* Of Attic provenance are *Προξενίας* No. 261, *ἔγχειας* 129₁₄ Olbia (period of the empire).

After *v*: *Καμασαρούης* Latyshev II 19₅.

The Ionic genitive is *γῆς*, e. g. Herodas 1₅₄, Halik. 238₁₇, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 *alesp.* See § 421. *γαίης* in Latyshev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

431.] Genitive Feminine (Lyric Poets).

-*ης* is regularly contracted in the earlier period of the Ionic lyric: *πορφυρήης* Sim. Am. 1₁₆, *γαλήης* 7₅₀, *χρυσήης* Mimn. 1, Theog. 129₃, 138₁, as in Homer (Renner -*έης*), *ρόδῆης* Archil. 29₂ (tr.), *συκέης* Anan. 5₂ (tetr.). Open *ει* is found in *ἀργαλέης* Solon 4₃₉ (eleg.), adjectives in -*αλεος* often remaining uncontracted.

432.] Genitive Feminine (Prose).

Herodotos has *σισημῆης* I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open *ει* occurs in *Τεγέης* VI 105, *Θυρέης* I 82. When *F* disappears between *ει*, contraction does not result, e. g. Hdt. *νέης* I 60, Aretaios 170 *κενεῆς*. In adjectives in -*ος* we have -*ης*, e. g. *θηλέης* Hdt. II 35.

433.] Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the *Ā* declension has in Ionic three endings, -*ηι*, -*η*, -*ει*. The occurrences of -*η* and -*ει* are rare.

1. The ending -*ηι*.

We find *ηι* after *ρ* and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (e. g. Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -*η* and -*ει* mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -*αι* which are given below in the note. Even in late imperial times -*ηι* occurs, e. g. *Είλειθυήι* Paros 66.

Cases of -*αι* in the dative singular. *Ἀμύνται* 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. *δημοσίαι* 261 (of the fifth century) is an Attic inscription except for *Πυθαγόρηι* (§ 415, 1), cf. *δημοσίηι* Mylasa 248 B 11; so also *Ἰθαίαι* 72₅ Thasos (third century), *εὐνοίαι* Eph. 147₈, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being *χρυσέωι*₁₀, and [έφ' ἴσηι] *καὶ ὁμοίηι*₁₁, cf. Samos 221₂₃ where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are *Ἀγροτέραι* 165₃ Phanagoreia (latter half of fourth century, cf. *Θεοδοσίης*, l. 4), *Ἀστάραι* Phanag. 167, *Θεαί Σωτείραι* Keos : 2 (Roman period), *Ἐγείαι* Paros 67 (time of the empire), *Ἐρμῆαι* Eryth. 204₁₁ (not much before 345-44 B. C.). *Ἐρμηῆι* is always the dative of *Ἐρμῆς*, e. g. *Ζελεῖαι* 162, *Lampsak.* 171. No case of -*αι* occurs before 350 B. C.

2. The ending *-η*.

The oldest example of the expulsion of *iota adscriptum* is Μάρη Kyzikos 108 A, an inscription of the sixth century. The later copy (108 B), dating from the first century B. C., has also Μ[ι]δ[ι]ε[ν]. Next comes ἀτῆ Chios B 175₁, an epigram of the fifth century, and then τῆ βουλή Erythrai 199 (after 394 B. C.), an inscription which preserves *ωι* throughout; ἐ]μ Μαλυείη in 201, another Erythraian inscription of the fourth century (early part)¹; Μύλας 248 C 15 (355-54 B. C.) δημοσίη; Zeleia 113₁, τῆ πόλει (shortly after Granikos); τῆ βουλή Priene (territory of the Παριώνιον) 144₂ (middle of the fourth century). From the Roman period we have Οἰκιστῆ and Πυθίη Miletos 101. The latter form occurs also in C. I. G. 2885 and B. C. II. I 287; ἀ[γ]αθῆ [τῆ] Ἰλβία 129₁, Προστάτη 129₂ (period of the empire). In imperial times *-HI* and *-H*, not *-EI*, occur on Attic inscriptions.

3. The ending *-ει*.

The ending *-ηι* is often written *EI* in Attic after the year 380 B. C. *EI* prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: ἐκατέρη *EI* τῆι πόλει Eretria 15₆ (between 410 and 390); στήλη *EI* Eretria 15₁₇². *TEI* θυσί *EI* Oropos 18₂₇ (from 411-402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); ἰδί *EI* Oropos 18₁₁.

-ει is thus substituted for *-ηι* in the dative about the beginning of the fourth century.

δυνάμει Teos 156 B 32 is a locative, all the datives in this inscription ending in *-ηι*. The subjunctives have *-ει*, which is not from *-ηι*, cf. § 239.

In Oropos, No. 18 the subjunctive termination is *-ει* throughout. In Olynthos *-ηι* is not affected. In Amphipolis 10 *-ηι* is the dative form, *-ει* the subjunctive ending.

The Kymaian inscription Rob. No. 173 has *EI* in the subj. κλέψη *ηι*; and in Becht. 3 A = Rob. 177 A we have τῆι κλίβη *EI*, which we transcribe with *ηι*. Cf. κλίβη *ηι* Keos 436.

4. It is noticeable that, whereas in Attic *-ει* gains ground towards the end of the fourth century B. C., in those inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Ionic mainland of Asia Minor which show Attic influence (notably Eph. 147, 300 B. C.) there is no trace of a dative in *-ει*³. As far as Ionic is concerned, the weakening of *-ηι* to *-ει* in the dative is restricted to Euboian Ionic. In other Ionic regions we find *ει* from medial *ηι*; see § 235.

¹ An I, found upon the stone after the H, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

² The *EI*'s of No. 16 (Eretria) are not to be counted, since *-ωι*, not *-οι*, is found in the datives.

³ But cf. B. C. II. VI 6 ff. (= Bechtel, No. 56), a Delian inscription (185-180 B. C.), which has *η* and *ει*, e. g. τῆ l. 6, 7, τῆ l. 2, 27; πέμπτη (ι) l. 61; τρίτη (ι) l. 62.

Dubois suggests Τῆ]ρει Παλ[α]τεῖς for |ΡΞΤΓΔΛ|ξξ *B. C. H. VI*, p. 190 (Amorgos). This is quite improbable. Cf. Ἡρη Paros 65, Samos 223.

434.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

The open -ει is found only in *κυνέη* Tyrnt. 1132 which is an Homeric reminiscence. *ει* was contracted in the earliest period of the Ionic lyric. *Scriptio plena* occurs in *σφαίρη πορφυρέη* Anakr. 141.

435.] Dative Singular (Prose).

The genuine contemporary form occasionally comes to light in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. *κυνή* IV 180, where Stein's *κυνέη* is entirely unsupported. But *βορέη* V 33, VI 139 is without *v. l.*; so too *δωρεή* III 130, *γενεή* I 3, 35. *νή* is adduced from the *Σαμίων ᾠροι* by Hdn. II 9123 (nom. *νή*=*ρέα*). A crude hyper-Ionism is *ἡμερέη* in Abydenos I.

Some MSS. of Hdt. have -εῖ by transference to the -ες declension, e.g. *Κυαξάρεῖ* I 73, 74, cf. -ῆ I 16. Ἀστυαγεῖ, or -ει, is the regular form in the MSS., e.g. I 74, 119, 129.

436.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Inscriptions).

1. *Masculine* in -η, e.g. Ἀρισταγόρη Mykon. 9214, Πυθαγόρη 261, name of a Salymbrian on an Attic monument (cf. § 415, 1 note), παλαιστρην Naukr. Bechtel 139 C. Attic forms are *Νικαγόραν* Eph. 147, 8 (300 B.C.), Ἀμύνταν 8 A 5, not an Ionic; Ἐρ]μίαν Erythr. 2045 (345-44 B.C.) is the earliest instance of the admission of the Attic form.

437.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Lyric Poets).

Ἐρμῆν Hipponax 32 is the regular post-Homeric form in all branches of Ionic. *Βορέην* in Tyrnt. 124 is the Homeric form.

438.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Prose).

1. Hdt. has *βορήν* in all MSS. I 6, 174, III 97, IV 31, VII 189, 201. Elsewhere there is fluctuation between *βορέην* and *βορήν* (II 101, IV 22, 116) or all MSS. have *βορέην*. The latter is the form found in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 28. The correct form is *βορήν* though rejected by Bredow, Stein, and Holder. Ἐρμῆν is found in all MSS. V 7. *μύκην* is Hekataian, cf. *μύκω* in Archil., § 428. See § 545.

2. The overreaching character of the -ες stems is manifest in the declension of proper names of the \hat{A} declension, whose genitives and datives in Herodotos end regularly in -εω, -ῆ, but whose accusative have -εα¹. In the attack upon the \hat{A} de-

¹ These accusatives in -εα are frequently called Ionic by the grammarians. Apoll. *Adv.* p. 191, (Schm.) cites *Ξέρξα, Πολυδέκτεα* (not in Hdt.), *Γόγχα*. Cf. Hdn. II 83523 = Choir. 86625 (cf. Choir. 56122, 6013, 86023). *Ξέρξα* is usually selected as the example. Cf. An. Ox. IV 21130 and IV 36326, An. Par. IV 23232,

clension, the accusative appears to have offered the first avenue of approach, the genitive the second.

Some of the examples of the accusative in *-εα* may here be given, while the reader is referred to Bredow, pp. 225 ff., for a complete list of the forms in question. I give merely those cases where Stein has adopted the accusative in *-εα*¹: (1) names in *-δης*: *Λεοσυχίδα* VI 65, 73, 85; *Ἰπποκλείδα* VI 129; *Μιλτιάδα* VI 35, 37 *bis*, 39, 135, 136 *bis*: (2) names in *-γορης*: *Ἀρισταγόρα* V 32, 33, 65, but *Ἀρισταγόρην* V 35 *bis*, 37; *Στησαγόρα* VI 38; *Λυσαγόρα* VI 133: (3) other names: *Μιτροβάτα* III 120 *bis*, 126, 127, but *Εὐροβάτην* IX 75; *Γύγα* I 10, 11, but *Γύγην* I 8, 15; *Ἀλυάττα* I 73, 74, III 48; *Κανθαύλα* I 10, 11, 12; *Ἀράξια* I 205, 209, 211, III 36, but *Ἀράξην* IV 11; *Ξέρξια* IV 43, VII 4, 38, 46, but *Ξέρξην* VII 5, 6 *bis*, 12, 17 *ter*, 27, 56, 118, 120, 130, 145, 208, 210, 223, VIII 22, 25, 69, 110, 113, 114, 118 *bis*, 119, IX 1, 116 *bis*; *Ἀρτοξέρξια* (*sic*) VII 151 *bis*, 152; *Πέρσην* VIII 3, 108, 109, and throughout; *Δηώκεια* I 96; *Καμβύσεια* III 1 *bis*, 2 *bis*, 3, 10, 15, 31, 32, 34, 44, 62, 64, 66, 73; *Οροίτεια* III 120, 121, 124, 125, &c.; *Σανδώκεια* VII 196; *Φαρνούχεια* VII 88 (Arrian's *Anab.* has *-χην*); *Ἐπιάλτεια* VII 213, but *Ἐπιάλτην* VII 218 *bis*, as VII 214; *Ἰσάτεια* III 141, V 25, VI 43, VII 61, but *Ἰσάτην* III 76; *Ἀστυάγεια* is the regular form in Hdt.

In the pseudo-Ionists these accusatives in *-εα* in proper names occur, *e.g.* *Ἄττεια* Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15, but *Ἄττην* *Ikarom.* 27; in Arrian *Ἰθάσπεια* 310, 196, *Ἰθραώτεια* 310, *Γάγγεια* 42.

The presence of this metaplastic form in proper names gave rise to the view among the hyper-Ionizing scholars that even in appellatives this *-εα* was permissible. We find *δεσπότεια* Hdt.² I 91, IV 43, III 1 (*-ην* in *R*), VII 88 (*-ην* *PR*), and in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 25. *δεσπότην* is found in all MSS. I 212, III 134, IV 136. *ἀκινάκεια* is found in III 118, but *ἀκινάκην* VII 54, a reading rightly adopted by Stein. The same editor rejects *κυβερνήτεια* the reading of *ῥ* in VIII 118, a form adopted by Bredow and Krüger. In these common nouns the activity of the *μεταγραφάμενοι* does not seem to have extended much beyond the expulsion of *-ην* from the accusative. But that they tampered with other case-forms appears from *ἀκινάκεος* in all MSS. IV 62. The Aldine edition has *ἀκινάκεϊ* in the same chapter.

439.] Accusative Feminine (Inscriptions).

1. Accus. in *-ην*.

Et. M. 386₁₈, Eust. 1946₂₈ (*Ἀστυάγεια*). Sometimes the form is mentioned without being specially referred to Ionic, *e.g.* Bekk. An. II 967₁₃.

¹ Stein as a rule adopts *-ην* where Bredow prefers *-εα*.

² For Brugmann's purpose (*Grundr.* II § 395) this form may be regarded as genuine.

A. η after ρ and ι in *προεδρίην*¹ Erythr. 199₅, 202₁₀, 203₇, Iasos 105₁₀, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 2 (elsewhere Attic $\tilde{\alpha}$), Zeleia 114 A B C E; *ιέρην* Naukr. 753; *ὀλιγαρχίην* Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 20, *διαδικασίην* Zeleia 113₁₉, *οἰκίην* Keos 43₁₅, Halik. 240₁₄, *ἐφηβίην* Paros 67, *πατριήν* Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3 (from the third century), *ἐπαρίην* Teos 156 B 30; *πάτριην* Thasos 72₁₀, *ξυλοπωλίην* Teos *Milth.* XVI 292, and in the forms found in the epigrams preserved in Latyschev II (*βίην* 167, *ἡλικίην*, *θαλερίην* 171). *Νικᾶν* Paros 72₈ is from *Νικᾶ* < *Νικᾶήν*, cf. § 273.

Attic forms: *Σαλυβρίαν* 261, an Attic sepulchral monument to Pythagorēs of Salymbria and dating from the fifth century. *πολιτείαν* Zeleia 114 A B C (shortly after Granikos), Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, Samos 221₂₇ (322 B. C.), Eph. 147₁₀ (300 B. C.); *προ]θυμίαν* Samos 221₈; *ι]ερατείαν* Erythr. 206 A 17 (after 278 B. C.); *παιδείαν* Teos 158₂₇ (very late).

B. After ϵ in adjectives denoting material, and in nouns.

It is a significant feature of the dialect that $\epsilon + \eta$ is always contracted, whereas *εοι*, *εω* are retained, at least in the official language, till after Christ. Examples are *χαλκῆν* Erythr. 199₁₄ (after 394 B. C.), 202₁₂ (about 350 B. C.); *χρυσῆν* has been restored upon an epigram Keos 41.

In nouns $\epsilon + \eta$ is contracted: *κωλῆν* Miletos 100₃. *γενεήν* Paros 59 epigr. is poetical.

2. Accus. in $-\tilde{\alpha}ν$.

A. From nouns in $-\tilde{\alpha}$ (Pan-Hellenic, cf. § 418). *θάλασσαν* Teos 156 A 10 (Ol. 76-77), Halik. 240₄₄ (fifth century), Erythr. 204₁₇ (345-44 B. C.); *ἔρουναν* Mylasa 248 C 9 (355-54 B. C.); *γλώσσαν* Mil. 100₅; *μοῦραν* in No. 265 *adesp.*, before Ol. 80 probably, in honour of Ἡγέλοχος, an Ionian from Euboeia or the Cyclades; *Ἐρμῶνοσσαν* Chios 172 A 2 is = *Ἐρμῶνασσαν*, the o of the penult being due to assimilation.

Attic forms: *εὔνοιαν* Samos 221₈ (322 B. C.), cf. § 178. *ἀτέλειαν* is the regular form in Ionic inscriptions: Zeleia 114 A B C D E (after Granikos), Ephes. 147₁₃ (300 B. C.), Iasos 105 (late), *J. H. S.* IX 341, 2, 3 and 4, Erythr. 199₆ (after 394 B. C.), 202₉ (about 350 B. C.?) despite *ἀτε(λ)είην* Kyzik. 108 B 3 (first cent.). Cf. § 175.

B. From adjectives in $-υς$, fem. $-εια$ (Pan-Hellenic) we have *δασέαν* Miletos 100₂, cf. §§ 219, 419, 441.

440.] Accusative Feminine (Lyric Poets).

ἡμέρην occurs in Hipp. 32. Open $\epsilon\eta$ is found in *κυνέην* Tyr̄t. 113₃₇, the Homeric form, as *γενεήν* Solon 27₁₀, epigr. Paros 59. *συνεήν* is found in Πιπρηναξ 34, *κωλῆν* Xenoph. 5 (Renner $-\epsilon\etaν$).

¹ The η of *προεδρίη* holds its ground when that of other words has succumbed to the Attic $\tilde{\alpha}$.

χαλκήν is found in Herodas III, χρυσήν in Phoinix of Kolophon *apud* Athen. 495 E. From ἀθρόος we have ἀθρόην Archil. 35.

441.] Accusative Feminine (Prose).

1. Herodotos has in all MSS. κυνέην I 84, II 151, 152, 162, σκνέην I 193, IV 23, χαλκήν II 151, χρυσέην I 52. For λεοντήην IV 8, as is edited by Stein, most of the MSS. have λεοντήην, ῥ λεοντήην. In this reading we have an indication of the genuine form of the fifth century which is supported by διπλήην V 90 (all MSS.¹) despite διπλήη III 42 in all MSS. Cf. § 263, 3. διπλήην is found K 134, τ 226.

Open εη occurs in δωρεήην II 140, III 84, 97; ἰδέην I 80, IV 109; Μαλέην IV 179, VII 168, 'Ρέην Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15.

When *F* disappeared εη remained open: *v. g.* στερεήην Hdt. I 52.

2. Accus. in -ᾶν from nom. in -ᾶ (§ 418).

With εὔροιαν (§ 439 2, A) we may compare the Herodoteian form, which, although the nom. is ἐνροία, is εὔροιαν in III 36. So also διάνοιαν I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. Other Attic forms are ἐπιμέλειαν VI 105, εὐ- or ἐμμέλειαν VI 129. See §§ 175 and 178. Ὀρειθῦιαν or Ὀρειθῦίην are both found in the MSS., § 178. On the hyper-Ionic μοίρηην Hdt. I 204, see § 419; on πρόρηην, § 420. μίαι, not μήην, is the correct form, Hdt. I 164, Herodas I₂₂, &c.; cf. § 419.

Hdt. has δασέαν III 32 (MSS. δασείαν). On other forms from the -vs adj., see § 506.

442.] Vocative Singular.

Herodotos III 34, 35, 63, &c. has the vocative Πηξίασπες from the analogy of the -ες stems; cf. Στρεψιάδες *Clouds*, 1206, Ἡράκλειδες Herodian II 690₃₃ (from a comic poet). The reverse procedure appears in Κυπρογένη Theognis 1323, Arkadian Ἀτέλη C. D. I. 1205, and Aiolic Σώκρατε, &c. Πηξίασπης is inflected in Hdt. according to the consonantal declension, though in III 75 sz have the genitive in -εω.

Hipponax has Ἐρμηῖ I₂, 16 bis, 21 A, 89, and so Herodas 7₁₄. Other forms are Μιμηῖ 49, Anakreon Σμερδίῃ 5, Μεγιστῇ (or Μεγίστη) 16₂, 743.

Vocatives in -ᾶ from names in -ης: Λυκάμβα Arch. 94, Κυνάγχα Hippon. I₂, Καυδαῖλα Hippon. I₂. κριτή (Hipponax 118) stands for κριτά according to Priscian (*Ἱππωναξ εὐθεὲς κριτή προ κριτά*). Cf. Ἥλιε καλλιλαμπέτη Anakr. 27. The Homeric νύμφα would seem to be Aiolic, despite the statement of the schol. Ven. A on Γ 130 that it is Ionic. This form of the vocative is in reality pan-Hellenic, though retained with greater consistency by Aiolic than any other dialect.

¹ Bredow reads διπλόην as Hippokr. III 186, cf. 250. The adj. in the fem. when ᾶ follows is διπλέα = Ionic διπλή < διπλήη; when ο follows it is διπλόος, cf. διπλόοι Aischyl. fr. 33. διπλόη is a substantive.

443.] Nominative Plural.

On γέαι Zeleia, No. 11³⁴⁰ (after Granikos), δύο μνέαι Hdt. VI 79, cf. § 421. λιραῖ Samos 220₂₁ is an unusual contraction in an adjective of material. The contracted form is also found in Hdt. This nom. is scarcely Ionic. γαλαῖ IV 192, Hrd. 7₉₀ is a doubtful form because εαι is often left open, while εη is contracted. Cf. Merzdorf in *Studien*, VIII 145.

444.] Genitive Plural.

Homer -άων, -έων¹ (and -ῶν, when ι precedes and in the forms of the article and pronoun), Boiot. -άων, Doric and Aiolie -ᾶν. In Ionic we have -έων or -ῶν in both masculine and feminine.

In Homer we find τᾶων and τᾶν, in the later Ionic only τῶν. In other dialects which preserve in the declension of nouns a fuller form of the genitive, the article presents the shortest form possible according to the laws of the dialect in question. Thus in Thessalian we find τᾶν κοινάων as well as τᾶν κοινᾶν, in Boiotian τᾶν δραχμάων. τέων was too ponderous a form. ἔων was never used for ᾶν.

-εων is attested as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 379, Gram. Meerm. 649 (-άων Aiolie, cf. 655), Vat. 696, Hdn. II 2₂, Et. M. 78₇₃₂, Drakon 160₂₇, An. Ox. I 278₁₈; Doric (!) An. Ox. I 382₁₃, Et. Gud. 493₃₁. Herodian II 229₁₅ = An. Ox. I 239₂ also wrongly attributes the termination -εων to the Dorians. In the passage referred to, for Δωριεῖς read Ἴωνες, because of the statement made in II 2₁.

445.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

600-500 B. C.		500-400 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
ἀλ(λ)θον Naxos 23. This form has been re- garded as stand- ing for ἀλληον not for ἀλλήων, on the ground that no diph- thong possesses more than three movae. If this is the case -εων is the direct descendant of -ηον. See B. B. XI 268		'Αβδηριτέων Abd. 16 _{32, 8} 'Τελητέων Velia 17 ₂₁ (450-400) Μαρ[ω]νητιτέων 196 ₂ Maroneia Μαρωνιτέων 196 ₃ Μαρωνιτέων 196 ₄ and Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 front Σαλμακιτέων Halik. 238 _{2, 13} δρ[αχ]μέων Keos 43 ₆ (after 420) Νυ[μ]φέων Siph. 88	Μαρωνιτῶν Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 reverse

¹ In Homer dissyllabic -εων is found but three times: πυλέων H I, M 340, θυρέων φ 191; -εων 20 times in II, 19 in Od.; -ῶν at verse end in Σκαῖων Γ 263, Ζ 307, κλισίων Ψ 112, δμῶν τ 121; παρειῶν Ω 794, δ 198, 223, λ 529, π 190, πρυφαλείων Μ 339, Μαλειῶν τ 187, παλαιῶν β 118. But in all these instances dissyllabic -εων is excluded by the metre.

400-300 B. C.		300-200 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Νεοπολιτέων Neap. 42; 84, bet. 400-350</p> <p>Ἀμφιπολιτέων Amph. 105; No. 11 (424-358)</p> <p>δημοτέων Orop. 18₁₅ (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Ἀβδηριτέων Abd. 163_{14, 15, 16}, bet. 400-350</p> <p>Τορετέων 127 Pan- tikap., or Pha- nagoreia (387- 347)</p> <p>Μαρωνιτέων Ma- ron. 196_{8, 13}</p> <p>δραχμέων Orop. 18_{10, 16} (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Καλωνέων Eryth. 201₂₃</p> <p>Θηγέων Eryth. 201₁₉</p>	<p>Νεοπολιτῶν Neap. 41, 350-300</p> <p>Αἰνετητῶν Ainea 12</p> <p>Αἰνητῶν men- tioned Becht. p. 7 (Alex. the Great period)</p> <p>Ἴητῶν Ios 91</p> <p>Alex. the Great</p> <p>πολιτῶν Zeleia 113_{3, 28} after Granikos; Iasos 105₁</p> <p>Μαῖτων Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 166, 167, 168, latter half of the cent.</p> <p>Τορετῶν Phanag. 165, latter half of the cent. Cf. also Lat. II 36</p> <p>Ἐλητητῶν 172₂, about 350 B. C.</p> <p>Μασσαλιητῶν Mas- salia Becht. p. 106</p> <p>Ἀθηνῶν Samos 216 Attic form, 365-322 B. C.</p> <p>ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18₁₉ (411-402, or between Peace of Antalk. and 377 B. C.)</p>		<p>ἐξεαστῶν Eryth. 206 A 25 (after 278 B. C.)</p> <p>ἐπιπραβεισῶν Eryth. 206 C 20 is Attic (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>ἐρητηιῶν Eryth. 206 A 14, C 53 (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>δραχμῶν Eryth. 206 B 49, C 49</p>

200 B. C.		Of doubtful date	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Ὀλβιοπολιτέων Olbia 130₂₁, 2nd cent.</p> <p>Ὀλβιοπολιτειῶν Olbia 130₃, 2nd cent.</p>	<p>Ἰουλιητῶν Keos 52, Roman period</p> <p>Μινητῶν Samos 232 (Roman)</p> <p>Κεραμητητῶν Kera- mos 253 (Rom.)</p> <p>δικῶν Teos 158₂₁</p> <p>Μουσῶν Teos 158₂₃</p>	<p>Νυμφέων Μυχιέων Naxos 27, in letters of a tolerably early period</p> <p>Νυμφέων Samos 219 (fourth cent.)</p>	<p>Βαργυλιητῶν 252</p>

Especially noteworthy are the following forms: ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18₁₃, on a document that retains -εων after a consonant; βοηγιῶν and λαμπδαρχιῶν Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292 (perhaps before 350 B. C.); Naxos 27 preserves -εων after ι (Μυχίεων). Cf. Ἀσίω and Ἐρμῖεω in Chios. Cf. § 289, 2.

The evidence of the inscriptions warrants the statement that the Ionic termination -εων after consonants was not attacked by the Attic -ῶν until the middle of the fourth century. After the fourth century -εων is practically dead.

446.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

There are four sets of forms in the lyric poets¹ of which the first two are Ionic; (1) Ionic -έων, (2) -ῶν, (3) Homeric (Aiolic) -άων, (4) Doric -ᾶν. Between (1) and (2) there is no essential difference.

1. Ionic -έων is invariably monosyllabic.

A. The Elegiac Poets.

Tyrtaios: ψυχέων 10₁₄.

Theognis: πετρέων 176 (cf. *v. l.* πετρῶν), πολιητέων 219, μεριμέων 343, 1153, Κυψελιδέων 894.

Solon: Μουσέων 13₅₁ (by conj.: the MSS. have -άων and -ῶν) also 26₂, where Fick calls for the Attic -ῶν, as in Ἀθηνῶν 336², and δεσποτῶν 36₁₂ (so Bergk). See under 2.

Mimnermos: μελεδωνέων 6₁. See under 2.

Xenophanes: Ἑλλαδικέων 5₁. See under 2.

B. -έων in the iambic poets and Anakreon.

Archil. Μουσέων 1₂, τερπωλέων 22, Γυρέων 54₂, θυρέων 127.

Hipponax: κριθέων 43₂.

Ananios: μεσέων 5₉.

Phoinix of Kolophon: κριθέων 1₁ (Schn.).

Herodas: βροντέων 7₆₅, μνέων 2₂₂, Μοιρέων 4₂₀, Μουσέων 37₁, ποριέων 2₃₀, χιλέων 3₁, ἀστροδιφέων 3₁₁, and so ὀημοτέων 2₃₀ and ἡμερέων 3₆₀.

Anakreon: σατινέων 21₁₂, Μουσέων 94₃ (eleg.).

2. Ionic -ῶν.

Mimnermos: 7₃ πολιτῶν, 6 μελεδωνῶν in Bergk, for which read μελεδωνέων or μελεδῶνων; cf. μελεδῶνες Od. τ 517.

Xenophanes: 5₄ αἰοιδῶν . . . Ἑλλαδικῶν, which may be read -έων.

Hipponax: Βακχῶν 91 (MSS.). Αἰνειῶν 42.

Theognis: Μουσῶν 769, 1056, κριθῶν 1249, θελλῶν 1273, ἀνιῶν 344, ταχεῶν Ἀρπυιῶν 715, πολιτῶν 455, κακῶν μεριμνέων

¹ Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Stud.* I 201 ff.

² So also -ῶν for ὑμέων 11₅, ἡμέων 137₂.

343, 1153; cf. *v.l.* 176, 219, 343, 1153. Verses 455, 769, 1249, 1273 have been regarded as spurious.

Solon: In the elegies *Σαλαμναφετῶν* 2₁; *Ἀθηνῶν* 33₆ tetr., *δεσποτῶν* 36₁₂ trim. See Renner, *l. l.* p. 205.

In the later elegy *-ῶν* is found in *Μουσῶν* Dionys. Chalk. 4₁, *Σκοπαδῶν* Kritias 5₁. Hrd. 2₂₂ has *Ἀττικῶν*.

3. Aiolic *-ᾶων*, in imitation of epic usage, only in the later elegists, never in iambic poets.

Theognis: *μεριμνῶων* 766 and *Μουσᾶων* 250; *περιτυτομενῶων* Phokyl. 11.

Xenoph.: 5₁ *ᾠοιδᾶων* . . . *Ἑλλαδικῶν* (*siv*; Bergk writes *ᾠοιδοπῶλων*). In the MSS. we often find *v. l.* *-ᾶων*, e.g. Solon 13₅₁, Theog. 219. These forms, like those in *-ᾶο*, usually claim a fixed position in the verse (caesura, fifth foot, and verse close).

4. *-ᾶν* (Doric):

Τυρταῖος: 15₂ *πολιατᾶν embat*.

447.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

1. Nouns.

A. The termination is *-έων* in all cases when the *-η* (or *-ᾶ*) of the nom. is preceded by a consonant or by *iota* (except in Hippokrates after *ι*)¹. Examples from Hdt. are *τιμέων*, *ἡμερέων*, *ἰστιάων*, *οἰκίειων*, *θυσίειων*, *νεηριέων*, *ροίειων*, *ἐλαιέων*, *ποιέων*: Hekat. 140 *Περσέων*: Demokritos *συμφορέων*, *ἀσυμφορέων* *Μορ.* 8, *ψυχέων* 20: Protagoras *νεηριέων*: Charon *Βισαλτέων*: Hippokrates² *ἀρχέων*, *κριθέων*, *ᾠρέων*³, *δημοτέων*, *δεσποτέων*: Philip of Pergamum *νησιωτέων* (*B. C. H.* II 273): *Γίλα Ἡομηρί βουλευτέων* 12, 13, *ναυτέων* 17, 18, *πολητέων* 36, and so in other pseudo-Ionic treatises.

After *ι*, Hippokrates has *-ῶν*: *ροίῶν*, *ἐλαιῶν*, *ἡλικιῶν*, *ὠφελειῶν*, *θεραπειῶν*.

In some cases the Attic form has crept into the MSS. In Hdt. I 160 *κριθῶν* occurs in all MSS., in II 36 *κριθῶν* (*συκῶν* I 193) in R d, and in Hekat. 123. In I 147 *Ἀθηνῶν* is the only form in all MSS. and as *v.l.* in many other passages (Bredow, p. 217). Hekat. has *ἐκβολῶν* 203, *ἡμερῶν* 303.

B. When the *η* of the nom. is preceded by *ε*, *-έων* is contracted to *-ῶν*.

ἀδελφεῶν is correctly read by Stein in Hdt. III 31, V 80, though in the summary of the Herodoteian dialect prefixed to his school edition (p. liv) the same scholar suggests *ἀδελφέων*,

¹ Kirchhoff thinks that *-εων* after *ι* was contracted. Western Ionic (Oropian) *ἄδικιῶν* does not necessarily exclude *-ιέων* from the Ionic of Asia Minor.

² Cf. J. F. Lobeck in *Philologus*, 1853, p. 21 ff. Hippokrates has a few cases of *-ων* in certain MSS.; cf. *-οιο* in the Herodoteian tradition.

³ Cf. Greg. Kor. § 4.

doubtless on the analogy of γενέων II 142, VI 98 (in all MSS.). This uncouth form Stein defends on the ground that it is necessary to distinguish it from the neuter γενέων. The MSS. have Μαλέων I 82 (Stein Μαλέων, Holder Μαλέων). Hippokrates has ιδέων.

2. Adjectives and Participles.

A. Oxytone adj. in -η, and those adj. and participles whose nom. ends in -ᾶ, end in -έων, except when ᾶ is preceded by ε, or by ι in Hippokrates.

In Hdt. ὑψηλέων, Μηδικέων, λοιπέων, πολλέων, ὀπτέων, μελαιρέων, πασέων: εουσέων, ἐχουσέων, φρονουσέων, συμπλευσασέων, διαφθαρεισέων, λεχθεισέων, προδουσέων. Attic forms appear occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. λοιπῶν VIII 7, πολλῶν VI 68, θερυνῶν II 19.

In Hippokrates μικρέων, χειμερινέων: μελαιρέων, πασέων: ἐχουσέων, εουσέων, θερμαιθεισέων, παρελθουσέων¹. But after ι, Hippokr. has δεξιῶν, πλατειῶν, ὄξειῶν.

Hdt. II 66 has θηλέων in A B P, while Stein and Holder read θηλέων.

B. Feminine of barytone adjectives, participles in -ος, -η, -ον, and pronouns.

In the MSS. of Herodotos, the fem. genitive agrees with that of the masc. in having -ων, borrowed from the second declension, in the following cases:—

(1) ἄλλων I 133, VII 191, IX 115; ἀμφοτέρων II 17; ἐτέρων II 137, and so Hippokr.; ὀλίγων VIII 16, IX 45; ὑμετέρων IV 114; σφετέρων VI 15, VII 118, IX 106.

In other passages we find -έων, e.g. ἐσχατέων VIII 47, ἀλληλέων IV 113, VI 12, 111, ἀλλέων IV 182, 183, 184, ὀκοσέων V 50 in all or almost all MSS. (i.e. except R q), cf. ἀλλέων and ἄλλων I 94, IV 184. Hdt. VI 46 has μεγαλέων (P R) where Hippokr. has -ων, as ἀλλήλων (cf. ε 71), ἄκρων, ἐτέρων, and in other adjectives (numeral and pronominal).

Even after ι -έων appears: Αἰγυπτίων II 55, IV 181, ἐσχατιέων III 115, κουριδιέων VI 138 (-ιων P R), ἐτησιέων VI 140, VII 168 (-ιων d), ἀντιέων VII 10 a), δημοσιέων VI 57, ἐπιχωριέων V 88, τετρακοσιέων VII 190, διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων VII 184, διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων I 32. In VI 92 the MSS. have Σικωνίων, which Stein changes to -ιέων. Diogen. of Apoll. has εὐδιέων. Hippokrates has -ων, e.g. γυναικείων, ἀναγκαίων.

When the η of the nom. was preceded by ε, -έων in the

¹ Lobeck states that the MSS. of Hippokrates are not so consistent as those of Hdt. in the gen. of participles in -σᾶ. The adjectival forms often have -ῶν as v. l.

genitive becomes *-έων*, e.g. *χρυσέων* III 130, *Ἡρακλέων* II 33 (R d, *-έων* A B).

(2) *φυλασσομένων* I 123; *εἰλευμένων* II 76; *συγκατημένων* III 69; *οἰκεομένων* III 107; *οἰκημένων* I 151; *τετμημένων* IV 136; *γενομένων* VII 235, II 137 (or *τασσομένων*); *εἰρημέτων* VIII 49. Hippokrates has *-ων* throughout.

The form in *-μενέων* is not found without the variant *-ων*:—*ἀρπαζομενέων* I 4 (*-ων* R b d); *μαχομενέων* in P II 76, the same chapter that has *εἰλευμένων* in all MSS.; *ἀνατριβομενέων* III 113 (*-ων* A B); *πειθομενέων* V 18 in A B P (*-ων* v s); *ἀλικομενέων* V 124 (*-ων* P r); *προκειμενέων* (VII 16 a) in A B d, and a few lines below where A B have *-έων*, but d *-ων*. *ἐπικειμενέων* VII 185 in P d.

It is a moot point whether in the case of the Herodoteian forms enumerated under 447. 2 B, the Attic rule, which holds in Hippokrates, is to be adopted, or whether *-έων* is to be read throughout. Kühner and Kirchhoff are in favour of *-ων*, while Bredow, Stein, Holder, G. Meyer hold that these forms possessed the special feminine ending. The MSS., except (strangely enough) in those adjectives in which an *ι* precedes the termination, tend rather to the view that *-ων*, not *-έων*, is the correct ending. The epigram from Naxos, No. 23 *φούρη Δειροδίκη τοῦ Ναξίου, ἕξοχος ἀλλήων* (where Θ denotes the open quality of the *o*-sound) does not settle the dispute; since *ἄλλων*, as Blass remarks, would not have been sufficiently precise. The recent discovery of an authoritative inscriptional form would seem to definitively settle the question, at least so far as the participial forms are concerned. In an inscription from Teos (Mith. XVI 292, l. 18), dating perhaps before the middle of the fourth century, we read . . . *λισμενέων*. Perhaps the *-έων* form was only employed in adjectives and pronouns when it was necessary to distinguish the genders.

(3) Pronouns.

αὐτή forms its genitive in *-έων* in Hdt. and Hippokr. The MSS. of Hdt. not infrequently have *αὐτῶν* (Bredow, p. 222). Stein brackets *αὐτῶν* in III 111.

αὐτή has *τουτέων*, which occurs in a large number of passages in Hdt. without any variant *τούτων*. The *-έων* form also occurs in the MSS. of Hippokrates; *ἐκείνη* has *ἐκεινέων* Hdt. IV 111 Stein (*-ων* R); *τοιαύτη* has *τοιοντέων* VII 16 a), and so in Hippokrates; *τοσαύτη* has *τοσουτέων* VII 187.

The forms in *-έων* from *αὐτή*, *τοιαύτη*, and *τοσαύτη* are suspicious, as Ionic, unlike Doric, did not carry into the feminine genitive the diphthong *av* of the other cases. Other pronominal forms, such as *τουτέων*, contain a parasitic *ε* inserted under the influence of hyper-Ionic theories, § 562.

448.]

On the genitive plural of nouns in *-αρχης* varying with *-αρχος*, see Bredow, p. 232. In Hdt. VII 99 Stein reads *ταξιαρχέων*, but in IX 53 *ταξιαρχων*, cf. *ταξιαρχοι* VIII 67. In Attic inscriptions the ending is always *-αρχος*, except in *μεράρχαι* C. I. A. II 580, 3, 7 (324 B. C.).

ειλώτων Hdt. IX 10 is from *ειλως* [cf. VI 81, VIII 25], but *ειλωπέων* VI 58, 75, 80, &c. is from *ειλώτης*.

449.] Dative Plural.

The terminations occurring in the texts of Ionic writers are *-ησι*, *-ης*, *-αισι* and *-αις*, of which the first and last forms are more frequent than *-ης* or *-αισι*, which do not occur in the inscriptions; *-ησι* is found upon one inscription.

-ησι is called Ionic by the grammarians: Joh. Gr. 240, 241, 241 B, Greg. Kor. § 5, Meerm. 649, 654, Vat. 696, Birnb. 677²⁹, Et. M. 25²⁰, 166⁴², Et. Gud. 249¹², 332²⁰, An. Par. III 312²⁹, cf. An. Ox. I 219¹; cf. also Hdn. I 298¹⁷, II 143¹⁰. *-ης* Et. Gud. 249¹⁵, Et. M. 166⁴². Tzetz. Ex. II. 84, has *κοίλησι* (cf. 121⁸), and so An. Ox. I 219¹. The ancients did not recognize the fact that in Homer the longer form occurs far more frequently than does *-ης*, or that *-ης* before a vowel is the same as *-ησι*.

450.] Dative Plural (Inscriptions)¹.

The endings of the dative plural upon inscriptions are (1) *-ησι*, (2) *-αις*, (3) *-ησι*.

1. *-ησι*.

σο[φ]ήσιω Delos 53 (sixth century), Bechtel reading *-ησιω*; *βουλήσιω* according to Roehl. See Roberts I, p. 63. *Νίμφησιω* Thasos 68 (fifth cent.); *ἡσιω* Teos 156 B 36 (Ol. 76-77); *ἡμέρη[ι]σιω* Chios 174 B 5 (fifth cent.); *Ε]λάδοσιω* Chios 174 C 20; *Ἐρυ[θρ]ήσιω* Eryth. 199⁶ (after 394 B. C.) the last example upon Ionic territory.

-ησιω occurs therefore on the mainland of Asia Minor, in the adjacent islands and in Thasos. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in *-ησιω* in Euboian Ionic, where *-οισι* however occurs, see below, § 473. Whether *τήσι* or *ταῖς* was the form in use in the language of the people is uncertain, as we have no instance free from suspicion. No. 263 with *ταῖς* before consonants and vowels is from Lykia, and contains a trace of the *Κοινή*. It is possible that *ταῖς* may have been in normal use while *-ησι* was the sole form in nouns (cf. Aiolic *ταῖς ὀέμαισι*, Boiot. *τῶν Μωσάων*). *-ησι* held its ground with greater persistence than *-οισι*, as is clear from *ἐκγόνοισι* upon the same inscription which contains the last example of *-ησι*.

2. *-αις*.

All instances of *-αις* are due to Attic influence². *ταύτ[α]ις*

¹ See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 35.

² On the form *ἄποι* l. 23 adduced by Bechtel as a further testimony to the influence of Attic upon the dialect of Keos, see § 342.

Keos 43₂₇, last quarter of the fifth century; *εὐεργέταις* Eryth. 147₁₁ (300 B. C.); *δωρεαῖαις* 147₁₉; *δημοσῆαις* and *ιδίαις δίκαις* Teos 158₁₁, with almost no Ionic whatsoever; *ἡμέραις* Eryth. 204₈ (345-44 B. C.); *Κολωραῖς* Eryth. 206 A 47, *Σαβηριῖταις* 206 B 54 (after 278 B. C.); *γέαις* C. I. G. 2693 F 9, as read by Le Bas 414.

-*αις* occurs on the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in -*αις* in Euboian Ionic.

In No. 5, which contains *Φουκίων*, we find also *θεαῖς πάσαις*, which is probably of Doric colouring. On the mixed dialect of Himera, see Thuk. VI 5. The speech of Rhegion was doubtless likewise half Ionic, half Doric. Cf. Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 10. It may be noticed that Homer uses the dative in -*αις* in but three words: *ἀκτῆ* M 284, *θεά* ε 119, and *πάντα* χ 471. Theog. 240 also uses *πάσαις*.

3. Upon the fragment of a marble patera from Kyzikos, now at Oxford, is inscribed ΔΕΞΠΡΟΝΗΞΙΝ (Rob. I 148, not in Bechtel's collection). We have here an -*ησι* which occurs upon Attic inscriptions (*ἄλλησι*, *δραχμῆσι*), but thus far nowhere, except in the present instance, upon inscriptions outside of Attika. Without further examples of the occurrence of -*ησι*, it is best to arrest judgment in pronouncing upon its Ionic character. There is, however, no reason why the form should not be Ionic, though but little weight should be attached to the statement of the grammarians in reference to its appearance in Ionic (§ 449), or to the numerous MS. forms without the *iota*.

451.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

The MSS. of the lyric poets have preserved two sets of terminations, -*ησι* and -*ης*, -*αισι* and -*αις*.

1. -*ησι*.

-*ησι* and -*ησιω* before consonants, -*ησιω* before vowels, are the usual forms from Archilochos to Theognis inclusive.

Archilochos: *χαλεπήσι* 84₂ *ερῶδ.*, *δόνησιω* ἐκῆτι 84₂, *βακχίσιω* 83 (conj.).

Mimnermos: *ἀγγήσιω* 14₁₁ (cf. 2₂) *vulgo* *ἀγααῖσιω*.

Theognis: *πλευρήσι* 55, A O -*αῖσι*, *ἀμηχανίσιω* 619, *σφήσι* 712, *βήσσησι* 881, *ἰαχῆσι* 779 conj.; *θαλίσι* 983, O -*αισι*, *εἰλαπίησι* 239, *ἀμαρτωλήσι* 325, *σῆσιω* 1234, *παιδοφίλησιω* 1357, *κακοκεδέησιω* 225, *φυλακῆσιω* 439, *πολυθόρεισιω* 703, *ξαιθήσιω* 828 with *κόμαις* in the same line.

Xenophanes: *χαίτησιω* 3.

Solon: *προχοῆσι* 28 (*ἴα* *L* *προχοαῖσι*), *ἀργαλέσι* 133¹ (-*αισι* Fick), *ἀφραδίησιω* 45 (-*αισιω* Fick).

Tyrtaios: *κονίησιω* 11₁₉.

¹ *ει* in forms from -*λέος* remains uncontracted in the lyric poets; cf. § 263.

Simonides Amorg.: κοπρήσιω 7₆, ναύτησιω 7₃₈, ἐνιπῆσιω 7₄₄,
πάσησι 7₈₀.

Hippokrat.: κολάσησι 4₁, 5₂, σκίλλησιω 5₂, ἀσκέρησι-δασεῖρησιω 19.

Herodas: τῆσι 5₈₃, 3₂₀ (in conjunction with φύσης), καλῆσιω
7₁₁₃ (in conjunction with τῆς), αὐτῆσιω 7₂.

Anakreon: δάσησι 1₈, χορδήσιω 18₂ (conj.), πλευρηῆσι 21₃, θύρησι
διξῆσιω 88.

2. -ῆς.

-ῆς before vowels is the usual form from Archilochos to
Theognis.

Archilochos: θαλίης τέρψεται 9₂ (θαλίης or θαλίη conj.); ὀδύνης
ἔχομεν Gaisford 9₄, ῆς τὸ πρῶν 9₄₃ (Fick omits τὸ: the MSS.
have ῆς).

Mimnermos: ἀνγῆς αὔξεται 2₂, where ἀνγῆς is Schneidewin's
conj.; cf. 14₁₁.

Theognis: κορυφῆς ἔπο 879 (*libri* κορυφῆς), μαργασύνης ἀπό
1271 Bekker, θοίνης ἀέ 239 in *A*, -ῆς *O*, *reliqui* θοίνας (Sitzler
-αις), ῥαδωνῆς χερσίν 6, see § 4.

Xenophanes: ῥοῆς ἐν 2₂ by conj. of Stephanus.

Anakreon: ἔλης κεροέσσης Bergk 51₂ (ἔλη?).

Solon: πλευρηῆς καί 24₄, though Plutarch has πλευρηῆ and
Theog. 722 πλευραῖς (Fick πλευρῆ), τῆς ἄδικ' 4₂₂.

Herodas: τῆς 7₁₁₃ (in conjunction with καλῆσιω), τῆς νεωτέρης
ἡμῶν 1₁₉, φύσης 3₂₀ (in conjunction with τῆσι).

3. -αισι(ν).

Theognis: κριθαῖσι 1269, ἀμαρτωλαῖσιν ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι 1281.
AO have πλευραῖσι 55.

Mimnermos: 14₁₁ ἀνγαῖσιν accord. to Stobaios. Bergk reads
ἀνγῆσιν.

Solon: πολλαῖσιν 37₆ (Fick -ῆσιν). In 28 *Fa L* have προχοαῖσι.

Anakreon: χορδαῖσιν 18₂.

Herodas: ταῖσι 3₆₃, 6₃₁ though in a number of instances ταῖς
is the form adopted by this writer.

4. -αις.

Whenever -αις occurs before a vowel in the middle of a penta-
meter the case is almost similar to that before a consonant, since
elision is rarely permitted in this part of dactylic verse. -αις
occurs also at the close of a pentameter, more rarely at the end
of the hexameter. In Homer we have ἀκταῖς *M* 284, πάσαις
χ 471, at the close of the hexameter. When the word in
question is found at the end of the verse this is denoted by a |.

Archilochos: ἀγκάλαις | 23 trim., and so in the parody *Frogs*
704. Renner reads ἀγκάλης, Fick ἀγκάσιν.

Tyrtaios: ἀνγαῖς ἠελίοιο 11₆ with *v. l.* ἀνγαῖσιν, φίλαις ἐν 10₂₅;

Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε 2₂, εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταμειβομένους 4₆, where Diodoros has εὐθείην ῥήτρας.

Theognis: θοίαις? 239, πλευραῖς καί 722, πάσαις πολλῶν 240, πολυφροσύναις | 712, κόμαις πορφυρέους 828 with ξανθῆσιν in the same line; θοαῖς | 12 (θοῆς in *A*), ῥαδιναῖς χερσί 1002, Athen. ῥαδιῆς, δελαῖς φρεσί 161, Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτο 432, μεγάλαις κείται ἀμυχαναῖς | 632, ἄταις | 631, βονλαῖς δ' 640, εἰλαπίνας φορέοντας 827, σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις | 1234. -αις occurs in Theognis only in the middle and close of the pentameter (except in 161, 631). In the later portions of Theognis, Sitzler adopts -αις before vowels. For ῥαδιῆς 6 as Bergk reads, some MSS. have -ησι (Sitzler -αις); -ησι is correct.

Simon. Amorg.: Νύμφαις τῶ τε 20, read by Ahrens and Fick Νύμφησ' ἡδέ (Hippokr. used ἡδέ).

Herodas: ταῖς λαύραις | 113, μετρηῖαις (?) | 174, ταῖς νέαις 175, ταῖς ἀνωήμοις ταῦταις | 614, ταῖς γυναιξίν 74, ἀγκάλαις ἄραις (?) 571, ταῖςδε 483.

Solon: κούφαις ἐλπῖσι 1336 (Fick -ῆσ'), κακαῖς ρούσοισι 1361 (Fick κακῶς). This case of -αις is in the hexameter, cf. Theog. 161, 631; ἀργαλέαις τε 1361, φίλαις 422 a former conj. of Bergk.

Anakreon: κούφαις | 24, ἀήταις | 25, μίτρας | 65, μελαίνας ἀναμεμίζονται 77.

-αις becomes much more frequent in the later elegy, e. g. Plato 72, Krates 111. -ησιν is found in Plato 123, -αισι in Ion 23, Melanthios 11, Euenos 23, Plato 311.

From the evidence presented above, it is clear that Ionic poetry possessed a form devoid of the final *iota*. Nevertheless this fact has been assailed by most scholars, of whom some have objected to -αις, others to -ησι. The former form was attacked by Ahrens¹, who maintained that whenever anteconsonantal -αις and -οις occurred in the fragments of the iambic and choliambic poets, and in the trochaics of Archilochos, the reading is always suspicious, and that the same forms in Anakreon are due to the influence of his Aiolic models, who admitted the shorter forms, especially at the end of the verse. Equally positive in his objection to the original Ionic character of -αις and -οις is Fick², who holds that in the poets of Ionic birth who flourished before the downfall of Ionia (which ensued about 540 B. C.), -ησι and -οισι are the only legitimate Ionic forms. Fick furthermore maintains that after the period thus delimited, -αις and -οις became a part of the linguistic material of the later elegists (Xenophanes, Theognis), and of Ananios, following herein the example of Tyrtaios who had admitted them by a concession to

¹ *Mischung der Dialekte*, p. 60 ff.

² *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255.

the dialect of his adopted fatherland. This argument is especially weak as regards the iambographer Ananios, whose character is quite distinct from that of Tyrtaios. Renner¹ on the other hand claims that for *-ais* we should substitute *-ηis*, a procedure whose correctness as regards Anakreon was defended by Schneidewin. Fritsch², who protests against the Ionic character of *-ηis* before consonants³, follows Fick in rejecting as non-Ionic all cases of *-ais* and *-ois* in the early lyrics of Ionic birth. Wilamowitz⁴ also rejects the latter forms in Archilochos. Sitzler⁵ proposes to adopt *-ais* wherever the dative ending occurs in the caesura, and at the verse close, also before consonants, whereas *-ηis* should be read before a vowel. With Diels⁶ *-ois* is to be accepted (1) when a vowel follows, (2) at the verse end, or in the middle of the pentameter, (3) in the case of the article and relative, (4) in combination with several other datives.

While it is obvious that all the cases of antevocalic *-ηis*, *-ais* (and *-ois*, § 474), with the possible exception of those forms that occur in the middle of a pentameter, may and should be read with elision, the existence of the shorter forms has been unjustly assailed. We may admit that the longer form has been displaced in the works of the older Ionic school in many passages which yield to a mild treatment. But the total expulsion of the shorter forms is attained only by recourse to the most drastic remedies, notably when the peccant form closes the verse. And in many cases no remedy whatever can be discovered, not even that of transposition.

If the shorter forms are a fixture in Homer⁷, despite the efforts of Nauck and Fick to dislodge them, their occurrence in the lyric poets, howsoever rare they be, need not cause us surprise. More delicate is the question whether we shall read *-ais* or *-ηis*, or whether both forms are possible. The former form is an analogue of *-ois*; for the latter, which is not found in prose either inscriptional or literary (but cf. § 452), a satisfactory explanation, it must be confessed, is at present wanting. G. Meyer's attempt (*Gramm.* § 380) may be dismissed as too artificial. Brugmann (*Grundr.* II § 378) sees in *-ηis* a locative formed from a more original **-ās*, *-ηs*. Brugmann conjectures that in the Homeric period *-ηs* may have been pronounced without the later *ι*⁸. So long however as

¹ Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 208 ff.

² *V. H. D.* 35.

³ Cf. Cauer's *Ilias* praef. xxxvi.

⁴ *Hom. Unters.* 317.

⁵ *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 509.

⁶ *Αθην. πολ.* p. 38.

⁷ The *Iliad* has 1564 datives with the longer forms, 251 with the shorter (212 before vowels, 39 before consonants, or at the end of the verse). In the *Odyssey* 1297 long, 225 short (150 + 75), according to Nauck's count.

⁸ This form occurs in the MSS. of Archil. 943, where it is doubtless an error of the scribe. Osthoff *M. U.* II 76 thinks that *-ηis* was formed from *-ηισι* under the influence of *-ois*.

it occurs before consonants in Homer and in later poetry it is idle to dispute its existence merely because it has not been acceptably explained. It is therefore proper to retain it and *-ais* in the few passages where they are called for by the metre. *-ais* and *-ois* are instrumentals which were but sparingly employed, outside of Doric, in the earlier period of the language. It was not until the fifth century in Attika and later in other quarters of Greece that they became powerful enough to dislodge the old locatives *-ησι*, *-ᾱσι* (*-ησι*, *-ᾱσι*) which had officiated as datives. *-ᾱσι* is non-Ionic. The forms in Theognis, as those in early Attic poetry, might be regarded as *-ᾱσι*. It is however more probable that *-ᾶσι* is intended. *δίκᾶσι* is an analogue of *λόγοισι*.

452.] Dative Plural (Prose).

Of the forms found in the MSS. of Ionic prose writers, *-ησι* is by far the most frequent. *-αισι* is very rare. *-ais* has often crept in from Attic. In Hdt. we have *-ησι*. In VIII 15 the Romanus has *τὰς ἀτὰς ἡμέρας* where all the other MSS. have *ταῖς ἀτὰς ἡμέρας*. Bredow's *τῆσι αὐτῆσι ἡμέρησι* is therefore unnecessary. In III 40 *-ησι* must be substituted for the *-αισι* of most MSS. *ταῖς* is found in the Romanus III 110. Hippokrates has *-ησι*, e.g. II 44 *φλεγματίησι*, *αὐτέησι* (with hyper-Ionic *ε*), *τῆσι* II 306, III 196. In Demokritos as handed down by Stobaios we find *-ησι* in fragments 41, 46, 211 (167 Demokrates). In other cases, except *ἀράγκαισι* 126, the MSS. have *-ais* which Mullach changed to *-ησι*. *-ησι* occurs in Herakleitos, in Hekat. 172, Pherekydes of Leros (frag. 44 is the only case); Protagoras has *τῆσι πάσησι ἡμέρησι*. The form of the article in the MSS. of the Ionic prosaists is often *ταῖς*. Thus in Demokritos there is scarcely an exception to the shorter form. We find *ταῖσι* in frag. 44 (containing *ἀράγκαις*); Mullach *τῆσι*. In Aiolie, which usually has *-αισι*, *ταῖς* is the regular form. In all the passages where *-αισι*, *-ais* occur, and the dative is required, the Ionic forms should be edited.

Pseudo-Ionists: *-ησι* is used throughout by Lukian in the *de Syria* and the *Astr.*; and this form is found more frequently in Arrian than *-ais* or *-αισι*. Abydenos has *-ησι* six times, Eusebios Myndios *-ais* 14 times, *-αισι* once. The supposititious Ionic letters of Hippokrates, and Aretaios follow Herodoteian usage. Aretaios 68 has *πολλῆς*, ep. Hippokr. 17²⁵ *ἐπιθυμίας* (?), the only instances of this form. The *Vita Homeri* has *-ais* throughout.

453.] On the retention of the long forms.

Both in inscriptions and prose literature, to so late a period as the fifth century, the Ionic dialect retained a termination whose

use in all other dialects, except Aiolie, was either curtailed or completely abandoned. In the Doric dialect *-ais* is in entire possession; and in the case of Aiolie a special cause was at work, which drew in its train the retention of the fuller form in the declension of nouns. In the Attic stone records, *-ησι* (after consonants) held its ground sporadically till the middle of the fifth century and perhaps till 424 B. C.; *-αισι* (after vowels) is attested in documents of 439 B. C. and 424 B. C., upon which however the locative *-ησι* already appears. This *-ησι* (*-ᾶσι*) was retained till 420 B. C., when *-ais* was universally adopted¹; a change whose suddenness has elicited much speculation in connection with the history of early Attic prose. That the Athenians recognized the antique flavour of the fuller forms is clear from their treatment at the hands of comedy. But even Aischylos does not reject the *-s* forms.

454.] Accusative Plural.

The form is invariably *-ās*, which was substituted for *-āvs* subsequently to the change of *ā* to *η* in Ionic-Attic, cf. § 161. Tyrtaios has the Doric *-ās* occasionally (45, 71), as Plesiod in *W. D.* 564, *Theog.* 184. In Chios 174 C 12 we find τὰς γέας καὶ τὰς οἰκί(ε)α[s], the form γέας having, as Bechtel assumes, caused the stone cutter to perpetrate a blunder in the following accusative; cf. οἰκίας Paros 58². The accusative plural of γῆ in Ionic is always γέας. See § 421.

In Herodotos *-εās* is the accusative of nouns and adjectives, whose nominative is ordinarily stated to be *-ειη*, *c. g.* (§ 282) χρυσέας, ἄργυρέας, κινέας, αἰγέας, παρθαλέας, ἀμφιδέας³, μίεας (cf. § 421), ἄλωπεκέας, λεοντέας, πορφυρέας Ion 1. In Hdt. II 67, where *C* has *μυγάλας* and *ι* *μυγαλὰς*, Stein reads *μυγαλᾶς*, doubtless with reference to the statement of Anaxandrides (*αἰμιλ* Athen. VII 300 Λ): δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μυγαλῆ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δέ γ' οὐ. Bredow adopted *μυγαλέας*; cf. Nikand. *Ther.* 816 *μυγαλέην*. In III 28 we find *διπλᾶς*, cf. *διπλῆ* § 424.

The accus. pl. of ἀκινάκης, whose accus. sing. is ἀκινάκεια and ἀκινάκην (both forms are amply attested), occurs IX 80; III 128, VII 67, where the MSS. vary between ἀκινάκας and ἀκινάκεις. The former form is to be adopted. The accus. of δεσπότης is *-τας*, not *-τεας*, despite *z* in I 111, 112. Nor are the forms *διφθερέας* I 194, *ἐξηγητέας* I 78, *ὄργυιέας* IV 86 to be adopted.

¹ *-ησι* (*-ᾶσι*) was retained in adverbs of place.

² Haussoullier thinks *-εας* in *οἰκί(ε)α* was caused by influence of the gen. *-εων*. But we have no other examples of such an influence of the gen. upon the accus. plural.

³ Cf. *Græg. Kor.* § 123 (*ἀριδέας*, cf. § 336). With this open *ἀμφιδέαι*, cf. *ἀμφιδᾶ* *B. C. H.* 1890, p. 403, 412, *ἀμφιδῆ* 404 (Delian register of 279 B. C.). Aristoph. 320, 11 (Kock) has *ἀμφιδέας*.

οὐδαμίας is supported in IV 114 by *A B C d*, but is nevertheless to be rejected. *Ἐνάρεις* I 105 is correct, cf. *Ἐνάρεις* IV 67.

O Declension.

455.] Terminations of Ionic prose :

<i>ος, ον</i>	<i>αι, ᾶ</i>
<i>ον</i> (never <i>εω</i>)	<i>ων</i>
<i>ωι</i>	<i>οισι(ν), οισ</i>
<i>ον</i>	<i>ους, ᾶ</i>
<i>ε, ος</i>	

Dual forms are wanting in New Ionic, cf. § 412. In the following sections attention is chiefly directed to those nominal and adjectival forms which have *ε* or *ο* before *-ος, -ορ, &c.* Cf. the sections dealing with the contact of vowels. Renner's suggestion to admit the open forms (masc. and fem.) in the case of the poets of Ionic lineage, and to regard the open and the contracted forms as the property of the elegists not Ionic born, cannot be carried through.

On the forms of the so-called Attic declension, see § 477. As regards gender it may be noted that *Ἡίριοναχ* has *ἦ ἄστρολος*, *Herodotos ἦ σαῦρος*.

456.] Nominative Singular (Inscriptions).

The nominative singular of nouns which have *ε* or *ο* before the thematic *ο* contract this *ε* or *ο* in the following forms: *Καλλίους* Thasos (L.) 77, *Ἀστύους* Eryth. 206 C 9, *Πολύθρους* Thasos 75 B 11.

457.] Nominative Singular (Lyric Poets).

νόος occurs frequently in Theognis, *e.g.* 88, Solon 27₁₁, and Simonides of Keos (?) 8₇₁₁. But *νοῖς* is attested in Theog. 1185, as in Homer κ 240, and Simon. Amorg. 1₃ has *νόος* (cf. *νόορ* 71). *γηραλέος* is found in Xenoph. 1₁₈.

458.] Nominative Singular (Prose).

1. *-εος, -εον* are uncontracted, *e.g.* *ἄδελφιδέος* VIII 130; *θυγατριδέος* V 67.

2. *-οος* is uncontracted, *e.g.* *νόος* Herakl. 111, Anax. 5, 6, 7, 12 (Simplicius has however *νοῖς*), Hdt. IX 120, *εὔροος* VII 173, &c., *οἰνοχόος* III 34, cf. Plato, *Phil.* 61 C.

The Homeric genitive in *-οιο* occurs on poetical monuments (Paros 59 *αἰγιόχοιο*, and *ἀραμένοιο* Latyschev II 37). Other metrical inscriptions have *-οῦ* (23, 25, 34, 60, 162, 261, 265).

460.] Genitive Singular (Lyric Poets).

The usual termination is *-οῦ*. By imitation of Homeric usage or from the fact that the older Ionic actually possessed the form, *-οιο*¹ has been adopted by the *elegiac* poets as an archaism and is by them used to a great extent in the same place in the verse as it is employed in Homer. Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Studien* I A 206 ff. I have indicated by a small figure the position in the verse of the syllables *-οιο*. *-οιο* is rare in pentameter; Tyrt. 11₆ is the only example from the older elegy, Aischyl. 4₂ from the later, non-Ionic elegy.

Tyrtaios: *ἠελίοιο*⁵ 11₆, *Τιθωνοῖο*³ 12₅, *στέρνοιο*³ 12₂₅; *θανάτοιο*⁶ 12₃₅; *Κινυρέοιο* 12₆ has been corrected to *Κινύρεω*.

Archilochos: *Ἐρναλίοιο*⁵ 1₁, *πολυφλοίσβοιο*⁵ 9₃.

Mimnermos: *θανάτοιο*³ 2₇; *ποταμοῖο*⁶ 9₅, *πολέμοιο*⁶ 14₇, *ἠελίοιο* 11₅⁶, 14₁₁⁶.

Theognis: *θανάτοιο*³ 707, *χαλεποῖο*³ 103, *κιβδήλοιο*³ 119 (the two latter passages contain also a gen. in *-οῦ*), *ἐλάφοιο*³ 949; *ἠελίοιο* 569⁶, 1143⁶, 1183⁶, *οὐλομένοιο*⁶ 527, *νόοιο*⁶ 705, *Τηϋγέτοιο*⁶ 879.

Solon: *ἠελίοιο*³ 13₂₃, *ἀτρνγέτοιο*⁶ 13₁₉.

Anakreon: *ὀχάνοιο* 91; cf. § 63.

Hipponax: hex. 85₄ *ἀτρνγέτοιο*⁶.

Of the elegists, Archilochos offers the sole exception to the rule that *-οιο* in the elegy is used in the third and the sixth foot.

In the iambographic poets we find but one example of *-οιο*: Archilochos, tetr. 77₁ (*ὦς Διωνύσοι' ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάξει μέλος*), sic Bergk, *vulgo* *Διωνύσοιο*, *PVL* *Διωνύσοιο*, cf. Iliad XI 35 and Dr. Leaf on the passage. The unique position of this *-οιο* and the doubt whether the final *ο* can be elided² caused Hermann to read *-οῦ*.

From stems in which *ο* precedes the final *ο* of the stem: *νόοιο*

¹ Epic *-οιο* has been placed under *AIOLIC*. It is both Aiolic and Ionic. The grammarians often regard this ending as Ionic and Thessalian, e.g. Vat. 700, Et. M. 618₃₇, Et. Gud. 420₅₂, An. Ox. I 313₂₅, II 404₁₆; more frequently as Thessalian alone, cf. *THESSALIAN*, § 35. Sometimes *-οιο* is referred to Ionic alone, e.g. Tzetz. Ex. II. 96₁₄. Greg. Kor. § 22 cites *Μενελάοιο* in the same breath with *θεῖοιο*.

² Lugebil in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. Suppl.* XII 216, Fick in his *Odyssee*, p. 29, Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 99, rightly hold that elision may take place. That the Thessalian gen. in *-οι* is a locative (Ebel in *K. Z.* XIII 446, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 344; cf. Mahlow, *Die Vocale A E O*, p. 37, Stolz, *Lat. Gramm.* § 83) has not yet been proved. Cf. Wilamowitz *Hom. Unters.* p. 321.

Theog. 223, Archil. 56₅, καλλιμόων Anacr. 28. From stems in eo-: ἀργαλέου Mimn. 2₆, 4₂, Tyrnt. 11₈.

461.] Genitive Singular (Prose).

Besides the regular forms in -ου we meet in the MSS. of Hdt. with -οιο and -εω, forms which are due to an erroneous conception of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect.

1. Epic -οιο in *R* in III 97 Καυκάσιοιο. ἔρωτος ἀπρήκτοιο in Lukian, *d. S.* 22, is from some poetical source.

2. -εω, by transference from the \hat{A} declension, in all MSS. Hdt. IV 147, 148 Μεμβλιάρεω, but -ον IV 147; as *v. l.* in VI 102 Πεισιστράτεω, VIII 122 Κροίσεω, V 32 Κλεομβρότεω, Βάττεω II 181, IV 159, 160, 162, 205. Τευτάμεω Herakl. 112 is from -ης (see Bywater, p. xii).

Stobaios has νοῦ in quoting Demokr. 13, and likewise Simplicius in Anaxag. 5. In Hdt. νόου VIII 97 occurs in all MSS. In VI 107, however, all the MSS. have εὔνου; and ἔσπλου is equally well attested in VI 33. περιρρόου I 174 without variant. Hdt. has ὄστέου IX 83. Upon Attic inscriptions we find θηχόου C. I. A. III 244 (very late), but -χοῦ C. I. A. I 322 A 79, 95 (409 B. C.); χρυσοχόου is found in Demosthenes.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists:—

πλόου Arrian 37, 38, 40.

πλοῦ *Vita Hom.* 18.

παραπλοῦ Arrian 19, 25.

διέκπλου Arrian 22.

νόου Euseb. Mynd. 19, 34.

προνόου Euseb. Mynd. 16.

ρόου Aret. 164, 302, &c.

περιρόου Hippokr. II 692.

χειμαρρόου Arr. 38.

λευκοχρόου Aret. 114.

νοῦ Aret. 79.

ρόῦ Aret. 210.

καταρροῦ Hippokr. V 680.

462.] Dative Singular¹ (Inscriptions).

1. -οι is the regular form on all inscriptions, and is found everywhere, except in the few cases when -ω and -αι occur. ἰσώπω[ι] is to be read in Keos 43₁₆, and not -ω. χρυσῶι in Samos 220₁₇ (346-45) is a form contrary to the rule that adjectives of material are uncontracted in Ionic when ε is followed by an *o* sound.

2. -ω. In Attic *ι* falls off from -οι in the first century B. C. On Ionic soil -ω is very rare and late. Ἀσκληπιῶ 67 Paros (period of the empire), Ἀθμανῶ Σεβαστῶ Ὀλυμπίω 101 Miletos, ἀργυρέω 129 Olbia (period of the empire), χρυσῶ Latyshev I No. 22, I, No. 57 (κοινή contraction), but χρυσέω *l. l.* I, No. 67.

¹ Joh. Gr. 242 cites the Homeric ἀργυρέω, χρυσέω as Ionic.

3. *-οι*. The ending *-οι* became *-οι* in (a) Chalkidian and (b) Eretrian Ionic about 400 B. C. No other section of the Ionic dialect has *-οι* (not a locative). Cf. the change of *-ηι* to *-ει*, § 239.

A. In Chalkidian colonies:

<i>-οι</i>	<i>-οι</i>
π]ολέμοι Olynthos 8 A ₆ (389- 383 B. C.).	τῶι Olynthos 8 A 2. τῶι κοινῶι Olynthos 8 B 4. τῶι δήμωι Amphip. 10 ₁ . τῶι unc. 13 ₃ .

B. Eretria and colonies:

Ἄμαρυν(θ)οῖ Eretria 15 ₁₈ ¹ (410- 390 B. C.).	τῶι Eretria 14.
τοῖ ἱεροῖ Eretria 15 ₁₉ .	Κηναῖωι Eretria 15 ₁₉ .
ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ Oropos 18 _{5, 9, 15, 19} ,	<i>-οι</i> in No. 16 throughout.
ἐαντοῖ ^{30, 42} Oropos 18 ₂₃ .	
πετεῦροι Oropos 18 ₄₂ .	
τοῖ βουλομένοι Oropos 18 ₄₃ .	
τοῖ κοιμητηρίωι Oropos 18 ₄₃ .	
τοῖ also 18 _{32, 45, 46} .	

Cf. the locative *-οι* in Eleian, North-West Greek, Boiotian and Arkadian.

463.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Tyrtaios 12₂₈ has ἀργαλέω, but in Mimn. 11₆ we find the Homeric χρυσέω (A 15) with synizesis; Theog. 1052 has νόω, 1088 καλλιρόω.

464.] Dative Singular (Prose).

Nouns or adjectives with *ε* or *ο* before the stem vowel *ο* do not contract *ε* or *ο* with that vowel in the MSS., e. g. κανέω Hdt. I 119, πορφυρέω Ion I, νόω Hdt. III 41, 51, VIII 19, as Herakl. 91, Demokr. 57. But in IV 125, I 27, II 181, VII 159 all or nearly all the MSS. have τῶι or τῷ, for which Stein reads νόω.

χρυσόχοω occurs on an Attic inscription II 652 B, 16 (398 B. C.), but in other words *-οω* has become *-ω*.

In Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists:

¹ But this form may be a locative (cf. *Hermes* XXI 99), as Ἴσθ]μοῖ Thasos Rob. I 24. Cf. similar forms in treaties in Thukydides.

² No. 18 dates either from 411-402 B. C., or from the period between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377 B. C. ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ is scarcely a locative, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 350 suggests.

πλόω Arrian 23, Hippokr. ep.

¹⁷²⁴
νόω Euseb. Mynd.

ῥόω Luk. Syr. 8, περιρόω Hippokr., Aret.

ρῶ Luk. Astr. 15.

περιρρῶ Hippokr. V 730.

χειμάρρω Arr. 24, 39.

διπλῶ Aret., τριπλῶ Abyd.

The hyper-Ionic αὔτεω appears in some MSS., Hdt. I 133, where Athenaios has αὔτῶ, cf. § 563.

465.] Accusative Singular¹ (Inscriptions).

In the stems in -oo we have π[ρ]όουρ Naukr., Bechtel = 139 A, cf. Ω 304; ἐκπλουν and ἔσπλουν Eryth. 2027, Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342.

In the adj. inflection ἀλοργούν Samos 220_{221, 30}, εὔνουν Olbia C. I. G. 2059₁₄, λινοῦν 220_{25, 27}, but according to the rule Ionic χρύσειον 220₁₈, as Zeleia 114 E, Olbia 129₁₂, Aphrodisias 254 (Roman), also Latyshev I 50, 54, 57, 64 (*post Christum*).

466.] Accusative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Theog. 1267 has νόον, but εὔνουν or ἔνουν 641 in all MSS. Wordsworth read εὔνοον since Theognis prefers a dactyl to a spondee in the fourth foot. The same poet has νοῦν 350, 898 (cf. Hesiod, frag. 222). Archil. has νόον 78₄ tetr., 89₆ epod. and so Sim. Amorg. 7₁ despite νόος 1₃; Solon 27₁₃ νοῦν. Herodas 2₅₁ has διπλόον, but in 2₄₈ διπλοῦν; νοῦν 1₆₈, ἄνουν 3₂₇. Mimn. has ρόον 11₄.

We find μνδάλεον in Archil. 182, ἀργαλέον in Mimn. 1₁₀, 5₅, Tyrtaios ῥιγαλέον 11₁₇, Theog. ἀφνεόν 188, 559.

467.] Accusative Singular (Prose).

Nouns and adjectives with ε or ο before the stem vowel ο do not usually suffer contraction with that vowel in the MSS. of Herodotos, e.g. πλόον II 175, νόον III 21, I 27, Demokr. 59, Herakl. 16, Pherek. 60, πρόνοον Hdt. III 36, διπλόον VI 104, ἀντίξοον VI 7, VII 49. χούν is contracted in all MSS. Hdt. I 185, II 150, VII 23 and φλοῦν III 98 (Attic φλέως)². In III 22 where most MSS. have χρυσούν, R has χρυσόν, which is adopted by Stein. Holder adopts Schaefer's χρύσειον. φοινίκεον appears in IX 22. Attic has both φοινικούν and φοινικιοῦν.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists the open forms prevail:—

¹ Greg. Kor. § 71 νόον, ῥόον.

² Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 46.

πλόον Luk. *Syr.* 7, Arrian 23 and often, Hippokr. ep. 17₄₀.

νόον Luk. *Syr.* 26, Abyd. 9, Hippokr. II 230, III 228, ep. 17₃₄.
εὔροον Aret. 248, &c.

δύσπνοον Hippokr. V 590.
ἄπνοον Hippokr. III 68.
εὔπνοον Hippokr. V 668, II 148,
348, 368, Aret. 202, &c.
ἄχροον Hippokr. III 252.
εὔχροον Aret. 266.

ὀμόχροον Hippokr. V 674, II 156.
διπλόον Aret. 205, Hippokr. II 44, III 184.

ἄθροον Hippokr. and Aret. often.
πολύθροον Abyd. 5.
ἀντίξοον Luk. *Astr.* 12.

πλοῖν Arr. 21, 33, *Vita Hom.* 17, 29.

παράπλοον Arr. 32, 39.
σύμπλοον *Vita Hom.* 17.

σύρροον Arr. 43.
χειμάρροον Arr. 39.

ἄχροον Aret. 144.

διπλοῦν Arr. 33.

ἀντίξοον Aret. 38.
χοῦν Arr. 13.
δικροῦν Hippokr. V 634.

468.] Vocative Singular.

The vocative form proper occurs very frequently in Herodotos. Whereas the Athenians, according to Gregor. Corinth. p. 117, said ὦ φίλος, Hdt. has ὦ ξεῖνε, &c., in many passages.

469.] Nominative Plural.

The nom. pl. has -οι or -ᾶ. Xenoph. 35 ἀρχαλέοι, but γηράλεοι occurs in Anakr. 43₂ (cf. ἀρπαλέα Mimn. 14). Hdt. has ἀθρόοι, σόοι (σόαι, σόων, σόα), κατάρροοι Hippokr. II 18, ἄπνοοι Aret. 105, βραδύπνοοι Aret. 122, δύσπνοοι Hippokr., εὔπνοοι Aret., χροῖοι Hippokr., Aret., ἀπλοῖ Aret., but εὐήκοοι, ὄξνηκοοι, λιθόξοοι, σιελοχοῖοι Aret., ἐλαφρόνοοι Phokyl. 9.

Hdt. contracts in διπλᾶ II 148, VIII 87, while Aretaios has εὔπνοα, εὔροα and δίκροα; Hippokrates varies between εἴχρω and εὔχροα. ἀπλᾶ is found in Aretaios, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ and ἀθρόα in Hippokr., ἀντίξοα in Luk. *Astrol.* 2. Hdt. has I 94 ἐπίπλοα, but τὰ ἐπιπλα *furniture* from ἐπιπλος, cf. δῆπλος Empedokl. 62, δίκρος Aischylos, fr. 47. ὀστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c., Hippokr. III 534.

Hdt. has δεσμά VI 91 from δεσμός.

470.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

The only noteworthy case is χῶν < χῶν-ων Keos 43₃ (towards

the end of the fifth century), a genuine Ionic form, though the inscription contains one instance of Atticism. $\chi\acute{o}\delta\acute{s}$ originally belonged to this declension. The Argolic accus. was $\chi\acute{o}\omega$ Athen. 305 D. Hippokr. has $\chi\acute{o}\acute{\iota}$, $\chi\acute{o}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ from $\chi\acute{o}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\acute{s}$, but forms of the build of $\chi\acute{o}\acute{o}\acute{s}$ $\chi\acute{o}\acute{\acute{\iota}}$ do not occur in Ionic.

471.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

$\acute{o}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Archil. 84₃ as *Trach.* 769, *Orest.* 404, *Acharnians* 1226 (lyr.) and Plato *Phaido* 98 C, D.

472.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

The genitive plural in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, which belongs exclusively to the $\hat{\Lambda}$ declension, has been forced upon the masculine and neuter genitive of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{o}\acute{s}$ and $\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\acute{s}$. These forms were created by the scribes inserting an ϵ which they thought gave the proper dialectal colour¹. These forms are not to be defended on any ground whatsoever: and have been rejected by Gaisford, Bredow, Stein, and others. Good MSS. give very frequently the proper forms, but even when the masculine and neuter $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ rest upon the authority of all the MSS. of Hdt., they are to be rejected². In Hippocrates we find the same delusion attested by the MSS., but $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ have been restored by Ermerins. Oftentimes the cause of the false form seems to have been the presence of a correct $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ in a neighbouring word, e. g. $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Hdt. IX 96, $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ IV 114³.

Apollonios (*de Pronomine* 123 A) says: $\acute{o}\nu$ $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, $\acute{o}\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota$. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$. This cannot be strained to mean that Apollonios accepted a masculine and a neuter $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$.

Other instances of the adventitious ϵ in Hdt. are: $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ in all MSS. V 35, $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ found in the Aldine edition V 64, $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ IV 9 in *Rvs*, $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ II 36 in the Aldine edition, &c. Kallimachos went a step further in affixing the termination $-\alpha\omega\nu$ to fem. names of the O declension ($\tau\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$, $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$). Kirchhoff conjectures that the source of this error is to be found in pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* v. 7: $\beta\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$ τ' $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\omega\nu$.

In the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives with ϵ or o before $-\omega\nu$, ϵ or o is not contracted with $-\omega\nu$, e. g. :— $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$ III 41, $\sigma\acute{o}\omega\nu$ in Hdt., $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\acute{o}\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ Aretaios. The *Vita Hom.* 36 has $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$. $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$ in Xenophon *R. A.* I 20, $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\acute{o}\omega\nu$ in Thuk. VI 64 will hardly stand.

¹ Lukian makes Hdt. use $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ (*de domo* 20).

² In VII 124 Stein has retained $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$.

³ Bredow's defence of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ IV 114 (page 245) cannot be accepted.

473.] Dative Plural¹ (Inscriptions).

On inscriptions we meet with two forms of the dative plural, *-οισι* and *-οις*.

1. *-οισι*.

Olynthos 8 A 4 ἀλλήλοισι, Kyzikos 108 B 2 τοῖσιν, τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν 108 B 3, τούτοισιν 108 B 8, Teos Τηλοισιν 156 A 2, Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν 156 B 31-32, Ἡρακλείοισιν 156 B 33, Δίοισιν 156 B 34 (this inscription has no case of *-οις*), [Δ]ωσκούρο[ι]σι 257, found at Naukratis, μύθοισι epigr. in Latyschev II 171. Of these examples those from Kyzikos must be set down as archaistic, since the inscription is scarcely earlier than the first century B. C. and full of inaccuracies. The inscription from Olynthos contains the latest (389-383 B. C.) genuine example of *-οισι* on Ionic soil². The assertion of Karsten, p. 32, that *-οις* is a peculiarity of Euboian Ionic, and *-οισι* a peculiarity of the 'severior Ias' falls to the ground.

2. *-οις*.

All other Ionic inscriptions have *-οις*. Even in Olynthos No. 8, where (line 4 A) we found ἀλλήλοισι, the form ἀμφοτέροισι occurs. But this is the only example of the coexistence of the two forms, such as meets us on the Attic prose inscriptions of the fifth century. All the other inscriptions of Euboian Ionic have *-οις*, e. g. Oropos 18, Kyme Rob. I 174. In Teos 158 and *Mith.* XVI 292, Keos 43, we find only *-οις*; so too in Miletos 100 (which dates from the first half of the fourth century). Chios 174 unfortunately contains no examples of the dative plural. Halik. 240 has τοῖς and other datives in *-οις*, but is not free from younger forms. While Halik. 238₁₀ proves that the Ionic of the fifth century possessed a form τοῖς, it does not disprove the correctness of τοῖσι in literature, as Fritsch opines. No genuine case of τοῖσι appears. On the analogy of τῶν for τέων, τοῖσι might have become τοῖς before *-οισι* in the noun became *-οις*. But as in Attika we have both τοῖσι and τοῖς in the fifth century, so there is no reason why the forms should not coexist in Ionic. τοῖς is found early in the fifth century in Attika (C. I. A. I B 8)³.

Adjectives in *-εος* do not contract *-εοις*, e. g. χρυσέοις Olbia, Latyschev I No. 22₁ (*post Christum*).

¹ *-οισι* Greg. K. 2, Meerm. 663 (τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι), Joh. Gr. 239 B, 241 B, An. Ox. I 331, An. Par. III 319, Par. 681 = An. Bachm. II 370₈ (τοῖσι, τουτέοισι).

² The latest examples in Attic are Ἀθηναίοισιν C. I. A. 301 A 7 (434 B. C.), and ὄσοισιν C. I. A. II 570₃₄ (403 B. C.).

³ In Attic inscriptions *-οισι* and *-οις* are found up to 444 B. C., after which the former disappears (see note 2). In C. I. A. I 2 (before 456) both forms are found upon the same inscription.

474.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

As in the inscriptions, so in the lyric poets we find both *-οισι* and *-οις*. Cf. Renner, Curtius' *Studien* I 1, 208 ff., Fick, *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255 ff.

1. *-οισι*.

Archilochos: *χαρτοῖσιν τε, κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα* 66₆ tetr., *ἀστοῖσι* 94₄ epod., *ἀηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν* 9₅, *μύροισι* 31, *θεοῖσι* 55, *βοστρύχοισι* 58, *ἀμηχάνοισι* 66₁, *δοκοῖσιν* 66₃, *ἀνθρώποισι* 70₁, *τοῖσι* 74₉, *καθαροῖσιν* 12₂.

Simonides of Amorgos: *ξείνοισιν* 7₁₀, *θύννοισι, κωβιοῖσι* 15, *μύροισι* 16₁, *ἀνθρώποισιν* 1₃, 7₂₁, *κἀγαθοῖσιν* 1₁₀, *πολλοῖσι* 1₁₆, *βροτοῖσι* 1₂₁, *τέκνοισιν* 7₃₁, *ἐχθροῖσιν . . . φίλοισι* 7₃₆, *βαρुकτύποισι* 17₄₀, *ἀνθέμοισιν* 7₆₆, *ἄλλοισι* 7₆₈, *πορδακοῖσιν* 21.

Hipponax: *σησάμοισι* 36₂, *τούτοισι* 14₁, *κηρίοισιν* 36₃, *κακοῖσι* 43₁, *Λυδίοισιν ἐν χοροῖσι* 91, *τριοῖσι* 51, *Ταργηλοῖσιν* 37₃, *σπλάγχχνοισιν* 40, *ἀλλήλοισιν* 53, *γνάθοισι* 62 with the MSS. and Hiller (Bergk γνάθοισ).

Mimnermos: *ἴπποισίν τε* 12₃.

Herodas: *ἱροῖσιν* 49₄, *Ἀβδῆροισιν* 2₆₈, *τοῖσι προ[ῦ]νίκοισι* 36₅, *τοῖς σφύροισι* 56₂, *κακοῖσι* 710₄.

Anakreon: *ἀστοῖσι* 15₂, *ξένοισι* 84, *μηροῖσι* 164 (Bergk *μηροῖς*).

Solon: *ἀνθρώποισι* 2₃, 17, 38₄, *δεσμοῖσι τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες* 4₂₅, *ἀμφοτέροισιν* 5₅, *ἐχθροῖσι* 13₅, *νοῦστοισιν* 13₆₁, *ἀνέμοισι, ἀργαλέοισιν* 13₄₅, *τοῖσι* 13₆, 48, 37₃, *θνητοῖσι* 13₆₃, 24₇, *Σολίοισι* 19₁, *φίλοισιν* 21₁, *ἐρατοῖσιν* 25₁, *θεοῖσιν* 35, *ἐναντίοισιν* 37₂, *φακοῖσι* 38₂.

Theognis: very often.

2. *-οις*.

To forms followed by a consonant I have appended the next word. Forms at end of verse are indicated by a |. The usual place of occurrence is in the middle and end of the pentameter, rarely the end of the hexameter.

Archilochos: *ἀνθρώποις* 62, *δεινοῖς* 65, *θνητοῖς μελέτη* 15 (some MSS. *βροτοῖς*). *-οις* is here in an hexameter, which is a cause for suspicion. Fick thinks that if *πάντα βροτοῖσι πόνος* is not correct the verse is not Archilocheian. *θνητοῖς* 70₂, *όκοῖοις* 70₃ tetr., *μηροῖς* 72₂ tetr. (the verse is incomplete), *τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει* 56 tetr. (Ahrens *τοῖσι θεοῖσι τίθετε*, Renner's *τοῖσι θεοῖς* is objectionable), *κακοῖς* | 65 (*κακῶς* Fick).

Simonides of Amorgos: *κακοῖς* 1₂₁, *μύροις* 76₄, *δασκίοις* 14, *ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν* 7₂₂, *δόμοις ἰδῶν* 7₂₃ (no F), *ἀπλύτοις τ'* 7₅ (MSS. *-τος*, Meineke *ἀπλύτοις' ἐν*), *ἀνθρώποις γέλως* 7₇₄, where Arsen. *πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσι, τοιούτοις θυμόν* 7₇₀ (Ahrens *τοιούτον θυμόν* with Ailian; Fick ejects the verse).

Hipponax: *φαρμάκοις* | tr. 8, in *AB* (*φάρμακοι*, conjectured by

Bergk, is adopted by Fick), ἐν γνάθοις κεκινέεται 62₂ (MSS. τοῖσι γνάθοισι, see Bergk *ad loc.*), σκιράφοις 86.

Ananios: ἐν δόμοις πολλόν 3₁ trim. (ten Brink and Ahrens ἐν δόμῳ συχρόν, cf. Hippokr. II 22, 36; Suidas has χμυσὸς συχρὸς ἤγουν πολύς).

Herodas: τοῖς τε 3₂₀, τοῖς καμοῦσιν 5₈₄, τοῖς σφύροισι 5₆₂, δικτύοις κείνται 3₂₀, καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε 4₈₃, δέννοις εἰ (?) 7₁₀₄, ἀωνύμοις ταύταις 6₁₄, ἀνθρώποισι | 1₄₆, 5₁₅, Βρικινδήροισι | 2₅₇, ξείνοισι | 2₉₄.

Anakreon: Θαλυσίοισι | 1₃, καλοῖς | 6₃₁₀, ἴμοισι | 6₃₁₁, κεχρημένοισι 8₄₂, ξείνοισι, ἕασον 5₇, πολυανθίμοισι 6₅₃, ξέροισι μελιχχοῖς εὐκότες 8₄.

Mimnermos: τοῖς ἕκελοι 2₃ (ἕκελος has no *F* in the Ionic lyric), λυγροῖς | 7₁, referred to Theognis (cf. 795) by Fick.

Xenophanes: εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαρῶσι λόγοις | 1₁₄, a noteworthy line because of the freer use of *-οις* in the second foot of the pentameter before a consonant (cf. Tyrnt. 4₆), πρὸς τοῖς | 7₃.

Tyrntaios: μικροῖς κουριδίῃ 10₆, ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ 10₂₆, μεγάλοισι βάλλετε χερμαδίοισι | 11₃₆.

Theognis: θεοῖς σπένδεις 490 (Evenos of Paros?). Fick suggests (*B. B.* XIII 173) θεῶ from an incorrect reading of ΘΕΟΙΣΠΕΝΔΕΙΣ, since *o* denoted *ω* in the old Parian alphabet. *-οις* before a consonant in hexameters, a divergence from the usual earlier use, occurs in 145, 545, 653, 897, 1027.

The old epic poet Asios of Samos has μεγάροισι τέκεν 2, καλοῖς | 1₃₂, and δεσμοῖς | 1₃₄. The Halikarnassian Panyassis has ἐσθλοῖς δέ 13₁₄; θοοῖς διὰ 15.

Solon: before a vowel—τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι 4₃₄, ἀδίκοισι ἔργμασι 4₁₁, 13₁₂ (Solon has no *F* here), τοῖς 5₄, 13₅₈, θνητοῖς 13₁₆, 7₁, φίλοισι, ἐχθροῖσι 13₃, αἰτοῖς 15₂, ὀφθαλμοῖς 34₂ tetr.

Before a consonant—ἐν συνόδοις, τῆς ἀδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα 4₂₂, where the MSS. have for the second part of the pentameter τοῖς ἀδικούσι φίλοισι (Fick ἦσ'), τοῖσι νωπτεροῖς, δρᾶσαι 37₃ trim. according to Bergk (the numerous conjectures all have *-οις*), μεγάλοισι πᾶσιν 7 (referred by Fick to Theognis, cf. 799 fl.), μὴ τι θεοῖς ποῖτοισι 11₂ (τι om. Sätzler, Fick, who read θεοῖσι). At the verse end is found ἀστοῖς 10₁.

We have seen above § 451 that the forms in *-οις*, though rare, are not to be rejected. The same holds good in the case of *-οις*.

In the later elegy *-οις* is very common. In Evenos, Kritias, Dionys. Chalkos, Plato, it usually occurs in the same place in the verse as in the earlier elegists. Plato 12₃ is, however, an exception (fifth part of the hexameter).

475.] Dative Plural (Prose).

-οισι is found in Hekat. *e.g.* 135, 172, 173 (τοῖσι), Pherok.

Leros *λίθοισιν* (44); Herakleitos 114 has *τοῖς* and 11 Δελφοῖς before a vowel in each case.

Demokritos as handed down in Stobaios has *-οισι* in *e.g.* 10, 11, 13, 27, 168 (*οῖσιν*), 184 (*τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοισι* in Stob.), 193, 197, 202, 205, 213 (*τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν*), 215₄ (but *τοῖς* 215₁), 236 (*τοῖς πόνοισιν*); 102, 122, 138 (Demokrates). The article generally appears in the shorter form, but Stobaios has *τοῖσι* in 13, 47 (relative), 193 (*τοῖσιν ἀποήτοισιν*), 197, 158 (Demokrates).

In Charon of Lampsakos frag. 9 there are two cases of *-οις* before a vowel, one of *τοῖς* before a consonant. Protagoras has *τοῖσι πολλοῖσι*.

In Herodotos but few cases of *-οις* occur, and these are due to copyists' errors, *e.g.* *αὐτοῖς* in C I 86; the same form in Hekat. 175 (before a vowel in each case). *τοῖσδε* occurs III 36 in all MSS. In the same chapter *τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπρσι* where all the MSS. except *PC* have *τοῖσδε*, and *R* has *τοῖς* for *τοῖσι*. In VI 119 *ἀγγείοις τὸ* was formerly read, but is now dropped, being found only in *sz*.

In Hippokrates and Aretaios and in the imitators of Herodotos *-οισι* prevails though the MSS. vary constantly. *θ* has *τοῖσθ'* in Hippokr. VIII 50 (*v.l.* *τοῖσθδε, τοῖσιν δέ*)¹. Arrian's *Ind.* has four times as many cases of *-οις* as of *-οις*. The *Vita Homeri* has on the other hand forty-one cases of *-οις* to two of *-οισι*. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has *τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖσι* 3, but *τοῖσδεσι τοῖσιν εἰρημένοισι* 5. Of the *-οις* forms *τοῖς* is the one most common. On the relation of the inscriptional *τοῖς* to the *τοῖσι* of literature, see § 473, 2, and cf. Gomperz' *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, p. 189.

476.] Accusative Plural.

βαρβαροῦς Teos 156 B 26-27 is noticeable from the fact that it is the only early inscription which has *ΟΥ* to express the spurious diphthong.

In the lyric poets we find *οἰδαλέους* Arch. 94.

In Hdt. we find *ἀντιξόους* VII 150 (*-ους A B' Cd*, cf. *δορυξός* in Attic) and so VII 192; Demokr. 215 has *ὁμονόους*, Aretaios 279 has *εὐρόους*. *ὄστία* Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c.

The 'Attic Declension' in Ionic.

477.] Forms of the so-called Attic declension occur sporadically even in Doric, *e.g.* upon an inscription from Kos we find *τέλεως*,

¹ πρὸς τοῖσδεσιν in *θ* in VIII 358, 268, 372, 308.

τέλεων, τέλεω¹. In Ionic there is ample testimony to their presence.

Nouns formed from *λεώς* :

Nomin.: Ἀρκεσίλεως Styra 19₁₅, Hdt. IV 160², Ἀναξίλεως Miletos 93, Hdt. VI 23, Μενέλεως II 119 (*v. l.* -λεος II 116), Περίλεως IX 103, Στησίλεως VI 114, Χαρίλεως III 145, Thas. (L.) 4 B 6, Ἠγέλεως Keos 44 B 5, Κριτόλεως Smyrna 153₂₄, Ἀρτυσίλεως Thas. 78 C 8, Φανόλεως Thas. (L.) 4 B 7, Κρατιστόλεως 6 B 2, Λυσίλεως 7 A 9, Πυθόλεως 10 B 3³.

Genit.: Φανόλεω Thasos 75 A 4, Thasos (L.) 8 B 12, cf. 15 C 6, Πηξίλεω Thasos 75 A 7, Εὐρύλεω 78 C 4, Ἀναξίλεω Thasos 75 B 5, Ἀδίλεω Thasos (L.) 8₁₀, Ἀριστόλεω Maroneia, Head, *H. N.* 216, Θεμιστέλεω Paros 60₂ (epigr.). In Hdt. Ἀρκεσίλεω IV 160, 161, Ἀρχέλεω VII 204, Ἀναξίλεω VIII 131, Ἠγησίλεω VII 204, VIII 131, Ἰππόλεω IV 53, Νικόλεω VII 134, Πρωτεσίλεω IX 116, Χαρίλεω VIII 131. Ion 1 has Ἐρμησίλεω.

Dat.: Μενέλεω Hdt. II 118, in a passage cited by Greg. Kor. (p. 469) as having -λάω; V 94 (Aldus -λάω), VII 169 where Wesseling's reading has been adopted by Holder (-λεω *R e s*, -λαόν *A B*); λεῶ II 124 (*λαω R e s*, ἄλλωι *A B*).

Accus.: λεῶν Hekat. in An. Ox. I 265₁₀⁴, Zeleia 114 E 6, Hdt. I 22, VIII 136, II 129 (λεῶ *A B R*); in IV 148 all MSS. have λαόν, in V 42 λαόν *rz*, ληόν *reliqui*; Μενέλεων II 113, 118, Πρωτεσίλεων IX 116, Ἀρκεσίλεων IV 160. Νικόλαν VII 137 is not an Ionian. In the nom. pl. Hdt. V 68 has Ἀρχέλαοι.

The lyric poets are unacquainted with *λεώς*. Archil. 79 has Χαρίλαε, Ἰόλαος 119₃, and the Homeric, but non-Ionic, λαός⁵ occurs in the elegy Kallinos 1₁₈, Xenoph. 2₁₅, Tyrnt. 11₁₀₃, Theog. 53, 776, 781. See § 140, 4 and 160, where other instances of λαός, especially in proper names upon inscriptions, are cited. The progenitor of *λεώς* is ληός Hipponax 88 which however came into existence long before the sixth century.

Other forms in Hdt. of the 'Attic' declension are: Ἄθως VII 22, Μίνως I 171, πάτριω II 133, Νεκῶς II 158, Μανερῶς II 79, Ἰνάρως VII 7, Τέως I 142, Ἴι 178; (Gen.) Ἄθω VII 22 (cf. Chandler, *Arceol.* § 547¹, Μίνω I 171, Νεκῶ II 158, Ναθῶ II 165, ἄλω Hipponax. I 598; (Dat.) πάτριω VI 103, Τέω I 170; (Accus.) Ἄθων VI 44, Μίνων VII 171 (Lukian *Iskr.* 20 Μίνω), πάτριω

¹ Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, 33.

² Homeric Ἀρκέσιος (*sic*) is the clip-name of this word.

³ For Χίλεος Hdt. IX 9, Plutarch has Χείλεως. In many cases the MSS. of Hdt. have variants in -λεος; cf. Bredow, p. 169.

⁴ Σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸν ὄχλον σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑποπεταγμένον Ἐκαταῖος γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως λεῶν λέγει, καίτοι ἓνα ὄντα.

⁵ Cf. Eust. Od. β 242 εἰς τοῦ ληῶς ὁ λαός (!) οὐ μέμνηται Ἡρακλείδης - - - οὐπω δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ἐν χηρῶσι τὸ ληῶς ὁ λαός. An. Ox. I 265 τὸ λαὸς ἀτρεπτος ζευγε παρ' Ὀμήρου, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρᾳ Ἰδίᾳ τραπέν, ληόν Hipponax.

IV 76, IX 78, Νεκῶν II 152, Σαβακῶν II 137, 152, Τέων I 170, Τυφῶ III 5, but Τυφῶν II 156, Τυφῶνα II 144, Βούκερων II 41; (Accus. pl.) δῖμνεως V 77 (accented -έως in the MSS.).

Hdt. has Κέον VIII 76 (τῆς Σαλαμῖνης), but Κῶς I 144, Κῶ IX 76. On Μίνως, see § 524. ἦρων is found Hdt. I 167¹ (also in Sophron), but ἦρωα II 143, VI 69, μήτραα IV 80.

ἰέρεως. With ἰέρεως Miletos 100₄ (of the fourth century), cf. Hdt. II 37 ἀρχιέρεως *ABC corr.*, -ιερέως *Cpr.*, ἀρχιερέυς in *Rid z* and -ιρέυς in *P*, Stein reading ἀρχιερέυς. Inasmuch as we have a genitive ἰέρεω in inscriptions from Milesian colonies (ἰέρεω Olbia 128₂₀₀, 201, 202, and Tomoi 136₁) this ἰέρεως upon an inscription of the metropolis is to be regarded as a nominative in -εως (Bechtel, *Nachrichten Gött. Gesell. Wiss.* 1886, No. 11, p. 378), and not as a mistake for ἰερέυς as has been held. Herodian I 24, 7₂, Bekker An. 449₂₁, 1197 recognize an Attic nom. ἰέρεως. Cf. ἀρχιέρεων Plato *Laws* XII 947 A. On ἰέρεως for ἰερέυς as a special mark of the Milesian dialect, see § 11.

Dittenberger (*Syll.*, No. 376, note 4)² suggests that ἰέρεως was abstracted from ἀρχιέρεως which contains the stem -ιερη- enlarged by ο, -ιερηο becoming -ιερεω, as in the case of ἡμίκτηων < ἦρον, from ἐκτεύς, ὄρεακόμος < ὄρηφο- ἰρωσῶνη occurs in Hdt. III 142. Bechtel *l. l.* holds that ἰερέω is from *ἰερῆο (cf. Ἄρεω Archil. 48) the genitive of the nom. ἰερός found in Arkado-Kyprian. To this genitive a new nominative ἰερέως (thus accented) was eventually formed. The latter theory is correct only if the existence of an η declension, allied to that of ἦν, εὔ and ες stems, can be proved³. The preferable explanation therefore is that of Dittenberger.

πλέως is found in the MSS. of Archil. 58 (Bergk πλέος, see § 478), ἰλεως Hrd. 4₂₅, ἰλεω 4₁₁.

478.] Some words in Ionic not inflected according to the 'Attic' declension.

λαγός and κάλος appear to be the Herodoteian forms for λαγός, κάλος. The MSS. vary constantly as regards the former word. Hipponax 36 has λαγός (acc. pl.), Meineke -ούς, Anan. 55 λαγῶν (gen. pl.); Homeric ἰερός (acc. pl.)⁴.

πλέος, πλέη, πλέον are the Herodoteian forms, found also in Ktesias. Archil. 58 has πλέως changed by Bergk. In Anacr. 94

¹ Schol. V on Il. XIII 428 ἦρων τινὲς Ἄττικῶς - - -.

² Also *Philol. Anzeiger* XVI 73, *Index lect. Ital.* 1889/90, p. iv.

³ Doric Τιμοκρηῶν Telos in Cauer 169 C 3, Ἐρμοκρηῶν 169 C 5, 6 = Τιμοκρέων. &c. were formerly assumed to exemplify the reverse of a process by which *ἰερός became not only ἰερέως, but also ἰερός and ἰερέυς.

⁴ Cf. schol. on Nikand. *Alex.* 465: λαγωῦ - - - - καὶ Ἰππῶναξ μνημονεύει (frag. 123); also Anecd. Par. IV 245₂₈: τὸ δὲ λαγῶός (Homeric) Ἰωνικόν ἐστί. Cf. Trypho frag. 13 (Velsen), Eust. 182₁₂₅, Renner in Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 219, Fick, *B. B.* XI 268, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 109.

(eleg.) we find πλέφ. Once, in the *Odyssey* v 355, we meet with epic πλέον, in the same line with πλείη.

It has generally been assumed that the name of *Amphiaraus* was declined according to the Attic declension. In Hdt. there are however indications to the contrary. Ἀμφιάρεω Hekat. 340, Hdt. I 49, 92, III 91, but in VIII 134 R has -ρεος, Aldus -ραος: Ἀμφιάρεω I 52, Ἀμφιάρεων I 46 (but -ρεον Aldus, -ρηον Ac). In Oropos 18, we meet with Ἀμφιαράου¹ which is due to the influence of ἀράομαι. Wackernagel has shown (*K. Z.* XXVII 265) that the original form is *Ἀμφιάρηφος, from which arose Attic Ἀμφιάρεως and Ionic Ἀμφιάρεος. Cf. *Τυνδαρέου* λ 298, ω 199, *Πανδαρέου* τ 518, υ 66² from **Τυνδάρηφος*. Hdt. II 112 has *Τυνδάρεω* which is Attic like the forms of Ἀμφιάρεως above. Ἀρχηγάρεως quoted by Wackernagel from a Thasiote inscription (Thas. (L.) 4 B 2) is now read Ἀρχήναξ Τιμοπεί[θεος].

Stein adopts the forms ἀξιόχρεος IV 126, ἀξιοχρέου V III, ἀξιόχρεον I 156, where several MSS. have -χρεως, -χρεω, -χρεων: ἀξιόχρεα V 65 makes it probable that he is correct though the evidence for -χρεως is strong. Hippokrates has ἀξιόχρεοι. Cf. Bredow, p. 137, Renner, p. 219. If ἀξιόχρεος is Herodoteian, ἴλεος may be so too, cf. § 139.

Adjectives derived from γῆ have -γαιος, not -γεως, e. g. ὑπόγαιος, κατάγαιος, μεσόγαιος, βαθύγαιος in Hdt., μεσόγαιος Arrian 22. ξανθόγεως in Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 is not an Ionic formation. See Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 236. Compounds of ναός: αείναος Hdt. I 145, not αείνωσ, αείναον I 93. Hdt. has νηός³ I 183, VI 19. ναόν in Ionic inscriptions, Priene 142 (334 B.C.), and Phanagoreia 165 (latter half of fourth century). After 250 B.C. we find in Attic inscriptions ναός: before that date in prose monuments νεός. In *ρεωποιός* Eph. 147¹⁵, Halik. 240⁶, *ρεωποιήσαρες* Samos 222, *νεωκόρον* Orop. 18⁴¹ we have the latter form. ναῶι occurs in the Delian register, *B. C. II.* VI 29 (1), dating from the second century: ναῶν VI 53 (236), but *νεωκορίωι* VI 53 (235-6).

479.] Other forms, chiefly of the O Declension.

δένδρον in Hdt. I 193, III 107, δένδρεον⁴ IV 22, 23, but δένδρος accus. VI 79, δένδρεσι II 138, δένδρεα I 17, 193, Hekat. 173, δενδρέων I 202, II 32. In Hippokr. VII 516, 518, 526, 528 we meet with forms of the O declension, but δένδρει 526, δένδρεσι 528. In the pseudo-Hippocratic ep. 135 δένδρα (δένδρεα sec. man.). Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 δενδρέων, Arrian 7, II (-εῦ), 22,

¹ Cf. Ἀμφιάρεος upon Attic vases *K. Z.* XXIX 416; cf. C. I. A. II 162 C 21; 471, 27, 70.

² Βριάρεων A 403 is changed by Wackernagel to -εον. Especially noteworthy is Βριάρη in Ibykos 45.

³ νηόν Tzetzes *Ex. II.* 971a.

⁴ Cf. Greg. Kor. p. 61, Eust. on Γ 152.

27, 32 δένδρεα and δειδρέων. In an inscription from Keos we have δένδρα ἡμερα, whereas Hdt. IV 21 has ἡμέρων δειδρέων, cf. VIII 115. The stem δειδρυ- (Attic δένδρει, δένδρεσι) has in New Ionic succumbed to the influence of the sigmatic stem, which in Attic generated δένδρη (δέδρα).

δάκρυον Hdt. II 96; δάκρυ sometimes in Homer.

φυλακός¹ Ω 566 and so almost always in Hdt. φυλακόν in a metrical inscription 1415, which however for other reasons is not evidence for the dialect. On the forms from φύλαξ, see § 549.

υἱός in Hdt. has υἱοῦ, &c., except υἱέας IV 84. The inscriptions know no other inflection than that in ο. Simonides of Keos (249) is said to have used a nom. υἱς; but cf. Hdn. on E 266.

πολλός and πολύς. Hdt. adopts the former form with scarcely an exception (πολέν II 121 δ, III 57, πολύ VI 72, and adverbial πολύ III 38, VII 46, 160). πουλύς πουλύ have no support worth mentioning in the MSS. of Hdt. In compounds Hdt. has πολυ-. Herakleitos and Demokritos have πολλός: πολύ in Herakleitos 91 is a conjecture. In the poets πολλός is well attested. Lukian² and Arrian follow well in the wake of Herodotos, except in five passages where πολύ has forced its way in: *Syr.* 3, *Ind.* 4, 8, 29, 40. The *Vita Homeri* has πολλόν 5, 16, 17, πολύ 5, 21, 33, 34. The medical writers pursue an eclectic course: Aretaios has πολλόν 17 times in books I and II, πολύ 11 times, πολύς once, πουλύ 2, πουλύς 12, πουλύν 2 in the later books. In Hippokrates the proportions are somewhat different³, and lead one to the conclusion that an original πολλός had been buried by successive deposits of epic and Attic forms. On the form πουλύς, see § 254.

Consonantal Declension.

480.] In the dative plural Ionic never has -οις, or -εσσι from non-sigmatic stems. Hence δαιτυμόεσσι Hdt. VI 57 (in A B) cannot be correct. Stein reads -εσι. Such forms in -εσσι in Homer are Aiolic. τοῖσδεσσι in the Hippocratic phrase πρὸς τοῖσδεσσι: § 475.

The hyper-Ionic genitive pl. in -εωι contains an ε which may be explained in part as due to the influence of such forms as

¹ Aiolic, Greg. Kor. § 17; Ionic, schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132; generally accented φυλακος, above § 123.

² Cf. Lindemann, *De dial. Ion. recentiore*, p. 12.

³ Sometimes when the vulgate has ου, better MSS. have the form with ο. So in VI 358 θ has πολύς. Littré even reads πουλλοῖσι II 620, where many MSS. have πολλ.; cf. II 692.

θεμιστεύων Hdsd. *Theog.* 235, γεροντεύων Hdn. II 229, and partly to the belief in the predilection of Ionic for an open εω.

Examples of this parasitic -εων are: ἀλωπεκέων Hdt. III 102 (A B C), II 67 (C) from ἀλώπηξ Archil. 86, ἀλώπεκος Sim. Am. 77, Solon 115. Ananios has ἀλωπήκων in fr. 55, according to Hermann, the MSS. having ἀλωπέκων which is in violation of the metre (tetram. seazon). Frag. 5 has other strange forms (*e.g.* ἐσθίειν). ἀλωπήκεσσι occurs in Oppian. The edition of Aldus preferred χηρέων II 45, where it is certainly not adjectival. ἀνδρέων VII 187 is without any MS. authority. On μυριαέων VII 187 (C d), χιλιαδέων VII 103 (C d), see § 74, 2. Hippokrates has ἀνδρέων, μηρέων, ῥινέων, φλεβέων, χειρέων, Luk. *Iskr.* 5 μηρέων.

Hippokr. has τὸ πάθος and ἡ πάθη, τὸ πλάδος, φρίξ (also Hom.) and φρίκη.

Stems in Iota.

481.] Terminations:

ις	ιες (ις)
ιος, εος, εως	ιων
ι, ει	ισι
ιω	ις, ιας
ι	ιες.

Testimony of the grammarians. 1. *Genitive -ιος*: Joh. Gr. 240, Hdn. II 614_{2c} (Choir. 455₉), Gramm. Meerm. § 10, An. Ox. I 358₁₅, 361₂₁, schol. Ven. A on Γ 219, cf. on Ψ 500, the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 214, An. Par. III 216₁₁, II 295₃₀ (τὰ εἰς ις ὀξύτονα οὐ γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ δ . . . κνημῖος, ἀσπίος ὡς Πάριος, Θέτιος). On Θέτιος¹ and Πάριος, cf. also Theod. 91₆, schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500, Hdn. II 614_{2c} (Choir. 455₈), II 700₃ (Choir. 189₁), II 760₁₅, 17, &c. Choir. 353₁, II 249₁ (Choir. 410₂₁, Et. M. 460₂, Et. Gud. 260₁). But Θέμιδος is Ionic, Hdn. II 700₁₇ (Choir. 189₂₂). See also on -ιος, Hdn. II 406₇ = 702₁₂, 544₂₂, 577₁₃, 885₂₅, Et. Gud. 474₁₈.

-εος: Greg. Kor. § 21 ὕφεος, μάντεος, and πόλεος, which form is quoted from Euripides' *Orestes*: τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ὕφιος, πόλιος κοινόν, τὸ δὲ ὕφεως καὶ πόλεως . . . Ἀττικόν. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῶ κοινῶ χρῶνται (Ἰωνες), καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα, ὡς Ὅμηρος (ἐξ ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλιος). Cf. Hdn. II 767₇, 18 (Choir. 373₁₇), but in II 701₁₈ (Choir. 194_{1c}) -εος is restricted to Attic from which the Euripideian πόλεος, ὕφεος are cited, and in II 432₃₀ ὕφιος is stated to be Κοινή, ὕφεος Attic. It is peculiar, and perhaps not in accordance with the general procedure of Herodian, that a form should be stated to have undergone a dialectal πάθος and at the same time be regarded as Κοινή. ὕφεος is called Ionic by a scholiast on Hesiod, *W. D.* 414 = 412 (Gaisf. p. 266), πόλεος by Diakonon on the *Aspis* 285.

-εως Gram. Vatic. p. 696.

-ηος An. Ox. I 361₂₅.

2. *Dative -ι*: Θεῖτι schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500.

-εῖ schol. Ven. A on Γ 219.

¹ Θέτιδος Erythr. 206 B 27.

3. *Nom. Pl.*: ὄφῖς Greg. Kor. p. 475, πόλις, φύσις Apoll. *Pron.* 94₁₂ (Schm.), cf. Hdn. II 578_{2,3} where πόλις, ὄφῖς and Σάρδεις are not referred to Ionic. A grammatical treatise cited Greg. Kor. *l. l.* has ὄφῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφες. These forms are like the Aiolic, Boiotian and Herakl. τρῖς, Alkman's ὄρνῖς, and Attic ἀρκῦς, merely accusatives that have usurped the place of the nominative.

4. *Accus. Pl. -ῖς*: Choir. 86₁₀, μάντις, ὄφῖς.

482.] Interrelation of stems in ῖ and in ῑ.

This declension comprises the two types (1) -ῖς, -ῖ-ος, and (2) rarely in Ionic, πόλις, φύσις, πόλειος, φύσειος = -εος. All the dialects, except Attic, adopted the forms of the first type which carry ῖ through all cases, *i. e.* both those in which the termination begins with a vowel (πόλι-ος, πολλῶν), and in those where ῖ would properly appear, *e. g.* locative plural. The latter forms have ῖ due to the influence of the second type. See § 484. Brugmann thinks that the inflection πόλις, πόλειος was an inheritance of Greek from primitive times. Since πόλειος did not suffer contraction, its open ending, though apparently the direct descendant of πόλει-ος, has been referred to the influence of -εῖ-ος. See Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 302.

The locative in -ῖ is either the result of the contraction of ῖ + ῖ or πόλιῖ contains an I.E. -ῖ. The -ῖ form is from -ῖῖ + ῖ or from ῖ + ῖ. In either case -ῖῖ or ῖ was the stem ending of the locative.

Nom. pl. -εις is the form of an ῖ stem, -εις that of an ῖ stem. The *nom. pl.* in -ῖς is the accus. used as a *nom.* Cf. Attic οἱ ἰχθῦς, αἱ κάχρυσ, ἐρχέλυς.

Gen. Pl. -ων from ῖ-ων, derived from an -ῖ stem.

Dat. Pl. -εσι (Homeric, Attic, Arkadian) owes its existence to the ε of the *pl. -εις, -εων*, which gave the impulse to abandon the form with ῖ (-ῖσι). The ε of -εων came from that of the strong case forms.

The ancients (cf. § 481) did not commit the error, still appearing in some modern books, of supposing that -ῖς is from -ῖας. πόλις is from πολλι-ας, the accus. of an -ῖ stem; πόλις is from πολλι-ν-ς, cf. Homeric ὄφῖς.

483.] Sub-dialectal division.

1. In the inscriptions there is noticeable a difference between the genitive in the Ionic of Euboea and that of the Kyklades and Asia Minor. In Euboea we find the genitive in -ιδος in the case of proper names whose second part consists of an -ι stem: Δημοχάριδος Kyme 3¹.

In Attic inscriptions we find -ιδος (and -ιδι) in masculine proper names, *e. g.* Ἀδώνιδος C. I. A. I 324 C, II 36 (408 B. C.), Εὐπόλιδος C. I. A. II 413₂₄ (200-197 B. C.), Εὐχάριδος C. I. A. II 809 C 191 (325 B. C.), Καλλιθέμιδος C. I. A. II 470, 93, II (69-62 B. C.)².

The occurrences of -ιδος upon inscriptions of the Kyklades (Delos, No. 55: Ἀναξιθέμιδος VII 8, Τιμοθέμιδος³ V 10; also

¹ This form is found C. I. G. 2911_{10, 11} in a Magnesian inscription.

² But cf. Σάπιος in Ditt. *Syll.* 423₃ (320 B. C.), and Κετριπόριος C. I. A. II add. 66 B 22 (356 B. C.). The latter form reappears in Thasos 86.

³ Θέμιδος Ionic, Θέμιτος Doric, accord. to Hdn. II 700₁₇.

in the hypocoristic names Ἀλέξιῶος IV 10, Φίλλιῶος V 8, Θέριῶος VII 12, and in No. 56₇₀ Ἀραξιθέμιδος), and of the Asiatic mainland (Erythrai Φανοθέμιδος 206 A 28, B₇, Φανοπόλιος 206 C 19) savour of Atticism, the inscriptions in question dating from the second and third centuries before Christ. In Samos 220₃₉, we find a feminine Εὐαγγελίδος.

Otherwise -ιος is the invariable termination in the Ionic of the Kyklades and of Asia Minor. ἐπίς and ὄρις are dental stems as in Attic.

1. *The Kyklades.*

Thasos λύσιος 72₁₂, Φανοπόλιος 75 B 9 and Th. (L.) 6 C 12, and seventeen other instances of -ιος in Bechtel's collection of Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre, Νύμφιος Thasos 78 C 7, Σχησιπόλιος 82 A 4, Πηγησιπόλιος 76 (and Perinthos 233), even Ἀραξιθέμιος Delos 55, IV 11, and also in the hypocoristic names Μέμιος 55 VIII 10, Κρίτιος 56_{112, 154, 180}, Φίλλιος 56_{10, 53, 67, 133}, Ἀλέξιος 56₂₆ (and Akanthos 90), Μήσιος 56_{141, 154} (also Olbia 131₁₆).

2. *Asia Minor and islands colonized from the Asiatic mainland.*

Πρωτοχάριος Samos 210, Ἀραξιπόλιος(s) Abdera 163₁₇, Ἀπολλοθέμιος Kyzik. 110, Εὐξιθέμιος Maroneia 196₁, Φιλοθέμιος Amorg. 231₃, Ἴγεπόλι[ο]s Chios 174 C 14, Εὐπόλιος Maron. 196₃ (cf. Head *H. N.* 216), Κλεοπόλιος 196₁₂¹, Φεΐδιος Amorg. 231, Π[ό]ριος(?) Samos 214, Κλείσιος Miletos 98, Βρνάξιος Iasos 104₁₇, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, παηγύριος Mylasa 248 C 5, even in πράξιος (with *ā*) Myl. 248 C 10, and in many other names. Even Karian names receive Ionic inflection: Ὀατάτιος Halik. 238₁₁, Λε[γ]νάμιος 238₁₁, cf. Hdt. VII 99, Παννάτιος 238₁₆². In Latysehev, vol. II, we find Σώσιος 377, Καυκάσιος 9 (metr.), Δέριος 23, Κόλλιος 246, 68 (cf. 379) not Κόλακος as Bechtel reads in his No. 121, Ανάσιος 97, Σντέσιος 135 (Roman), Ἀλδιος 206, Κινώλιος 226, Γόρδιος p. 312.

484.] Genitive Singular in -ιος.

Upon the inscriptions we find -ιος except in the few cases mentioned in § 483. Upon the ancient Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746) we find Ὀσεράπιος, Δαμάσιος.

In the Lyric poets.

Archil. Σίριος tr. 214, Mimn. βάξιος 16₁, ὕβριος 94, Solon ὕβριος 48, 131₁, Theognis ὕβριος 40, 1174, πίστιος 1244 (*ἄπιστεως*), πόσιος 115, 479, 837, 844 (cf. the name Πόσιος (gen.), Olbia 128₁₅₅, 131₅, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. IV 472, No. 36, V 486,

¹ There is but one exception in -πόλιδος: Φανοπόλιδος Eryth. 206 C 19, an Atticized document; cf. Φανοπόλιος Thasos 75 B 9.

² Κουλδίδος Halik. 240₅₃, Ἰμβράσιδος 240₅₇, cf. 58, Κουγρίσιδι 240₉, Σαλμακίδι 240_{11, 24}, are *δ*-stems.

No. 46, &c., Phanagor. 165, 168), *στάσιος* 1082, &c., *φύσιος* Eurip. frag. 902 Dind. (cf. *φύσιος* Kritias 6), *ᾠσιος* by conj. Anan. 58. This word never shows a stem *ᾠει-* in any dialect. Perhaps also in *λιός* from *λις* = *λέων*, Hipponax 124. The possession of this word by Ionic is interesting as it was in the inflection of *λις*, *κίς*, *λιός*, *κίρις*, that Ionic (as other dialects except Attic) found the model for *πόλις πόλιος*. See Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 109, note 1 and above § 482. Herodas has *Μιρόριος* 168, *πόλιος* 28, 29, 31.

Prose.

In Herodotos *-ιος* is to be everywhere adopted though the MSS. have sometimes (1) *-εος*, e.g. *πόλεος* III 54 in R and often in the Aldine edition (z), and (2) *-εως*, e.g. *προκλήσεως* V 1 in Pd (here z has *-εος*). Hdt. prefers *-ιος* in *Θέμιος*, *Τομύριος*, *Ἰστίριος*. In other Ionic prosaists: Hekat. 202 *δύσιος*, Anaxag. 6 *περιχωρήσιος*, Diogen. *νοήσιος* 4, 6, *ἐτεριώσιος* 6 (all attested by Simplicius), Demokr. *Mor.* *φύσιος*, *καταστάσιος* 184, *τέρψιος* 20, *κτήσιος* 41, *ξυρέσιος* 58, *πρήξιος* 89, Pherek. Leros *ᾠφιος* 44. Among the pseudo-Ionists the *-ιος* form is more frequent, though the MSS. vary constantly. In the *Dea Syria* *-ιος* is universal, in Arrian 184 we meet with *Ἀμφιπόλεως*. The *Vita Hieron* has eight cases of *-ιος* to two of *-εως*. *καππύριος*, but *πεπέρεος*, or *-εως* Hippokr. VII 150, *σεσέλιος* VIII 448, VI 448 (v. l. *-εως*), cf. Hdn. II 646₃₃, 7677. Hippokrates usually has *-ιος* in Greek words. In VIII 372 *θ* has *κοιμείως*, other MSS. *-εως*, *-εος*, *-ιος*; cf. § 546.

Thukydes often uses an Ionic genitive in proper names, e.g. *Ἀφύτιος* I 64, *Γοάξιος* IV 107, *Κρίσιος* V 51: *Ανγιάμιος*, *Ἄθ. πολ.* 15, 2, *Ἴριος* Xen. *Anab.* VI 2, 1, *Ἀναχάρσιος* Plato *Rep.* 600 A. In inscriptions *-ιος* appears occasionally as in *Ἀγτιστάσιος* C. I. A. I 489. Also in nouns not proper names: *μήμιος* *Rep.* 390 E, *τέρσιος* *Anab.* VII 8, 12, *τίγγριος* Arist. *H. A.* 607 A 4, Theophr. *H. Pl.* V 4, 7. In *Agam.* 942 *δήριος*.

485.]

πρωτάνεως upon an inscription (No. 144) from the territory of the Panionion, from about 350 B. C., is shown to be Attic not Ionic from the occurrence of *Πρωτάσιος* Olbia 1313, *Mélanges Grec. Rom.* II 22, No. 30, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21 and Smyrna 1537; cf. also *πρω]τανίων* Halik. 242. Upon a Chian inscription *B. P. W.* 1889, No. 38, p. 1194 *πρω]ταν]εος*.

The genitive singular in *-ιος* was only displaced after stubborn resistance. It is retained oftentimes when *-εω* and *-κλεῦς* have given way, e.g. Smyrna 1535 *Μοίριος*, but *Διοσκουρίδου* 33, *Μενεκλέους* 18.

486.] Inflection of *πόλις* (genitive).

1. *πόλιος* Paros 63, and other forms § 483-4, also Dittenb. *Syll.* 190; an inscription engraved by a North-Greek. This form

occurs in the MSS. Hipponax tr. 47 where Bergk reads *πόλῆος*, and in literary prose. *πόλιος* in Hdt., who has *ἐξαπόλιος* I 144.

2. *πόλῆος*, Ionic An. Ox. I 361²⁵, is Homeric and occurs in Theog. 757. In Hippon. 47 it is a conjecture. See below on *πόλεος*.

3. *πόλεως* (ΠΟΛΕΩΞ) is surely Ionic on the evidence of Chios 174 A 13, B 12, an inscription of the fifth century, free from all trace of Attic ingressions. All other forms upon inscriptions fall in a period when Attic influence will account for their presence:—Mylasa 248 A 7 (367–66 B.C.), Erythrai 202₆ (about 356 B.C.), Zeleia 114 A B D E (after 334 B.C.), Samos 221₂₂ (after 322 B.C.), Thasos 72₄ (250–200 B.C.), Teos 158₂₂ (almost entirely Attic), Iasos 105₁₃ (late), Olbia 129₁₃ (period of the empire). In a fragment of Xenophanes in trimeters (p. 116 B⁴) this form occurs in the MSS., and was so read by Hartung and Meineke, whereas Bergk adopts *πόλεος*. Xenophanes has *πόλεως* in his elegies 2₀, 22 (Schneid. -ιος). This form is now ejected from Homer *Λ* 168.

In Theognis 1043 *A* has *πόλεως*, which Renner (p. 223) thinks ought to give place to *πόλεος*. But *A* has -εως elsewhere where -εος is not to be restored, e.g. *πίστεως* for *πίστιος*. Bergk reads *πόλεως*. *πόλεως* in Hekat. 352, a fragment of Attic texture.

The appearance of *πόλεως* in Xenophanes sets aside the claim that the form belongs to the dialect of Chios-Erythrai (§ 12)¹. The ancestor of *πόλεως* is the Homeric *πόλῆος*², which was formed by analogy to *πόλῆ-ι*, a form containing the original locative **πόλῆ* + the locative sign *ι*. *πόλεως* has not borrowed its ending from *νομέως*, nor its accent from *φύσεος*, as has been supposed.

4. *πόλει(ω)s* Zeleia 113₁₉ and in the non-Ionic metrical inscription from Priene, No. 141 (Kaibel *πόλει ὦς*). The inscription No. 113 dates from a period which corresponds to that in which *ε* becomes *ει* before a vowel (§ 220) in Attic (350–300 B.C.). Le Bas regards both *πόλε(ι)ως* and *θε(ι)όν* in 141 as genuine Ionisms. But see Dittenberger, *Hermes* XVII 40, 41.

5. *πόλεος* Oropos 18₄₁ (about 400 B.C.). Whether ΠΟΛΕΟΞ in an inscription from Arkesine (Rob. I 160 C, Bechtel 32) dating somewhere about 500 B.C., is to be transcribed *πόλεος* or *πόλῆος* is not certain. Since *πόλεως* occurs in Chios in the fifth century, and since *πόλῆος* in Hipponax is nothing more than a conjecture, the latter form would seem to have but scant foothold. In *πόλῆας* in Abdera 162₂, even if the *Η* represents *η* and not *ε*, it must be scanned short. On the other hand the

¹ Karsten, p. 12.

² Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Schmidt, *ibid.* 297, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 154.

Attic form $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta$, held by Meisterhans, p. 108, to be genuine and not an orthographical variation of $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, shows that the η forms did not entirely die out. If the form $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta$ Iasos 104₃ is genuine Ionic, it is difficult to gainsay the existence of a post-Homeric Ionic $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\sigma$. The dialect has however in its later period a greater fondness for η than for $\eta\sigma$. Upon late inscriptions $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\sigma$ stands for $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$, as $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma$ for $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma$ ¹.

$\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\sigma$ is found in Theognis 56 (A); $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ 776, and 1043 (MSS. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$). These two verses have been branded as spurious by some. According to Renner (pp. 221, 223), $-\epsilon\sigma$ is not found in the lyric poets except when we read $-\epsilon\omega\sigma$ as in Homer. Thus B 811, Φ 567 $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ is preferable to $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ ². $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ in Anakr. 72 is Bergk's conjecture for $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ (Schneidewin $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$); cf. *Syllaba* 181 (ch.) where a similar correction is necessary. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ occurs in *Agam.* 1167 (lyr.), *Antig.* 162, *Orestes* 897.

Dative Singular.

Three forms occur (1) $-\bar{\iota}$, (2) $-\epsilon\iota$ and (3) $-\eta\iota$.

487.] Dative in $-\bar{\iota}$.

The only example of an inscriptional form is $\chi\bar{\iota}\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$ Keos 43₃₁ (latter part of the fifth century).

Anakreon 14₃ has $\nu\eta\eta\mu\iota$ from $\nu\epsilon\eta\eta\mu\iota\sigma$, Aristoph. has $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ *Ilysiatr.* 642 (lyr.). In Herodotos Stein has adopted as the uniform ending $-\iota$, even where the MSS. have $-\epsilon\iota$ exclusively or in great part; e.g. $\delta\upsilon\eta\eta\mu\iota$ I 192 and IV 155 (cf. $\delta\upsilon\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\iota$ Teos 156 B 31), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\sigma\iota$ II 143, $\pi\omega\iota\eta\sigma\iota$ II 82, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\omega\iota\eta\sigma\iota$ III 109, $\sigma\upsilon\eta\eta\kappa\eta\sigma\iota$ I 196, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ II 173, $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ VII 191, cf. $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ Eryth. 206 B 27, and Θ 370. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma$ has $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota$ VIII 61.

Hippokrates has, according to Renner, some thirty passages with $-\bar{\iota}$. Littré reads $-\epsilon\iota$, e.g. in $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ II 56, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ II 268, $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ II 60 ($\Phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ Hdt. II 103). Renner quotes Ermerins' $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\phi\eta\sigma\iota$ I p. 293 = II 246 L, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota$ Erm. p. 109, No. 568 = V 710, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ Erm. p. 111, No. 578 = V 714. Littré gives no variants $-\iota$ here.

Demokritos has $\sigma\upsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ 135 which enables us to correct Stobaios' $\phi\rho\upsilon\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ 14 and $\kappa\tau\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$ 185, where Mullach has the strange form $\kappa\tau\eta\eta\sigma\iota$. In many cases $-\epsilon\iota$ is found in the MSS. of authors quoting early Ionic writers, e.g. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ Hekat. 202 (Strabo),

¹ $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ Latyshev I 41, 58, 61, 82, 89 (Olbia), cf. Attic $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma$ C. I. A. III 553, 2 (first century B. C.). $-\epsilon\omega\sigma$, which appears in a few other late inscriptions in Latyshev II (53₁₈, 20, 78, 223, 402_{ca}), was called Ionic by the grammarians because of its (possible) appearance in Homer. That it is Attic and *Koiné* is certain. Early occurrences are probably derived from $-\bar{\iota}\sigma$, $-\epsilon\omega\sigma$ § 482).

² Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 301.

Hellan. 150 (Athen.), ποιήσει Ion 1. Simplicius has φύσει in citing Diog. Apoll. 2, where Mullach reads φύσει. misled by an erroneous pre-conception of the nature of the dialect.

Xenophon, *Anab.* VII 3, 32 has μαγάδι, cf. *Anakr.* 18 μάγαδι in MSS. (Bergk -δην).

488.] Dative in -ει.

δενάμει in Teos 156 B 31, an inscription of the fifth century and free from Atticism. Other inscriptions with -ει may owe this form to Attic influence: πόλει Halik. 240_{33, 37} (early part of the fourth century, but fifth century according to Dittenberger¹), Eretria 157 (410-390 B. C., perhaps πόληι), Thasos 72₃₄ (300-250 B. C.), Teos 158₁₇ (cf. *παρευρέσει* 158₈) an inscription full of Atticisms, Zeleia 113₁₅ (after 334 B. C.); Σαρέργει Phanag. 167, βάσει Olbia 129₁₂ (period of the empire), and πόλει in an epigram Amorgos 34.

The dat. in -ει has been regarded by Erman and Karsten as a mint-mark of the dialect of Teos, § 12.

In the lyric poets we find -ει. Sim. Amorg. 786 πόσει², Tyr. 48, 10 πόλει, Xen. 220 πόλει, Phokyl. 12 πόλει, Theog. 52, 287 πόλει, προφάσει 323, πίστει 831, Solon 47, 32 πόλει. βακκάρι is edited in Sim. Amorg. 16, and Hipponax tr. 41, though the MSS. in both passages have also βακκάρει.

The imitators of Herodotos who generally prefer -ιος, nevertheless adopt -ει with scarcely a variation, *c. g.* Lukian, *d. S.* 60, Arrian 18₁₀. Dindorf overshoots the mark with his πόλι (cf. *d. S.* 1, 10, 13, 21, 22, &c.). Philip of Pergamum has the Attic παρατηρήσει *B. C. H.* II 273.

To what extent the termination -ει deserves a place in Ionic prose cannot be determined. That such a form was possible is evident from the Teian *δενάμει*. All we can say is that the MSS. speak in favour of the adoption of the -ι form.

489.] Dative in -ηϊ, -ηι.

πόληι Iasos 104₃ before 350 B. C. may be Attic, cf. *C. I. A.* II 25₁₀ and II 42₇ (both before 376 B. C.), and even before 410 B. C. in *C. I. A.* IV 51, F 24. π]όλει in Eretria 157 (410-390 B. C.) may stand for πόληι. Since the preceding TEI is τεϊ, πόλει is however the preferable transcription³.

Trisyllabic πόληϊ occurs in Tyr. 12₁₅. So by imitation of the epic (Γ 50) form, upon a metrical inscription from Epidauros Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1885, 65/6, line 71.

¹ Cf. *Zeitsch. f. Gymn.-wesen* XXVIII 114, note 3.

² This form, as all others in -ει, is regarded as doubtful by Renner on the specious ground that the language of the iambographic poets should correspond to that of the Ionic prose writers. Our inscriptions however offer examples enough of -ει.

³ Cf. τεϊ βουλεῖ *C. I. A.* II 50₃ (372 B. C.).

490.]

vḥstis in Hippokrates varies between *vḥstidi*, *vḥsti* and *vḥstei*. The *-i* form is found in *θ* and *C VII* 382, in *θ VII* 400, that in *-ei* is the vulgate reading *VII* 382, 402, and *-idi* occurs in *θ C VII* 352, in *C VII* 400, in *θ VII* 402. Sim. Amorg. has a by-form *vḥstēs* 38, which is also *κοινή*.

In the *Peace* 930, *δὲ* is called an *ἰωνικὸν ῥῆμα*. This form occurs in Aristotle, who has also *oil*.

491.] Accusative Singular.

**Ἀρτεμῖν Zeleia* 113₃₂; *οἶν Thasos* 68 *Λ* 2, not *οἶν*, since *οἶ* is generally contracted to *αι* even in the iambographic poets. *πόλιω Archil.* 46, *Τύρτ.* 10₃, *Mimn.* 11₅, &c. Herodotos *ἄπολιω VII* 104, &c. *μῆνῖν¹ VII* 137. Hipponax 115 has *θεῦτιω=τευθίδα*. Herodas *Πάριω I*₃₄, *Μάνδριω I*₇₇. Hdt. has **Ἀρτεμῖν, Μαυῆτιω, Φθιῶτιω, Ἰστιαῖῶτιω, Θεσσαλιῶτιω, Τάναιν*: *χάρῖν, ὄρνῖν*, forms not declined as *iota* stems in other case-forms. On *Ἀρτέμιδος*, cf. § 546.

492.] Vocative Singular.

**Ἀρτεμῖ Παρος epigr.* 60, *Theog.* 11, *Λεύκασπι Anacr.* 18₂, *Γύλλι Herodas* 1₆₇.

493.] Nominative Plural.

πρυτάνεις Iasos 104₁₂, *διασυστάσεις Eryth.* 206 *Λ* 36 with the Attic termination. No case of *-εις* comes to light. In the lyric poets we have the genuine Ionic *-εις*: *Theog.* *στάσεις* 51, *πρήξιες* 1026, *ἰδριες* 499; *Sim. K.* 84₂ *ἰδριες*. *δόσεις* is found in *Theognis* 444 where Renner reads *δόσις*. The inflection *δόσις* **δόσει-εις* is pre-Hellenic, as is seen in *τρέις* in *Ananios* 3₂, where it is used as an accusative.

In Herodotos we have *-εις* (Bredow, pp. 263, 266), though the MSS. have *-ις* or *-εις* very frequently, but rarely without any various reading, *e.g.* *βάρις II* 41, *πρυτάνις V* 71; *κτήσεις IV* 114. The accusative forms used as nominatives are rejected by the editors except Dindorf. No *-υ* stem has *-υς* in the nom. in Ionic, as in Attic. The adjectives in *-ις* follow the nouns throughout, *e.g.* *δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες VII* 95. Philip of Pergamum has *στάσεις, B. C. II.* II 273 (but also *καταλύσεις*), Hippokrates *φύσεις II* 92.

Diogen. 6 *ἑτεροιώσεις*, Demokr. *Moral.* 17 *τέρψιες* (*-εις* Stob.), 66 *ἠμῆξιες*: Lakian, Eusebios *Mynd.*, *epist. Hippokr.*, *Pythag.* have *-εις* throughout. There is no warrant for Dindorf's *πανηγύρις, ὄφῖς, πίσις*. Arrian and the medical writers adopt the Attic form; *πόλιες* *Arr.* 8₅ is indicative of the insecure speculation prevalent in the Hadrianic age concerning the periods of Ionic. Cf. *Δ* 45.

¹ Tzetz. *Ex. II.* 50₁ corrupt (*μῖνια* Ionic, *μᾶνιν* Doric, *μαῖνιν* Aiolic).

494.] Genitive Plural.

πρὺ]τανίων Halik. 242, ἐπανλίων Eph. 148₆₈. In Herodotos -ων is without exception, though occasionally the MSS. have -εων. -εων is the only form of the genitive in Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. II.* II 273, who has -ιες.

Diogen. 6 ἐτεροιοσίων: Demokr. *Mor.* 181 πολίων (according to Mullach, though Stobaios, who has -ιος, -ιες, has here -εων). Lukian *Astr.* 23 has μάντεων, Arrian 10 πόλεων, but better recollection of earlier usage gives us πολίων cp. Hippokr. XXVI 1, 2, *Vita Hom.* 28, the Homeric form, though πόλεων appears E 744, where πολίων is usually read.

495.] Dative Plural.

Theognis 302 has λάτρισι. In Herodotos the dative plural ends in -ισι, e.g. πόλισι, Σάρδισι, πίστισι, μάντισι. In the imitators of Hdt. there is not a single example of -ισι (e.g. ἀμπώτεσι Arrian 21₃; elsewhere Arrian has ἀνάπτωσι). The -εσι form is found in βρώσεσιν, πώσεσιν Demokr. *Mor.* 47, as in nouns in -σις (-ξίς, -ψίς). The termination -οισι is unusual if not absolutely incorrect. Hippokrates has -εσι in such cases.

496.] Accusative Plural.

1. -ῖς occurs in πρήσις Chios 174 C 8. The MSS. of Hdt. have not infrequently -εις (Attic) or -ιας (Homeric, Aiolic and Doric), though the normal ending is -ῖς. Thus in V 121 *ρ ε* have πόλιας, *δ* πόλεις where πόλις is to be adopted. Σάρδιας never occurs. Hippokrates has -ις in the accus. of τρεῖς: τρίς VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304(*θ*). In Herodas 5, προφάσις may be itacistic.

Wherever -εις occurs it is due to Attic influence: Hdt. I 140, IX 7, in all of which passages read -ῖς. Teos 158₂₄ πράξις, Samos 220₇ ἐξίστεις. τρεῖς in Ananios 3₂ is the nom. form which in Ionic was regularly used as an accusative. Hippokr. VIII 226, 228 has φθόεις, Ionic nom. φθόίς.

2. -ιας.

στάσιας Xenoph. 1₂₃, πόλιας Anaxag. 10 (Simpl. -εις), πρήξιας Demokr. *Mor.* 88, 10₅, Eurip. frag. 902, Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. II.* II 273, who has also διορθώσιας, Demokr. *Phys.* 4, ἐκλείψιας. Stein adopts -ιας in the following cases where there is no MS. authority for -ῖς: πόλιας I 94, V 15, τάξιας VI 111, μάντιας IV 68, ψευδομάντιας IV 69, ὄφιας IV 105, προφάσιας V 86 a, πανηγύριας VI 111, ἐνόρχιας VI 32. Bredow proposed to expel -ιας wherever it occurs. Its existence cannot however be assailed.

3. The later Ionists, except Arrian and Aretaios, have -ιας. With πόληιας, Arrian 11, 40, cf. πόληιας 8; ὄφιας, ὄφιας *Ind.* 15.

In Lukan, Dindorf adopts $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ in opposition to Jacobitz (*Syr. dia* 1, 2 *παιηγύρις*, *Astr.* 23 *πόλις* but *πόλιος* 22); *V. A.* 14 *ἐκπυρώσιος*.

In a metrical inscription of Abdera, No. 162 (fifth century), we read *πόλιος*, a form occurring ρ 486. Since we must scan *πόλιος*, it has been suggested that the proper reading is *πόλιος* (G. Meyer, Blass) or *πόλιος* Roehl (on his No. 349) and Karsten, p. 26. There is no need of a change, cf. *ἡρώας* ζ 303.

Stems in Upsilon.

497.] This declension includes nouns and the masculine and neuter of adjectives in $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$.

1. Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. *βρωτός*, *κτιστός*, *ἔδητός*, *ὄτρυντός* (Eust. 1180₆), *νηδός*, *ληστός* = Attic *ληστεία* *ἀρτός* = *ἀρθμός* (Hesych. glosses the word with *σύνταξις*). In Hippokr. VIII 96 *φλεγμαντός* (θ , C) shows that after a nasal $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ might be used instead of $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$. Littré wrongly adopts *φλεγμάνσιος*.

2. Terminations:—

<i>υς</i>	<i>υες, εες</i>
<i>υος, εος</i>	<i>υων, εων</i>
<i>υι, ει</i>	<i>υσι, εσι</i>
<i>υν</i>	<i>υας, υς, εας</i>
<i>υ</i>	<i>υες, εες</i>

On the inflection of $\mu\bar{\iota}\varsigma$, see under Sigma stems.

3. The testimony of the grammarians refers only to the inflection of the stems in $\epsilon\upsilon/\epsilon\phi$: *πρέσβεος* Greg. Kor. § 21, *ὀξέος*, *πολέος*, *ἡδέος*, § 40; *ὀξέες* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697; *πολέες* Greg. Kor. § 40, citing Δ 143 (cf. Schol. Ven. A. = Hdn. II 88₆, on N 734: *περισπαστέον τὸ πολεῖς* (accus. for *πολέας*) *ὡς ταχεῖς, ὁμοίως τῷ "πολεῖς . . . (O 66). τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἐπεὶ τινες βούλονται ἔνεκα ἐμφάσεως μείζονος βαρυτόνως ἀναγιγνώσκειν, οἷς μάχεται καὶ ἡ ὀρθογραφία ἢ κατ' Ἴωνας*). *υῖέες* is called Ionic in Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, by enallage for *υῖοί*, an explanation adopted also in the case of *ἐρυσάρματες* and *ἐρίηρες*.

4. This declension comprises the types—

(1) *νέκυς*, *νέκυν*, *νέκυος* = *νέκυος* = Skt. *bhṛṣ, bhṛuv-ás*, and

(2) $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$, $\bar{\iota}\nu$, with the genitive in $\epsilon\phi$ -os as in *πήχεος*, *ἄστεος*, dative in $\epsilon\phi$ -ι as in *πελέκει*. The Homeric *πολύς*, *ἰθύς*, *βρωτόν* owe their long υ 's to the influence of the first class, as Pindar's *ἰσχόν* its $\bar{\iota}$ to the influence of the second class. There is no pure dative form, the locative having usurped its functions, as in the case of the *iota* stems. The inflection according to the

first category comes into play wherever *υ* precedes a vocalic case ending. *-υς* in the accusative plural is framed from the stem with the short vowel (*νεκῦ-υς*).

In the genitive plural *-εων* we have the strong case form, where the weak form was to be expected.

-υσι in *ὄφρῦσι*, where we should expect *ὄφρῦσι* (Skt. *bhṛāśi*), is due to the influence of *ὄφρῦων*, &c. *πήχεσι* (Skt. *bāhīśu*) has taken the place of *πήχυσσι* under the influence of *πήχεες*, *πήχέων*. For the Homeric forms in *-υσσι* (§ 504, 1), *-υσι* has been conjectured. Monosyllabic nouns have *-υσι*, nouns of more than one syllable have *-υσι*. In the first class are included those with prosthetic vowel (*ὄφρῦς*, *ἰχθῦς*).

498.] Nominative Singular. The form *Ἡυός* for *υῖός* occurs in No. 266, an inscription held to be Ionic by Bechtel¹. Elsewhere *υῖός*, e.g. *Mimn.* 12₁₁, *Ἡυῖός* 265 (unc. loc.), *Amorg.* 35 (epigr.), *ύοῦ* *Paros* 67 (late), *υῖός* *Delos* 57. There is no trace of *ύς* = *υῖός*, that word being employed by Herodotus in place of *σῦς*. Simonides of Keos (249) adopted the nominative *ύς* (*υῖς*). Cf. *Et. M.* 553₁₅, 775₂₀, and Herodian quoted in the scholium on E 266. Hdn. denied the existence of a nominative *ύς* or *υῖς*. The neuter ends in *-υ*.

499.] Genitive Singular.

1. *-υος*: *Θράσυος* *Thas.* (L.) 7 A 11; *Hdt.* ἄλυος, ἄρδυος, ἰσχύος, ἰλύος², ὑός, e.g. I 36 where all MSS. have *σῦός* (cf. *Hippokr.* VIII 134 but *ύός* VIII 138); *Hippokr.* VII 142 *νάπυος*, II 692 *ὄσφύος*. The Pseudo-Ionic writers have *-υος*.

2. *-εος*: *ὠκέος* *Mimn.* 11₅, *ἄστεος* *Sim. Am.* 7₁ by an unusual synizesis. *Hdt.* has *ἄστεος*, *πήχεος*, *τετραπήχεος*, *ἡμίσειος*.

That *ἄστεος*, a *v. l.* in *Thuk.* VIII 92, 7 adopted by Classen, is foreign to Attic, is shown by the inscriptions. On *πήχεος*, see *Phrynich.* 245 (Lob.), where it is erroneously stated that this form is Attic. Boiotian is *φάστειος* with *-ειος* from *-εος*. Ionic pursued a different path from Attic, which, in its *-εως*, permitted the genitive of *ι* stems to displace the ancient form.

500.] Dative Singular.

1. *-υι*: *ἰλυῖ* *Theognis* 961 (MSS. *ύδει*). In *Hdt.* *-υῖ* (*ἰσχύῖ*, *ἠηδῦῖ*, *ρέκνυῖ*) is read by the editors though the diphthongal pronunciation is not impossible, especially as we find *υῖ* in Homer in words of more than one syllable. Boiotian is *Δέμυυῖ*. *ἠηδῦῖ* *Υ* 486 has not the best authority. In Attic *-υῖ* is not to be questioned. *ἰλυῖ* is read *Hippokr.* VIII 138, *ὄσφύῖ* VI 78.

2. *-ει*: *δξέῖ* *Theognis* 848. *-εῖ* has become *-ει* in *πελέκει*

¹ *υ(ί)ός* is also Attic, *C. I. A.* I 398₄ (epigr.) fifth century. In Attic inscriptions the forms of the *-υ* declension in this word prevail till about 350 B.C.

² Thus, and not *ἰλύος* as in *Φ* 318 (*ἰλυόφιν*?). *δρῦός* *Hesiod*, *W. D.* 460, is a poor support for *ἰλύος*.

Anakr. 47₂, where a proceleusmaticus would have been unmetrical. In an epigram supposed to be by Anakreon (103) we read ἄστει in the fifth foot. The dialect of the poem is, however, not Ionic. The fusion of εῖ to εἰ must, however, have taken place before the fifth century, despite the fact that we read πελέκει, ἐπταπήχεῖ in the editions of Hdt. Anaxagoras 13 has πελέκει (*sic* Simplicius), though Mullach adopts -εῖ.

501.] **Accusative Singular.** ὄσφύρ Miletos 100₆, πάλμυρ Hippocr. 1; Hdt. Τηλυρ, Μυρ, ἰσχύρ, ἐγγέλυρ, ρηθύρ, ὄρ, τετραπήχυρ: in pseudo-Ionic sources: ἰχθύρ, πῆχυρ, θῆλυρ.

502.] **Nominative Plural.**

1. -ες: Hdt. Μάξυες, Λίγυες, Λίβυες, ὄρυες, βόρυες, ἰχθύες, and so in pseudo-Ionic writers. Hippokr. ἐγγέλυες VI 548.

2. -εες: Hdt. πῆχες, τριπήχες, ἡμίσεες. Hippokr. VI 600 has both ἡδέες and ἡδεῖς.

3. Neuter (nominative and accusative) -εα: Hdt. ἄστεια, διπήχια, ἡμίσεια (in Attic sometimes -η and so on a Delian inscription), Phokyl. 11₂ ἡδέα, Solon 4₃₅ τραχέα.

503.] **Genitive Plural.**

1. -ων: Hdt. Μαξύων, ὄων: ἰχθύων Hdt., Luk., Arrian.

2. -εων: Hdt. πηχέων, τετραπήχεων, ἡμισέων. In τ 578 πελέκεων occurs. Protagoras has υἰέων.

504.] **Dative Plural.**

1. -σι in ὄφρῦσι Anakr. 54₁, Hdt. ὄσι. ἰχθύεσσιν in Anan. 5₈ is an exception to the law that in Ionic -εσσι is restricted to the *sigma* declension. The form is a loan from the epos. Homer has σύεσσι, σνσί, νεκύεσσι, νέκυσσι, γένυσσι, &c.

2. -εσι in Hdt.: πελέκεσι, πῆχεσι, ἐξαπήχεσι. Homer's πελέκεσσι is due to the influence of -εσσι from *sigma* stems, which may appear as -εσι.

505.] **Accusative Plural.**

1. -νας: ἐγγέλυας Archil. epod. 101 (cf. ἐγγέλυες Φ 203), ὄφρύας Hdt. II 66 (-ὐς R d), ἰχθύας II 94 (P R d), ἰχθῦς (A B C). The former form is adopted by Stein. It occurs without a variant in III 98, and is found also in Lukian and Arrian. For Λίβυας II 55, 77, IV 160, VII 184 Bredow proposed to substitute Λίβυς, though this form is unattested.

2. -ῦς in Hdt. ὄς II 14, 47, IV 186, ἴτυς VII 89, and ἰχθῦς I 141. In Attic -νας is later than -ὐς. Homer has both terminations, -ῦς occurring in words of more than one syllable, in the first foot and in the arsis of the third foot. Empedokles (106, 125 Stein) used ἰχθῦς both as nominative and accusative.

3. *-εας* in Hdt. *πήχεας, πρέσβεας, ἑπταπήχεας, ἡμίσεας*. The last mentioned form was thought to be better Attic than *ἡμίσεις* by the grammarians, whereas the contrary is the case, *ἡμίσεις* being the better attested form. In Ψ 114 we find *πελέκεας*. Hdt. IV 84 has *υἱέας* (Homeric), elsewhere *υἱούς*. Agathokles of Kyzikos (Athen. XIV 649 F) used the form *θαμέας*.

506.] **Feminine of Adjectives in -υς.** Herodotos has *-εα*, not *-εια* (see §§ 219, 419): *ε.γ.* *βαθεία* I 178, *τρηχέα* IV 23, *βραχέα* V 49, *παχέα* VII 33, *θήλεια* III 109, *ιθέα* II 17, *ἡμίσεια* V 111, *δασέα* IV 191; *τρηχέης* IV 23, *θηλέης* II 35; *θηλέη* III 85, *βαθέη* II 156, III 110, *πλατέη* II 156, *ιθέη* IX 57; *βαρέαι* II 94, *τρηχέαι* IX 122, *εὔρεαι* IV 3; *θήλαια* IV 23, *ἡμίσειαι* VIII 18; *θηλέων* II 18, 46; no example of the dative plural occurs in Hdt.; *θηλέας* I 192. *ἡμισέας* II 10, VIII 27, *ιθέας* I 180. Otherwise adjectives in *-υς* are inflected like nouns in *-υς, -εος*.

The MSS. testify in so many instances to the presence of the forms in *-εα* that we may venture to regard as foreign to the dialect of Herodotos those cases of the retention, even by all the MSS., of the forms in *-εια*. These are as follows:—*βαθεία* VII 23; *Ι(εὺ)θεία* II 34; *ιθέης* II 161, III 127; *ιθείαν* VII 193; *ιθείας* I 180; *δασεία, δασείαν* III 32 (*δασέαν* Miletos 100_o); *ταχέας* VIII 23; *ὄξεια* IX 23; and *θήλειαν* I 105 (*CP*). There is no basis for the view that a form like *δασέα* was introduced into the text of Hdt. at a period when such forms were common. In Attic they had a scant existence, in later Ionic they are unvouched for, and even in pseudo-Ionic writers they are sparingly attested. That the fuller form gained a position in the MSS. is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that it is made use of by Homer and by the Ionic poets. When the MSS. in general, inscriptions¹, and grammarians agree as to the Ionic character of a form, some variations in the MSS. must not weigh in the balance.

In addition to the three examples of *-εα* from the genuine treatises of Hippokrates cited on p. 198, there may be quoted from the later tractates included in the Hippocratic corpus the following examples of the shorter form. They are: *παχέαι* and *παχεών* (*v. l.* *-ει-*) VI 60, *ὄξειαι* VIII 134 *βίαι* (*v. l.* *-ει-*); *ὄξέη* VI 172 (*θ, vulgo -ει-*), 174 (*θ, vulgo -ει-*), *ὄξέην* VI 178 (*θ, vulgo -ει-*) and so twice VI 180, the same page showing *τρηχέων*. In VIII 274 the *θηλίαν* of *θ* is read *θηλείην* by Littré. Hippokrates has as a rule *-εια*, but also *-εα*, and the hyper-Ionic *-εη* even in *θ*. The forms in *-εα* often have the *v. l.* *-εια*. In § 219 all the examples found in the pseudo-Ionists were enumerated.

¹ The form *δασέης* Zeleia 114 E 4 is late.

Diphthongal Stems.

These are -ηυ/-ευ, -ηυ, -ου, -ωι/-οι, -ωυ.

507.] Stems in -ηυ/-ευ. On the cases of the υ declension formed from a stem ευ, see above, § 497 ff. On *νίϋς*, *νιέϋς*, see §§ 498, 505, 3.

εϋς	εες
εος (ηος?)	εωυ
ει (ηι?)	ευσι
εῖ	εῖς
εϋ	εες

Forms in -εῖ occur in tragedy (*φονέα* in Euripides *Hek.* 882, *El.* 599, 763); and -εῖ, -εῖς are not infrequent in comedy. Cf. Meineke, I 295 ff. In the latter they may be regarded as the beginning of the movement of the *Κοινή* towards the frequent adoption of the forms with εῖ. *Νηρέος Ιον* 1082, *Ἀχιλλῆος I. T.* 436, *βασιλῆες Andr.* 1022 (-ῆς Dind.), *βασιλῆας Phoin.* 829 occur only in choric passages. -εες occurs in *Persai* 63, 580 (both choric). *Septem* 804 (trim.) contains *βασιλέες*: but the whole passage is full of difficulties and has long been suspected. Plato, *Theait.* 169 B, has *Θησεέες*. A change of -εες in these passages to -εης is hazardous since Attic *ἱππέης* may be nothing more than a confusion of ΕΞ and ΗΞ.

Testimony of the grammarians. This deals exclusively with Homeric forms. *Genitive*: -ηος Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 20, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Hdn. II 69³³⁵ = Choir. 159⁹, II 709² = Choir. 221¹⁶, II 638⁷ = An. Ox. IV 337⁹, II 673³⁸ = Choir. 209²¹ (*παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἴωσι*), Et. M. 630⁶, Orion 188¹⁰, An. Ox. I 315²⁰, I 323³, An. Par. III 355¹⁰, Tzetz. Ex. II. 61¹³, 94²⁵; **Ἀρηος* Hdn. II 682¹¹ = Choir. 145³⁴, *Diakonos* on Hsd. *Aspis* 88, but **Ἀρεω* is also called Ionic by Hdn. II 639²⁵ = Eust. 518²⁸, quoting Archil. 47. -εος: **Ἀπρέος* Eust. 623⁵¹. This was the *Κοινή* form according to Hdn. II 673³⁸ = Choir. 209¹⁹. -εϋς: **Ἰδομενεύς* N 424 (now read *-μενεύς* with MS. authority) and **Ὀδυσσεύς* ω 398 are called Ionic and Doric by Hdn. II 328¹¹ and II 692³² = Choir. 157²¹, II 675¹¹ = Choir. 211³¹ (in this passage Hdn. recognizes that the nominative is preferable, quoting Φ 305, but Choir. makes no mention of the reading -εϋς), II 677¹³ = Choir. 216³, cf. also Hdn. in An. Ox. III 233³⁰, and Bekk. An. III 120⁴¹, 1240³², Et. Gud. 273²⁸, Eust. 196⁵²⁵. -ειος in **Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλειος* was used by the νεώτεροι ἴωνες, Hdn. II 674³ = Choir. 209²¹. **Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλειος* were also the late Aiolie forms according to Hdn. See §§ 25, 220. *Dative*: -ῆι: Tzetz. Ex. II. 72¹. -εῖ: Joh. Gr. 242, Drakon 157⁶, cf. 161². *Accusative*: -ῆα: An. Par. III 311²⁷. -ῆ<εα in *Τυδῆ* Hdn. II 677⁹ = Choir. 215³¹ (Ionic and Doric). *Nominative Plural*: -ῆες: Joh. Gr. 239 B, 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 696, 697, Drakon 115¹⁵. *Genitive Plural*: -ῆων: Schol. Ven. A (interlinear) on A 176. Eust. 1108⁷ *Φωκῆων*: in 273⁴ Eust. says that there was also a reading *Φωκείων* according to Aristarchos. So schol. Ven. A on B 517. This form cannot well be a parallel to **Ἀχιλλεῖος*. *Accusative Plural*: -ῆας: An. Ox. I 315²¹.

508.] *Nominative Singular.* εϋς throughout: *Εὐβοεύς* Styra

193_s, *ιερέως* Erythr. 206 B 58. On *ιερέως* in Miletos 100₄, see § 477.

509.] **Genitive Singular.** *ιερέος* Orop. 18₃, *Ἀγρέος* Chios 174 D 6, *Θαργαλέο[s]* Chios 174 C 18. *Δωριέος* Amorg. 231₁, *Φιλέος* Chios 181 and *Μηρησέος* Chios 182 are genitives from *-ης* or *-εύς*. *Ἀχιλλέος* from Olbia, Latyshev I 62₅, 67₅, 77₈, 80₄, 83₄ (Attic *βασιλέος* C. I. A. III 553₂) are all very late¹.

The Attic has displaced the epichoric form in the following instances:—*Κεραμέως* Olbia, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 487 No. 47, X 29 No. 21, *Αγριαλέως* Smyrna 153_{2a}, *Βραβέως* Maroneia *Zeitsch. f. Num.* III 284 No. 24 (before 400 B. C.), *Κερχρέως* Erythr. 201₇ (early part of the fourth cent.), *Καυκασέως* Erythr. 206 A 19, *βασιλέως* 206 B 61, Samothrake 236 (Roman), *Ἀχιλλέως* Erythr. 206 B 27, *Ἀρματιέως* 206 C 31, *Βακχέως* 206 C 36, *Πεδιέως* Thasos (L.) 14 B 9, *Κοπρέως* Teos, C. I. G. 3064₂₁, *Σιδηρέω[s]* *ibid.* l. i. In C. I. G. 2157₈ (Samothrake) we must read *Ἀριστώ[s]*. This inscription contains the form *ἰππάρχεω*. Of the forms here cited that are dateable, most may be referred to the third century. This is noteworthy as regards the tenacity of the dialect in respect of its inflectional system.

A genitive *βα[σ]ιλῆος* is read by Le Bas No. 41 in an Erythraian inscription. There is no evidence from later literature of an Ionic *-ηος*²; and historical reasons militate against Le Bas' other restorations in the same inscription (Nöldeke *G. G. A.* 1884, 294, Bechtel *Ion. Insch.* p. 125). We read *Διὸς Πλουτήος* on a late inscription (No. 243 Halik.) that has not been recollated, and whose original is not to be found. If genuine, the genitive savours of poetical usage. Bechtel compares **Αρηος νικηθέντος* (C. I. G. IV 7030). *Κεφαλεός* in No. 266, an inscription found on the Erechtheion, and regarded by Bechtel as Ionic, has been read by Neubauer *Κεφαλήος*, by Bechtel *Κεφαλεός* (= *εύς*). See Bechtel *ad loc.* The only example of *-ηος* from Attic is *οἰκῆος*, in a law quoted by Lysias X 19, a form doubted by Dittenberger *Hermes* XVII 36 (*οἰκῆος* for *οἰκέως* < *ΟΙΚΕΟΣ*?). The support for an inflection *-ηος*, *-ηι* to be gained from *Πιρηνῆι* Samos 212 (§ 510) is exceedingly weak.

In the lyric poets we find *-εος* in *Πιρηνέος* (Hippoman, tetr. 79) restored by Bergk for the vulgar *Πιρηνέως* from Codex E of Suidas. *Πιρηνέος* is also found in Archil. 97₂ epod., where it was restored for *-έως* by Elmsley. In a pentameter attributed to Anakreon (99) we read *Θησέος*. In an Ionic epigram (Bechtel No. 265) we find **Αρεος*. Herodotos has *βασιλέως*, &c.³ (*Αιγέως*

¹ *Κυ[ν]διέος* from Teos in Le Bas No. 130 (a very late inscr.).

² A few variants (*Ἐρεχθῆος*, *Πηλῆος*) in Hdt. are not valid evidence of the existence of an inflection to which the Aldine edition gave credence.

³ Struve in his *Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* II first showed that the epic and Attic forms, even when supported by good MS. evidence (which is rarely the case), are to be rejected.

l 173 is incorrect), while Lukian has βασιλῆος in *Syr. dea* 4 (or -έως) and 17, as if he imitated Homer, not Herodotos. Hippokr. II 666 has γναφέως. Arrian has -εως in 5₁₁, 15₁₁, 28₃, changed by Eberhard to -εος, for which there is MS. support in 34₁, 38₃. -εως is not found in the lyric poets except in Μεγαρέως Theog. 23, for which Bekker and Renner read Μεγαρέος.

The forms in -ειος quoted by Herodian are explained as -εος with the glide *iota* in § 220; cf. § 507, note 2.

510.] **Dative Singular.** *ιερει* Orop. 18₃, Milet. 100₇; (*ι*)*ρηει* Thasos 71₁₁; βασιλει Iasos 105₇; Εὐβολει Paros 65; Πριει Erythr. 201₂₀. In Samos 212 we read Πριμηλι or Πριμηλι an interesting form of the dative singular, held by Bechtel to be a locative¹. Tyr. V 1 βασιληι is not support enough for so wide a divergence from the Ionic prose ending; much less πόληι, which is an undoubted locative. Cf. § 513. Herodotos has βασιλεί, &c., according to the editors. The variations in favour of -ει are very numerous, notably in the class of which χ was the archetype. There can be no doubt that *εφι in the dative-locative singular did not remain open as late as the fifth century in the vulgar speech. The epic form occurs in *Vita Homeri* 11. Hippokr. VI 78 χοει (*v. l.* χοί, χωί), Littré χοεί.

511.] **Accusative Singular.** *ιερῆα* Oropos 18₂, 14₃, 26₃, 28₃; Thasos 71₇; βασιλέα Mylasa 248 A 5, as in Hdt. Lukian *Syr. dea* has βασιλέα § 20 in *E*, while the rest of the MSS. have the epic form. Theognis 285 has the Old Ionic βασιληα. Εὐρυμειουρτιάδεα Hippon. 85 is from a patronymic in -δευς, cf. Μαιαδευ Hippon. 16₁. Hippokr. VII 156, 158 χοεία (Attic χοῦα) from χοεύς, which nominative was New Ionic, but not Attic.

512.] **Vocative Singular.** Hdt. βασιλεῦ, &c.; Μαιαδευ Hippon. 16₁.

513.] **Nominative Plural.** *Ἐρετριεῖς* Eretria 14, *ιερεῖς* Iasos 104₁₄, βασιλειεῖς Ephesos 147₉, Μυλασεῖς Mylasa 248 C 7, *Ἴασεῖς* Sam. 221₄, *Καστολεῖς* Perinthos 234 B 39, and Παλαίεῖς Rob. I 16C E. Theog. 263 ποκῆες has the Homeric ending which appears in Bacchyl. 42, in a fragment Ionic in metre, tone and dialect:—

Ἄβρότητι ξυνέασιν Ἴώνων βασιληες.

This line must not be held to support a contemporary Ionic inflection which retained the η. φονῆες in Archil. tetr. 59₂ is on

¹ Kirchhoff takes this to be a dative and finds here a mark of sub-dialectal difference. Hdt. I 170 has Πριμηέος. Bechtel compares the locative τὸ χωρίον τὸ Μυρμιούντι in Attic.

the other hand a highly remarkable form, as it is the only instance, except Ἰστωρῆας Kallinos 5, in an early lyric poet of Ionic birth, of the appearance of the long stem vowel. Nevertheless it is possible to find in the character of the verse (cf. § 52) an explanation for the presence of an Homeric form. It is unwise to admit the survival of the -η- forms in ordinary Ionic speech; a conclusion not vitiated by Πρινηῆι (§ 510). Hdt. βασιλέες, &c., and so in the later Ionists except Arrian *Ind.* 23₅ ἰππέες in all MSS. (Eberhard ἰππέες), Abydenos 1 βασιλεῖς. The epic form seems occasionally to have been dragged into the MSS. of Hdt. and also occurs in ep. Hippokr. 27₃₁ βασιλῆες, Aret. 63, 166 ὄχῆες. κεραμέες (32) is the only case in the *Vita Homeri* of the open form (ἀλιῆες 35). -εες must have been contracted in the fifth century.

514.] Genitive Plural. Ἐρετριέων Head *H. N.* 307, Ἰστιάων *Did.* 309, Χαλκιδέων Olynth. 8 B 10, 9, and Erythr. 201₁₅; Πρινηρέων Priene 143, Ἰασέων Iasos 104₃ and Samos 222₂; Ἀλικα[ρρη]σέων Halik. 238₄₁; Θαπέων Pantik. 122 and Phanag. 167, 168; ἀμφορέων Zeleia 114 D 5; βασιλέων Eph. 147₂; Μυλασέων Mylasa 248 A 7, 10; Δω[ρ]ιέων Rob. 1137 (Didyma). Herodot. has βασιλέων, &c. (*v. l.* occasionally in -ῶων as also in epist. Hippokr. 17₂₀). Ἐρετριῶν, 411 B. C., Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1890-1, 196 ff.

In the lyric poets: γονέων Theog. 1330.

515.] Dative Plural. Χαλκιδεῦσι Olynth. 8 A 8-9, Συκεεῦσιν Prokon. 103₁₀₋₁₁, Μυλασεῦσιν Mylasa 248 A 3; Hdt. βασιλεῦσι, &c.

516.] Accusative Plural. βασιλέας Chios *Berlin. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 8; Ταορέας Erythr. 209, 2. In the elegiac poets we find the epic -ῆας (Theognis 821, 1211 τοκῆας. Kallinos 5 Ἰστωρῆας, Tyrnt. 4₃ βασιλῆας). The epic form was apparently affected by some of the pseudo-Ionists: Aretaios ἀροχῆας 45, epist. Hippokr. γονῆας 13₅, βασιλῆας 17₂₈, if they are not due to the same cause which lodged the epic forms in some MSS. of Hdt. Hdt. has βασιλέας, &c. Ἰσιῶς VI 108 (*ABP*, Stein Ἰσιῶς) recalls Ἐρετριῶς, Ἰσστιαῶς Eretr. 15₁₇, 18 as in Attic inscriptions of the fifth century (Ἀλαιῶς, Ἐσστιαῶς). In the fourth century (350-300) both -ῶς and -έας occur in Attic. *viéas* Hdt. IV 84 is an exception to the inflection of 'son' in post-Homeric Ionic. See § 498.

517.] Ζεύς, νηῦς, βοῦς, χοῦς, Ἄρης.

I. Ζεύς¹ Amorg. 33, Sim. Am. 7₉₃, Mimn. 16, Theog. 337. For Ζῆς in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros, quoted by

¹ Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 47 ff.

Clemens, Ζῆς is the form to be expected in Ionic; see Hdn. I 402₇, II 911₉, and cf. § 182. Διός Paros 59₃ (epigr.), Erythr. 206 B 19, Halik. 243, Sim. Am. 79₁, Solon 4₁, Theog. I, 11, 15 (Διόθεν 197), Anakr. 69, Hdt. II 13, &c. Ζηνός Solon 13₁, 25, Herakl. 65. On Δί and Δί see § 270. Hdt. V 49 has the former form. Δία occurs in Anakr. 6₃, &c. Ζεῶν Aischrion *apud* Athen. VIII 335 B, cf. Eust. 1387₂₈. Bergk (8₅) edits Ζῆν'. Ζῆνα Theog. 285 as in Ξ 157, ω 472. Ξ 265, Θ 206 are hypermetrical if we do not adopt the form Ζῆν < *Διῆν. Ζεῶ Archil. epod. 88₁, Hippon. 30 A, Anakr. 79, Theog. 731, &c.

In II 642₁₀ (= An. Ox. III 237₂₃), cf. I 394₂₈, Herodian states that the παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες used Ζῆν, Ζηνός, the μεταγενέστεροι, Ζάρ, Ζαρός. Ζαρός and Ζαρί are found in Bergk, *F. L. G.* III Adespota 82 A B:—

Κλῦθί μοι Ζαρός τε κούρη.

Ζαρί τ' ἔλευθερίῳ.

Ζηνός occurs *ibid.* Adesp. 78. See § 182.

Διειτρέφης referred in § 215 to a stem *διφο-* may perhaps be better explained as the old dative of the stem *διφ-*. It cannot, however, be derived from *Διῆφι, whence Διεί through *Διῆ.

2. νῆς¹ in Hdt., with η for ᾱ adopted by the nominative from some oblique cases². νᾶν- occurs in *νανπηγήσιμος* in Hdt. and Olynthos 8 B 2; *ναναρχία*, *νανηγία*, *νενανηγήσασσι*, &c., in Hdt. Herodas has νῆς 1₁₁. Theognis 84, 856, 1361 has νᾶς, but in 970 *Α* has νῆς. Whether νᾶς mentioned by Hdn. I 401₁, II 553₁₁ is ascribed solely to Homer, is uncertain. From II 674₂₃ νᾶς, νᾶς καὶ γῆρας, γῆρας it might be supposed that Hdn. had the later Ionic in mind. In II 675₂₂, νᾶς, νᾶός, νεί, νεί are compared with γῆρας, γῆρας, γῆραί, γῆραι. νεί actually appears in Hdt. VII 184 (*A B C*), and νᾶσί (Littreé νᾶσι) in a pseudo-Hippocratic letter (IX 414). But perhaps the forms νᾶες, νᾶων, νᾶέσσι, νᾶας, which occur in the *epos*, were not without influence upon Herodian in causing him to set up a nominative νᾶς. νᾶός is generally stated to be the Herodotean genitive. The MSS., however, have νῆός³ almost without a variant, which is not to be rejected, despite λᾶός and other forms in which ηο < ᾶφο has suffered *metathesis quantitatis*. Cf. § 170. νῆός is found in the elegy: Archil. 4₁, Theog. 513. Arrian has νᾶός, a form that is also found in the best MSS. of Hdt., and for which νᾶός is substituted

¹ Tzetz., Ex. II. 74₁₀.

² It is to be noticed that only when η is = I. E. ᾶ is it reinstated in the nominative from the analogy of other case forms. Α βασιληῆς is unheard of.

³ Eust. 1716, Ἴωνικὸν δὲ πάντως τὸ νῆος καὶ γῆρος: Tzetz. Ex. II. 74₁₀.

by Merzdorf (Curtius' *Stud.* IX p. 242), who regard its -os as due to the influence of that of other consonantal stems (cf. Brugmann *Gramm.* § 19). *νηί* is often found in the MSS. of Hdt. On *νεί*, see above. *νηί* Solon 19₃. See § 238. *νέα* occurs in Hdt. nineteen times without a variant. *R* has *νῆα* eight times in the eighth book. Euseb. Mynd. 12, and Hippokr. epistle 17, have *νῆα*, Arrian the Attic *ναῖν*, a form that may be regarded as Doric in Theog. 680. Herodas 2₀ has *νηῖν* by a probable conjecture of Blass. *νέες*¹ nineteen times without variant in Hdt., *νῆες* only twice without a variant. Arrian and Aretaios appear to have the latter form, which is more frequent in Homer than the former. *νέες* is derived directly from *νῆ-ες*. *νεῶν* Hdt. fifty-nine times without a variant, but *νηῶν* VII 160 in all MSS. *νεῶν* is the Arrianic form. *νηυσί* Hdt., Mimm. 9₂, Solon 13₄₄, Theog. 12. Arrian has the Attic *ναυσί*², which represents the original Greek form better than the Ionic *νηυσί*. On a *νευσί* in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 553₁₃. *νέας*³ 110 times without a variant in Hdt., *νῆας* without a variant V 83, *ναῦς* VI 46, VIII 94 as in Arrian. In these passages *νέας* is to be adopted. *νέας* is from *νῆας* < *νή-ας*, as *νέ-ες* from *νῆ-ες*. Attic *ναῦς*, like *ναῦν*, is a new formation.

3. *γρηῦς*. In Archil. 31 we must read *γρηῦς* for *γραῦς*. *γρηῖ* occurs in an iambic fragment (Bergk *P. L. G.* III 692, Adespota 16). *γρηῖν* is found in Hippokr. VIII 448 in *C*. Bergk reads *γρηῖν* (*sic*) on Archil. 168. Hdn. II 645₃₀ = An. Ox. IV 337₂₇ cites the form thus and compares *γρηῖ* χ 395. He, however, remarks: τὸ νηῖς ἢ γρηῖς διηρημένον κατὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐκ ἐκλίθη. The resolved forms (*γρηῖς*, &c.) are later than the closed (*γρηῖς*). Hdn. cites *γρεῖς*, *γρεός*, *γρεῖ* (above under *νηῖς*). Herodas 3₂₃ has *γρηῖν*.

4. *βοῦς* and *χοῦς*. *βοός* Hdt., Anakr. 21₅, Hrd. 3₆₈; *βοί* Hdt., *βοῦν* Hdt.⁴, Hrd. 4₁₅; *βόες* Hdt.; *βοῦς* accusative plural Hdt. (*v. l.* *βόας* IV 8 in *R*, which has also *Γηρνούναο* as an epic reminiscence, cf. Hekat. 349), *βόας* Lukian *Syr. dia* 54, *Aslr.* 22 (Ἰελίου *βόας* an epic reminiscence?) and Arrian 7₇. *βόας* is an earlier form than *βοῦς*, which is formed from *βοῦν*.

χοῦς, from *χάφος*, follows the analogy of *βοῦς*. Hdt. has *χοῦν* (cf. *φλοῦν*). Arrian has *χόον* 13₃ but *χοῦν* 13₅, so fluctuating are the MSS. Eberhard writes *χόον* in both cases.

5. **Ἀρης*⁵ Anakr. 70. **Ἀρεος* Hdt. II 63, 83, IV 62, VII 76,

¹ *νέες* Gram. Paris. p. 677, § 6 = An. Bachm. II 366₁₅.

² Called Ionic by Tzetz. Ex. II. 847.

³ *νέας* Greg. Kor. §§ 19, 24, and 53, p. 461; *νῆας* Tzetz. Ex. II. 748 and on Hsd. *W. D.* 244.

⁴ *βῶν* II 40 *R d* and Aldus; VI 67 Aldus. This form is that of H 238.

⁵ The Homeric forms of this word are given Eust. 518₂₄, An. Ox. III 237₁ = Hdn. II 639₂₁ ff.

Tyrt. 16₁ (*embat.*) in *DE* (vulg. Ἄρεως) as in Hom. and Hsd., Lukian, *Astr.* 20, 22. Ἄρηος is perhaps a *v. l.* Hdt. IV 62 (*C*). It is not an Ionic prose form, but is found in Tyrt. 11₇ for the vulgate Ἄρεως, according to Bergk. Schneidewin here adopted Ἄρεος. Ἄρηος is the Homeric and Hesiodic form. The Η of ΑΡΗΙΟΣ upon an Attic vase from Kameiros (*Journ. of Philol.* VII 1877) must be a mistake for Ε. Ἄρεω¹ Archil. 48. This is said to have been written by Aristarchos in Ξ 485, Σ 100, 213 for Zenodotos' ἀρήσ². Ἄρει Sim. Amorg. 1₁₃ (-εῖ *vulgo*, cf. B 479), and Hdt. II 63. This form preserves the natural quantity of the initial vowel (ᾶ). Ἄρηι Hdt. IV 59, 62 in all MSS. (cf. B 385, &c.). Stein reads Ἄρεῖ, which is correct except the diaeresis. The Simonideian form was the prose form as well. Ἄρεα Hdt. II 63, IV 59, V 7, Luk. *Astr.* 27. Homer has Ἄρηα and Ἄρηη.

The inflection according to the -εϵ- stem³ is older than that in -εσ-; and is supreme in Aiolic. From Ἄρεα, an ambiguous accusative, came the inflection on the lines of a sigmatic stem: Ἄρης, Ἄρεῖ. On the other hand Ἄρης was inflected as a stem in η. Ἄρηη producing Ἄρεω in Archil., and the Homeric Ἄρηη. On the relations of the three stems, see Bechtel, *Göttlinger Nachrichten*, 1886, p. 378. With Ἄρεϵς Ἄρης, cf. the so-called Doric Τύδης, Ὀρφης, Ὠλίξης in Ibykos⁴, and the Latin Ulixes, Achilles.

Stems in ω/οι.

518.] The terminations of the singular (plural not attested) are ω, ωι; ους, οι, ονν (ω?), οι. On the forms in -ώ and -ώι see Ahrens, *Kleine Schriften* I 31 ff., Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 374, and Brugmann, *Gramm.* 70^a note.

Testimony of the Grammarians.

The statements of Hdn. II 338₁₆ = 755₂₁ (= Choir. 332₁₁), Plut. *Mor.* 1078 B that Σαφώδος, Δητώδος were Ionic are unsupported by tradition. Δητώδος may,

¹ Hdn. II 639₂₅ = Eust. 518₂₆: σπονδειακὸν Ἄρης Ἄρου ὄθεν κατὰ Ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας Ἀρχίλοχος . . . "παῖδ' Ἄρεω μητόφονον."

² The Et. M. 138₅ supposes that this Ἄρεω is the genitive of Ἄρεως. But in Ξ 485 and Σ 213 the MSS. generally have Ἄρεως, not Ἄρεω (in Σ 100 ἀρής), and Didymos' διὰ τοῦ ω may refer to the penultimate, not the ultimate, letter, as is pointed out by Schulze in *K. Z.* XXIX 255, who regards this Ἄρεως as a mistaken reading for ἀρεος, genitive of ἄρος' βλάβος ἀκούσιον in Hesychios. This ἄρος has the same meaning as ἀρή (ἀρῆν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύνειν M 334). It is certainly difficult to see how Aristarchos found a genitive of Ἄρης in the passages. ἀρεῖς Hippon. 65 is doubtless connected with ἀρεῖά, derived from this ἄρος, not from ἀρά as L. & S. think.

³ This appears in Ἀρηίθους Thasos (L.) 14 B 2, 16 B 7.

⁴ Cf. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 433.

however, be read in Homer and in Hesiod, *Aspis* 202, and Hymn to Hermes 521, Apollo 545. [Casaubon wrote *Καλλιστόδος* for *-οὺς* in the senarius of Machon preserved in Athen. XIII 583 A (*Καλλιστοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἰδὸς κεκλημένης*), but it is improbable that Machon should have had any knowledge of a form that has disappeared from literature. *Καλλίστιον* is a common name for an hetaira]. Cf. *Ἄδος* (?) Pind. *Nem.* VI 52. Joh. Gr. 268 B claims that forms in *-όος* were in use among certain of the Dorians. *-οῦν* Joh. Gr. 240, 268 B, Greg. K. § 35, Drakon 116₃, Birnb. 677₃₁. Gram. Vat. 696 regarded *Λητών* and *Σαφών* as Ionic. These forms are referred to by Hdn. II 75₅₂₅, who held, according to Choir. 333₂₂₃, that *Σαφοῖν* and *Λητοῖν* (accusative) were derived from the *-ών* forms by a change (unheard of in Ionic) of *ω* to *οι*. For a correction of this passage, which supplies the missing *-οον* from Choiroboskos, see Ahrens, *Kl. Schr.* I 40.

519.] **Nominative.** There are two forms on inscriptions:—

(1) <i>ώ</i> : <i>Φλυτώ</i> Rob. I 188 E	} On Chalkidian vase inscriptions.
<i>Κλυτώ</i> 190 I F	
<i>Μυρώ</i> 190 I B	
<i>Φιώ</i> 190 I C, II C	
<i>Ξανθώ</i> 190 I H	
<i>Νοσσώ</i> Erythrai 206 C 10.	

(2) *ώ* (*ώι*): these are rare in Ionic.

Ξαν[θ]ώ Rob. I 190 II B, Chalkidian.
Διονυσώ C. I. G. 2151, Chalkidian.
Ἄρτεμώ C. I. G. 696 late, Milesian.
Φιλυτώ C. I. G. 2310, probably not Ionic.

In Ionic literature only the former of these occurs.

520.] **Genitive.** *Πειθοῦς* Thasos 70, N]οσσοῦς Erythr. 206 C 11, perhaps *Φαινοῦς* or *Φαινοῦς* on the electrum stater reproduced in Roberts I p. 177 = Bechtel 247. Herodotos uses *Ἴοῦς*, *Λητοῦς*, *Γοργοῦς* (with no trace of the *v* stem), *Σαπφοῦς*, &c. *Λητοῦς* occurs in Theog. 1, Herodas *Κλεοῦς* 392, *Κοριπτοῦς* 6₂₄, Lukian *Δερκετοῦς*. Ahrens sought to find the form in *-ως*, which is Aiolie and Doric (in part), in Ionic territory. The inscription of Tenos C. I. G. 2338, whence he cites *Φειδῶς* l. 92, &c., contains no Ionisms. In Homer the open forms may be read except in a few cases: A 9 (*ε. λ. Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός*), Ξ 327 (spurious).

521.] **Dative.** *Ἄλεκτοῖ* Amorgos, Rob. I 158 B, is a doubtful reading though the *ΟΙ* is plain; *Βαβοῖ* Paros 65, *Πεδιοῖ* Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 A B (Fick *Πεδίωι*). Hdt. has *Λητοῖ*, *Ἄργοι*, *εὐεστοῖ*. Hippokr. V 128 *λεχοῖ* is better than *λεχοῖς*. Lukian *Δερκετοῖ*.

522.] **Accusative Singular.** In inscriptions we find *Λητοῖν* Eretria 16 A 48 as in Herodotos II 156, *Δημοῖν* Smyrna 154,

and Μητροῦν C. I. G. 3241, Ἄρτεμοῦν C. I. G. 3223, both late Smyrnaian documents. From the poets the instances are Κυψοῦν Hipponax 87, Αἰητοῦν Hrd. 2₉₈, Μητροῦν 6₄₅, πειθοῦν 6₇₅. In Herodotos there are two sets of forms: (1) -οῦν¹. Ἴοῦν I 1, 2, II 41, Βουτοῦν II 59, &c., Τιμοῦν VI 134, 135. In II 156 for Αἰητοῦν there is the *v. l.* Αἰητώ. (2) -ώ. Πυθώ I 54, Σαρδῶ I 170, &c., Πειθώ VIII 111. Compare the Homeric Πηρώ, Τυρώ, Κρεται Λατώ Cauer 117₁₄, the Delphic and Attic Φιλῶ, forms showing the retention of the nominative accentuation². Kirchhoff inclines to the view that -οῦν is the only correct form. The -ώ forms may have been inserted through recollection of the Homeric accusative. κακεστοῦν in Hesychios is Ionic, cf. εἰεστοῦν in Demokritos 206.

523.] *Varia.*

1. *Vocative.* Κοριπτοῖ Herodas 6₁₂, &c., Μητροῖ 6₁, &c. The former has as a by-form Κοριπτί 6₄₆, with which we may compare Νοσσίς 6₂₂, a parallel form of Νοσσώ, § 519 (1).

2. *Plural.* In Hippokr. V 128 λεχοῖ, not λεχοῖς as was read by Galen, is to be adopted. In Hesiod, *Theogon.* 274 we find Γοργούς. A few forms appear in Attic poetry, but among the Ionians the plural did not exist.

3. *Variation with -v stems.* The vocative of χελιδῶν is χελιδοῖ Anakr. 67, as in Aristoph. *Birds* 1411; cf. ἀηδοῖ *ibid.* 679. Hippokr. has βληχοῦς with which compare βληχοῖ in Theophrastos, βληχῶ *Lysistrata* 89. εἰκῶν has in Hdt. the accusative εἰκῶ VII 69 (εἰκόνα II 143). Cf. κυκεῶνα Hipponax 43₄ with κυκεῶ κ 290. On γληχῶ, &c., see § 552.

Stems in ων/ωf.

524.] This declension has been partly merged with the so-called Attic declension, § 477.

Nominative. Hdt. πάτρως, Μίνως, ἥρως.

Genitive. ἥρωος Hdt. VI 69, Μίνωος Hdt. III 122 as in Homer. The *Romanus* has here Μίνω, which is the only form in I 171, 173. A similar ingression of the 'Attic' declension is found in the Homeric ἥρω which may be displaced II 453, θ 483 by the dactylic form ἥρωϊ.

Dative. ἥρωϊ Hdt. VIII 117.

Accusative. ἥρων Hdt. I 167, Homeric ἥρωα in II 143,

¹ Hort. Adon. p. 268 B οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες αὐτὴν εἰς οὐν ἐποίουν, Σαφροῦν καὶ Αἰητοῦν.

² According to some of the ancients with the perispomenon accent.

VI 69, as in the non-Ionic inscription from Priene (No. 141₁). *πάτρων* is found IV 76, IX 78, but *μήτρωα* IV 80 according to Stein. *Μίνων* occurs VII 170, 171, with traces of a form in *-εω* and *-εων* due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for *-εω*. In VII 171 the Aldine edition adopted the Homeric *Μίνωα*. Lukian *Astrol.* 20 has *Μίνω*. It is evident that such fluctuation was unknown in the original Hdt., though which form is to be adopted is uncertain.

Nominative Plural. ἦρωες *Samos* 225.

Dative Plural. ἦρωσι *Hdt.* VII 43.

Stems in Sigma.

This declension comprises stems in *-εσ*, with nominative in *-ος*, or *-ης* (525-540); stems in *-ῶσ* (541); stems in *-ος* (542), *-υς* (543), and those in *-ασ/-εσ*, varying with *-ατ*, nominative *-ας* (544).

Stems in -εσ.

525.] Terminations:—

ος, ης	εες (εις), εα
εος, ευς	εων
ει	εσι
εα (ηυ), ες	εας, εα.

Testimony of the Grammarians.

Genitive: *-εος* *Joh. Gr.* 239 B, 242, *Greg. Kor.* § 11, *Meerm.* 649, 655, *Vat.* 695, *Et. M.* 152₁₂, *Hdn.* II 692₂₇ (= *Choir.* 156₃₂). Cf. *Schol. Ven. A* on O 302, who quotes *ξίφους* from *Hekataios*. *-ευσ*. The Homeric *ἐρέβευς* is called Ionic or Doric in *Hdn.* II 675₂₁ (*Choir.* 212₁₅), II 692₂₆ (*Choir.* 157₃₁), II 336₁₅, II 777₃₀ (*Choir.* 395₃₁), cf. II 328₁₅ and *Et. Gud.* 273₂₂. *κῆδευς* *Schol. Nikander Ther.* 2. *βέλευς* and *σάκευς* are called Doric by *Tzetz.* on *Hsd. Scutum* 334, and *ἐρέβευς* is said to be Doric, not Doric and Ionic, by *An. Ox.* II 343₂₉. On Homeric forms in *-ευσ*, see *Schol. Ven. A* on O 3. *Dative*: *-εῖ* *Joh. Gr.* 240, 242, *Greg. Kor.* §§ 11, 34, *Meerm.* 655, *Birn.* 677₃₈. *Accusative*: *-εᾶ* *Joh. Gr.* 239 B, *Greg. Kor.* § 11, *Meerm.* 649, *Vat.* 695, *Schol. Ven. A* on B 115 (cf. also on K 281) *δυσκλέᾶ καὶ ἀκλέᾶ Ἴωνικῶς, οἱ δὲ Ἀπτικὸι ἐκτείνουσιν*. *Nominative Plural*: *-εες* *Joh. Gr.* 240 B, *Greg. Kor.* § 40, *Meerm.* 652, *Vat.* 697. *-εα*. *Joh. Gr.* 240 B, *Meerm.* 652, *Aug.* 667, *Vat.* 697, *Birn.* 677₅₃, *An. Bachm.* II 367₆. *Genitive Plural*: *-εων* *Joh. Gr.* 240 B, cf. *Greg. Kor.* § 11, *Meerm.* 652, *Aug.* 667, *Vat.* 697, *Birn.* 677₅₄, *Bekk. An.* I 404₂₈ = *Bachm. An.* I 98₂₂. *Accusative Plural*: *-εας*, see *Schol. Ven. A* on K 281.

526.] **Nominative Singular.**

1. *Names in -κλέης, -κλῆς (Dialectal Subdivision) in inscriptions.*

In inscriptions we notice a difference in names in -κλῆς between the Ionic of Eubœia and of its colonies and that of the islands and of the Asiatic mainland. In Eubœia we find -κλέης, in the other portions of Ionic territory -κλῆς. A similar variation may be observed in Attic inscriptions, though there the difference is chronological merely. The oldest prose inscriptions have -κλῆς, while even in the fifth century the longer form comes to light; and the latter appears, though sporadically, in the inscriptional monuments of the fourth century.

A. Eubœian Ionic.

Ἰπποκλέης Eretria 16 C 44 (340-278 B.C.); in Styra 19 Θεοκλ < λ > ἐής 45, Ἐπικλέης 187, Νικοκλέης 271 all of the fifth century. The single case of -κλῆς (Ἡρακλῆς Roberts I 191 B and 192 B on amphorae) may be accounted for by the constant variations in the dialect of vase inscriptions, explained by Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX p. 393 ff.

B. Ionic of the Islands.

Ἠπποκλῆς Amorg. 31, Ἠγισικλῆς Keos 44 B 15, Ἀριστοκλῆς 44 B 18. [Φ]ιλοκλῆ[ς] 44 B 19, Τψικλῆς Delos 55 Π 4, Διοκλῆς, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς Delos B. C. H. VII 107, lines 6 and 18, Τιμοκλ(ῆ)[ς] Thasos 72¹, Ἰπποκλῆς Thasos 78 C 10, Μεγακλῆς Thasos 81 B 2 and in nineteen names in -κλῆς in the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (in Bechtel's collection: *Thasische Insch. ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*), Τιμοκλῆς Siphnos 89.

C. Ionic of the Asiatic mainland and of the colonies of Asiatic cities.

Πασικλῆς Miletos 93, Τερψικλῆς Mil. 94, both inscriptions of the sixth century, Στρατοκλῆς Theodosia (?) 127, [Τι]μοκλῆς Zeleia 113², Ἠπειροκλῆς Smyrna 153¹⁴, and Lampsak. 171, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Smyrna 153¹⁹, Πυθοκλῆς Erythr. 206 A 32, 35, Ἰατροκλῆς 206 A 38, Ἀριστοκλῆς 206 B 48, 206 C 37, Μενεκλῆς 206 C 19, Ἀγασικλῆς 206 C 36, Ἀριστοκλ[ῆ]ς Erythr. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 152, Ἠγεκλῆς, Ξενοκλῆς, Μεγακλῆς Ephesos (Head, *Num. Chron.* 1880, 117 ff.). From island colonies: Εὐκλῆς Iasos 104³, Ἰατροκλῆς 104³, Φιλοκλῆς Chios 174 C 19, Φανοκλῆ[ς] Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 153, the Samian Δαμασικλῆς Bechtel No. 217⁶, Πυθοκλῆς 217⁸, Θεμιστοκλῆς 222⁶, Διοκλῆς Perinth. 234 A 14, Ἀγαθοκλῆς 234 B 3. Τερψικλῆς in No. 260 of uncertain provenance, but probably Asiatic Ionic. It may be noticed that Τερψικλῆς was the name of Archilochos' father.

¹ Τιμοκλέους Choiseul and Koehler, -κλέης Boeckh, -κλῆς Karsten.

2. *In the lyric poets:* Προκλέης Phokylides 1₂, Demodokos 2₂, with the open form that is not found in the contemporaneous dialect of Miletos¹. No example of a noun in -κλήs has been discovered in a Lelian inscription. It should be noticed that Προκλέους in Demod. 2₂ and Phokyl. 1₂ are non-Ionic, but readily admit the substitution of Προκλέος. The Phokylideian passage might be cured by writing καὶ δὲ Προκλήs (Fick), but neither epigram should be tampered with, as it is not certain that the original form has been preserved.

3. *In Ionic prose:* -κλήs is the correct form in Herodotos, though rarely admitted by all MSS., as in Ἡρακλήs II 145, Προκλήs III 50, 51, Μανδροκλήs IV 87 (*P R*, but -έης *A B C d*), Σωσικλήs V 93 (*A B¹ C d*, -έης *reliqui*). In all these passages Stein and Holder adopt the uncontracted forms: a procedure which is open to grave doubt. Themistokles' name occurs twenty-three times in the uncontracted form in all MSS. In the case of other names the testimony is almost entirely in favour of the open form; which appears in the Arrianic Ἡρακλέης 513, 86, 7, Νικοκλέης 188. All who quote Ηekataios have Ἡρακλήs (48, 345, 349), and so in the case of Hellenikos 50 (Θεοκλήs). Ion 1 has of course Σοφοκλήs.

4. The nominative neuter ἄδος (in Halik. 238₁₀, τὸ ἄδος) affords a remarkable confirmation of the Hesychian glosses ἄδημα ἄδος· ψήφισμα· δόγμα, with which we may compare ἄδηκε βουλή in Hipponax frag. 100. The word is not attested except in Ionic. ἄδος is connected with the last member of the Ionic names Λεάδης Styra 19₂₄, and Λεώδης Thasos 77 B 7 (Λεώδεις). The second form is = Ληφοάδης (Hom. Ληώδης), the first from Λη(φο)άδης as Λέαναξ from Λη(φο)Fαναξ. Cf. §§ 281, 289.

527.] **Genitive Singular of Proper Nouns in -ης (Inscriptions).** In the following tables are enumerated the occurrences (in Bechtel's collection) of the genitive of the -εs (-ης) declension together with the genitive of nouns of other declensions, whose genitive is made in -εος, &c. (except the patronymics in -δεος, -δευς, and the terminations -γορευς, which have been tabulated above § 427). The Thasian inscriptions of the Louvre I have placed in the third century, though the latest (part of Nos. 15, 16, 20, 21, and all of No. 18) may be referred to the beginning of the second century. It will be remembered that only those inscriptions are cited which contain one or more Ionisms, and that the lists do not attempt to trace out the usage of the inscriptions after the dialect had passed completely under the sway of Attic.

¹ Both Προκλέης and Προκλήs are Old-Attic.

	-εος	-εως	-εους
VICent.	Δειρομένεος NaX. 23 τοῦρμωκράτεος Prokon. 103		
V Century.	Ἄστυκλέος Sam. 215 (origr.) Θεμιστοκλέος Magnesia, Head, H. N. 501 Κυδιγένεος Keos 45 Δημοκρίνεος Sam. 214		
	Δεξικλέος Keos 48 Ἡρακλέος Thasos 712 Πατροκλέος Eph. 146, and Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216 Οἰκλέος Chios 183 B 33, cf. No. 190	Ἰατροκλέως Iasos 1048, 125 203 325 42	Δαμασικ[λ]έους Sam. 220 ²⁰ (346/45 B.C.) Μανδροκλέους Chios, Paspatas 14 Ὅρσικλέους, <i>ibid.</i> 11
	Μητροφάνεος Maroneia 196, 13	Πασιφάνεως Iasos 1049, 27 Ἀντιφάνεως Iasos 10420 Ἀριστοφάνεως Leros 107	
IV Century.	Καλλικράτεος Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216 Ἐρμωκράτεος Pantikap. Lat. II 185 Ἰπποσθένεος Phanag. 166 Ἀποσθένεος Chios, Pas- patas 12 Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. 110, Phanag. 166, 168 Εὐπείθεος Eph. 146	[Κρ]άτεως Iasos 10415 Ἰπποκράτεως Iasos 10418	Εὐρυσθένεως Sam. 217 cf. § 247
	Πολυχάρεος Pantik., Latyshev II 183; cf. Ἐπιχάρεος, p. 311	Μεγαμήδεως Teos 15723 Ἄρταξέρξεως Myl. 248 Λ Β C	
	Ὀνησικλέος Amorg. 38 Ἀλεξικλέος Delos 55 I Ἰατροκλέος Delos 55 II Ψοκλέος Thasos 75 A 3 Παν[τακ]λέος Thas. 78 A 3, 802 Τ(ε)λεσικλέος Thas. 78 B 4 Παγκλέος Thas. (L.) 4 A 2 Ἀριστοκλέος Thas. (L.) 4 A 12 Ἀγασικλέος Thas. (L.) A 2 Ψοκλέος Thas. (L.) 10 A 8	Τιμοκλέως Thasos 76, Κρατησικλέως Thasos (L.) 14 A 9	Ἀριστοκλέους Thasos 721 (300-250) cf. § 247 Κρατησικλέους Thas. 82 B 11 (225-200) Ἡρακλέους Erythr. 206 B 37 (after 278 B.C.) Ἰεροκλέους Iasos, J.H.S. IX 341, No. 3
III Century.			

-εος	-εως	-εως
	<p>Ἄριστομένους Thas. 72₁ Κλεομένους Thas. 80₁₀ Ἄλθμμένους Thas. (L.) 4 B 3 Εἰδομένους Thas. (L.) 5₆ Καλλιμένους Thas. (L.) 11 A 2 Ὀρθομένους Thas. (L.) 12 C 3, 13 A 6</p> <p>Θεογένους Thas. 78 C 5 Κλεογένους Thas. (L.) 12 C 4</p>	
	<p>Λ[εω]σθένους Th. 78 A 9 Εὐρυσθένους Th. (L.) 12 B 5</p>	
<p>Ἄριστοφάνους Th. (L.) 4 A 8 Ξενοφάνους (?) Th. (L.) 5₂</p>	<p>Τηλεφάνους Th. 77 A 9, 78 C 2, Th. (L.) 12 B 10, 14 B 10 Ἀντιφάνους Th. 75 B 6 Ἐρμοφάνους Th. 78 B 13 Ξεινοφάνους Th. (L.) 3 A 5 Λεωφάνους Th. (L.) 4 A 12 Ἀπολλοφάνους Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2</p>	
<p>Τιμοκράτους Th. 82 B 13 (225-200) Ἐπικράτους Th. (L.) 2₂ about 300)</p>	<p>Δικηκράτους Th. 75 A 9 Ἀσικράτους Th. 78 B 2 Ἐ[π]ικράτους Th. (L.) 14 B 8, 11 A 4 Ἠγεκράτους Th. (L.) 12 B 8 Ἀντοκ[ρ]άτ[ε]υ[ς] Th. (L.) 13 A 7 Ἀριστοκράτους Th. (L.) 14 A 7</p>	

-ειους	-ου	-ευ	-ους	
(L.) 20 A 13, Eryth. 206 B 50	<p>Ἀριστομένου Ery. 206 C 29, 41, 50, Th. (L.) 20 A 2, 21c</p> <p>Ὀρθομένου Th. L. 15 C 7</p> <p>Καλλιμένου Th. (L.) 15 A 10</p> <p>Ἐπιγέμου Erythr. 206 B 28</p> <p>Δισγέμου Th. (L.) 20 C 10</p> <p>(Μ)οιρηγέμου Th. (L.) 15 B 8</p> <p>Ἀθηνογέμου Eryth. 206 A 31</p> <p>Ἱερογέμου Eryth. 206 A 33, 36</p>			
	<p>Μητροφάνου Ery. 206 C 34</p> <p>Ἀριστοφάνου Th. (L.) 20 A 4</p> <p>Λεω[φ]άνου Th. (L.) 15 B 2</p> <p>Ἀντιφάνου Th. (L.) 18 B 15</p>			
	<p>Ἐπικράτου Th. S1 B 9, Th. (L.) 20 C 3</p> <p>Ἀριστοκράτου Th. S2 B 5</p> <p>Κτησικράτου Ery. 206 C 2</p> <p>Πολυκράτου Th. (L.) 15 B 7</p> <p>Ἀντικράτου Th. (L.) 16 A 7, 18 A 11, 20 C 5</p> <p>Τεισικράτου Th. (L.) 17c</p> <p>Τιμοκράτου Th. (L.) 18 B 1</p> <p>Δεινοκράτου Th. (L.) 19 A 8</p>	Ἀστυκράτευ Ery. 206 B 32		

	-εος	-ευσ	-εους
III Century (continued).	Μεγάλκεος Th. (L.) 6C 2 Κλεομήδεος Th. (L.) 1 (about 300 B.C.) Πολυάλθεος Th. (L.) 10 Α 11 Εὐηφένεος Th. (L.) 213 (about 300 B.C.)	Θρασυνάλκευς Th. 78 B 1,4 Δημάλκευς Th. 81 A 13, 82 A 5 Λεωμήδευς Th. (L.) 11 B 3 Παγχάρειυς Th. 72 ₂ Κλεοκούδευς Th. 77 A 10 Παγγήθειυς Th. (L.) 6 C 7 Δημεύς Th. (L.) 11 A 3 'Ηγησιτέλειυς Th. (L.) 6 B 5	
II Cent. and later.	'Ιατροκλέος Halik. 244 'Αντιφάνεος Samothr. 236 ₂		'Ηρακλέους Teos 158 ₂₃

There are numerous occurrences of names in *-εος* and *-ευσ* in inscriptions later than 400 B.C. which afford insufficient criteria to permit of their arrangement under the foregoing table. Some of these may here be mentioned.

1. 'Αριστοκλέο[s] Erythr. 198, perhaps of the fifth century; 'Αγασικλέος (?) Olbia 131, 7 (after 400 B.C., probably fourth century); 'Αστυκλέος (Chios 188 (fourth)); Μεγακλέος (or -κλέους?) Chios, C. I. G. 2374 *d* appendix; 'Ηρακλέος Chios, Paspates 9; Θεοκλέος (or -κλέους?) Halikarn. C. I. G. 2661 *b*, 'Εκατοκλέος (or -κλέους?) Ephesos 149; Μενεκλέος of Soloi, C. I. G. 900; 'Αριστοκλέυς Perinth. 234 B 19; Μενεκλέυς Halikarn. 245; 'Αγαθοκλέυς Chios 191₉, 192; Τιμοκλέυς *ibid.* 191₁₀, 14 (cf. 'Ηρακλέυς read by Paspates (No. 24) as -κλέους); Attic -κλέους appears in Smyrna 153₁₄, 18, 25; -κλείους (§ 220) 153₃ and C. I. G. 3245, both from Smyrna, cf. 3256₃ where -κλήους is written. This last document is very late.

2. Τηλεφάνεος Thas. 83, 1 and Erythr. 198, but -φάνεος Thas. 74; [Πρω]τοφάνεος Olbia 131, 20; 'Απολλοφάνεος Perinthos 234 B 21, 'Απολλοφάνου Smyrna 153₃.

3. 'Επικράτεος Olbia 131, 6, 'Ηροκράτ[ε]ος 131, 8, 'Ιφικράτεος 131, 9, Φιλοκράτεος 131, 10 are probable readings; Φιλοκράτειυς 131, 22, Μενεκράτειυς Perinth. 234 B 7; Καλλικράτου and Ξενοκράτου Samos 222 (pre-Roman).

4. Λεωσέβεο[s] Chios 177₃, Δεινέος 177₁₁, Πυθέος 179₁₃.

5. Μεγαμήδευς Teos 157₂₀, [Τηλαύ]ευσ Chios 191₇.

6. 'Αριστομένου Smyrna 153₁₇, Σωσιμένου Perinth. 234 A 5; 'Ανδροσθένου Smyrna 153₆, Καλλισθένου Olbia 131, 11.

-εΙΟΥΣ	-ΟΥ	-ΕΥ	-ΟΥΣ
	Παιρισάδου Panti- καρ. 122		
	Εὐκράτου Teos 159 ₃		

The forms in -εσ are probably of the fourth century, though some may date from after 300 B. C.

528.] **Remarks on the Chronology of the Genitive Forms.** From the foregoing it is apparent that the life of the old termination -εσ in the inscriptions was threatened on two sides. First, by -εϋσ which was at least Ionic; secondly, by various Attic forms, notably that in -ου. -εϋσ begins to take the place of -εσ about the middle of the fourth century B. C. It was the third century that witnessed the rapid and wide extension of -εϋσ, but after 200 B. C. it too has succumbed. In the Roman period the forms in -εσ and -εϋσ are practically extinct. The genitive in -ιουσ was more tenacious of life than that in -εσ or in -εϋσ. In its inflection of sigmatic stems Ionic was, generally speaking, more conservative than Attic. In the latter dialect proper names gradually yielded to the encroachments of the \hat{A} declension. In the inscriptions we do not observe a pronounced increase of Attic forms until the third century, and it is worthy of note that of these Attic forms, that in -ουσ, except in -κλέουσ, was rarely adopted by Ionic. Doubtless the newer orthography -εϋσ was in itself a sufficient approximation to the Attic, as it left no doubt that the sound was not a dissyllable.

529.] 1. Ἀριστοκλέουσ Thasos 72₁ and Εὐρυσθένεουσ Samos 217₆ are noticeable forms. In No. 72, which dates from the first half of the third century, the genitive ends regularly in -εϋσ, except in the form cited; and the -σθενεουσ form is singular because it is apparently formed in violation of Greek morphology. These forms, as well as Δεουρύσ on a coin of Maroneia (Bechtel

p. 114) may be explained by assuming that the engraver began with E.O. and then, desiring to adopt the modernized orthography, added Υ after O. See Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 58, and cf. § 247.

The earliest example of the Attic $-\kappaλέους$ dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. After this date this form strives for supremacy with the epic horic $-\κλέος$.

2. The example of $-\κλέου$ is not beyond suspicion, not only because of its isolated position, but also from the fact that Letronne's reading is controverted by Le Bas' Ἑκατοκλέος . If the latter is correct, it is worthy of note that, while $-\κλέους$ has been able to drive out the native $-\κλέος$, $-\κλέου$ nevertheless, which appears upon Attic inscriptions after 329 B.C., has not been able to effect an entrance into Ionic.

3. The forms in $-\κλέους$ represent $-\κλέους$ with the intervocalic glide ι , found in $\epsilonὐία$, $\epsilon\rho\rhoεία$, $\piόλει(ω)ς$ Zeleia 113 (§ 220), and are paralleled by Ἀντικλείους C. I. A. II 580₃ (324 B.C.), Δημοκλείους C. I. A. II 872. III 12 (341 B.C.), &c. In Attic inscriptions I find no form in $-\κλείους$ antedating 344 B.C. (of that date $\Thetaεμ[ι]σττοκλείους$ C. I. A. II 701, I 24), while upon Ionic soil the entrance of the glide *iota* into $-\κλέους$ does not ensue before 278 B.C. upon the Asiatic mainland, and in fact in an inscription that is all but Attic (No. 206). In Thasos it does not occur before 200 B.C.

4. In an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyshev II 140), at least as early as the fourth century, we meet with the unique form Αἰτοκλήος (ΚΑΙΟΣ). This genitival form appears in the traditional text of Homer, in Kretan Ἐμπεδοκλήος *Mon. Ant.* I 61, No. 8 (together with $-\κλείος$ e.g. *Mus. It.* III 655, 7, No. 71₁₀), in Argolic Πατροκλήος Loewy 86 (but cf. 89, 103), and perhaps in Kyrian. The epic $-\κλήος$ reappears in poetry (Ἰγρταῖος 111, Kaibel 949, late Spartan), and was adopted even in Herodotos by Aldus (cf. IX 90). As even the Homeric form is to be impeached (for Ἰπρακλήος read $-\κλέεος$), it having been introduced from the analogy of $-\ῆος$, $-\έος$ in $-\etaν-$ stems, a prose form $-\κλήος$ on Ionic soil must be pronounced indefensible. I suggest that the engraver had in mind the Η of the nominative, and failed to correct his mistake after it appeared in the genitive; or Η is a downright blunder for Ε . The latter suggestion is less probable since it is only in late documents that we find the two letters confused, e.g. Ἡράκληα Aiolic, C. D. I. 302, Δημοκλήους Smyrna, C. I. G. 3256 (at the earliest from the second century B.C.).

530.] The tables in § 527 show that, as in Attic, names in $-\epsilon\rho\rhoέως$, $-\gammaέως$, $-\φάρως$ have partially passed under the sway of the Α declension with which the $-\ες$ declension is in closest

touch. In Attic inscriptions the accusative passed out of use before the genitive (from 350 on). In Ionic it is not till the opening of the third century that forms in -κράτου, &c., come to light, though by the year 300 B. C. in Attika the older inflection had been almost completely submerged. This is because in Ionic the hold on the dialect forms in -εσς. after the older -εος had given way, was strong enough to prevent the old declension from being entirely displaced. Nouns in -μένης have -μένον in Ionic by 278 B. C. In Attic these names are genuine -εσ- stems until towards the end of the fourth century, but by 300 B. C. they have passed over into the \hat{A} declension. Again, it is worthy of note that the Ionic -φάρεος, -φάρευς, -δίκεος, -πείθεος, -άλκεος, -άλκευς show that -φάριης, -δίκιης, -πείθιης, -άλκιης are treated as -εσ- stems; cf. Attic Εὐφάνου C. I. A. 126₂, Ἀξιοπέθου C. I. A. 324 D 4, Δημά[λ]κουσ Ἀθηγ. IV 199, Πδτ. Ἀριαπέθου IV 76, -ει IV 78, Σπαργαπέθου IV 76, 78 (Arrian, *Anab.* VI 2, 2 has Σωπέθου).

The form -εσς comes to light in Rhodian¹ and Knidian² documents and in the MSS. of Pindar and Theokritos. The inflection -ου and -ουσ is also Delphic. The former ending occurs in inscriptions from Knidos, Skyros, Skopelos, &c.

531.] Genitive Singular (excluding inscripational forms of proper names).

I. Inscriptions.

τεμένεος Oropos 18₃₂, Samos 216, ἔτεος Zeleia 114 F 4³, Chios 183 A 15, 51 B 6, προσεχέος τεύχουσ Teos 159₈, a very late inscription. No case of -εσς occurs.

II. Lyric Poets.

1. -εος. ξίφεος Tyrt. 11₃₄, ἄνθεος Xenoph. 1₆, πολυανθέος Mimn. 2₁, κράτεος Theog. 46, οὔρεος Theog. 881, κέρδεος Theog. 133, ἀεικέος Theog. 811, Καρικευργέος (conj.) Anakr. 91. Cf. also under No. 5. It should be remarked that there is no case of -εος in the iambographic writers.

2. -εος. θέρεος Sim. Am. 7₃₀ (thus, and not ούου in the first foot), παλιπτριβέος 7₄₃. Λυκάμβεος is the form in the MSS. of Archil. 28, and, if correct, is the earliest instance in the Ionic lyric of the influence of the -εσ- stems upon the \hat{A} declension. Bergk followed Elmsley in editing Λυκάμβεω. Παρισάδεος occurs in an epigram from Pantikapaion in Kaibel 773 = Latyshev II 9.

¹ E.g., Ἴσοκράτευσ Cauer 178₆, Θεοφάνευσ *ibid.* 182 A 9, Πολυκλεῦσ A 18.

² Ἀγαθοκλεῦσ C. D. I. 3549, 2 ff., Ἀριστογένευσ *ibid.* 21, Ἀνδρροσθένευσ *ibid.* 46.

³ This form occurs also in C. I. G. 2919₁, a forged inscription from Tralles.

3. -eus. Hipponax 19₂ ῥίγεις, 49₂ τριήρεις; Herodas 340 τήγεις. In Homer we find a few examples of -eus:—ἐρέβεις, θάμβεις, θάρσευς, θέρεις.

4. -ous (Attic). ψεύδους Theog. 607 (quoted by Stobaios), Γυρραιήλους at the verse end, 1345, in a passage perhaps belonging to Euenos of Paros. Κυπρωγενούς Sol. 26₁, and Theog. 1304, 1308, 1332, 1383. On Προκλέους Phokyl. 1₂, Demod. 2₂, cf. § 526, 2.

5. -ηος in Ἡρακλῆος Tyrnt. 11₁ is the epic form, for which -κλέεος may be substituted.

6. -εω. A mixed form is Πρηξιτέλεω Hrd. 4₂₂: οἱ Πρηξιτέλεω παῖδες· οὐχ ὀρήης κείνα, where no other genitival form had suited the verse. Cf. Ανκάμβεος and Ανκάμβεω under (2) above, and -κλέω. Eretria. Έφ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. In Attic inscriptions of the end of the third century we find -τέλου in proper names.

III. Prose.

Ξίφεος Hekat. 360 (Schol. Ven. A on O 302), θάρσεος Demokr. 207, ἡθεος 127, σκήνεος 6, 127, 128, ἐπιμελέος 70, πλήθεος Diog. Apoll. 6 (Simpl. 153₁₁, a rare instance of the retention of -eos in Simpl.), Hdt. πεντατέεος I 136, ξυνεχέος Philip of Pergamum in B. C. II. II 273. Hdt. I 85 and Hippokrates VI 384 have δέους = Homeric δείους from original *δέεος < δ5εϊεσ-ος. The Homeric form was not misinterpreted out of a contracted *δέεως, but misread out of δέεος which can be restored K 376, O 4.

Hdt. has usually -eos in proper names. In V 92 β' Ἐχεκράτεω is found in *AB¹CD*. Traces of this *eu* are rare in the MSS. of the historian. In Herodotos -κλέος is the usual form with the variants:—(1) -κλέους, *e. g.* I 7 (*CR*) or (2) -κλήος, *e. g.* IX 90 Θρασυκλήος in Aldus. It is noticeable that the scribes who wrote our MSS. of Hdt. never adopted the form -κλείους. Ionic -κλέος occurs in the pseudo-Ionists: Lukian, *Syr. dea* 3, Arrian, *Ind.* 5₂, 10₁, 9₁, 18₂, Abydenos 9, ep. Hippokr. 26₂ (*v. l.*). On the other hand the Attic form comes to light in Lukian, *Syr. dea* 26, Arrian, *Ind.* 5₁₂, 13, 8₈, four times in the letters of Hippokrates. The pseudo-Ionists usually have -eos in other words, *e. g.* Ἰθαγένεος *Vita Hom.* Arrian has κλέους in 36₆, for which Eberhard reads κλέος.

532.] Dative Singular.

1. -ει in στέρει Erythr. 204₁₂, τ]εῖχει Halik. 240₁₀, Ἄρχει 240₁₇, ἔτει Myl. 248 A B C, ἔπει Chios in *B. P. W.* 1889 p. 1195. None of these inscriptions is metrical. In Sim. Amorg. 1₁₃ Ἄρει occurs, where Brunck corrected Ἄρει of the vulgate, and also in Sim. Keos 43₂; in Hipponax 11 ἄγει is the proper reading according to Bergk, ἄγεί according to Fix. Cf. § 156.

ἐνᾶγεί is the correct form as conjectured by Meineke, but this form in Archil. 113 has no great probability. Anakr. 107 (eleg.) has *πεμένει*. *πλήθει* is found in Tyrst. 4, Theog. 699 (-εῖ possible), *ἔλκει* in Theog. 1134, *πελάγεί* in Sim. Keos 135₂, 136₂, 142₆, *ῥρει* 107₅.

2. -εῖ in poetry is very rare; *ἔγχεῖ* Tyrst. 11₂₀, *τροχοειδέι* Theog. 7, *φιλοκερδέι* 199, *νήλεῖ* 1125. It will be noticed that these forms occur in poets not of Ionic birth. That -εῖ had ceased to exist in purely Ionic poetry before the year 500 B. C. is highly probable; a conclusion that tells against the assumption of a prose -εῖ.

In Herodotos it is the custom to use the non-contracted form even when the MSS., either generally or partially, oppose its adoption (cf. I 70 *μεγάθει*, III 9 *μήκει*). The preponderance of -εῖ over -ει in the MSS. as a whole has blinded editors to the large number of instances of -ει in such MSS. as *A B* (173 cases). The contracted form appears to have existed in the archetype *χ*; and this represents the actual Ionic form of the fifth century, though it is uncertain whether or not it has come down from Herodoteian times to the date of the writing of *λ*. How keen the pursuit of open forms was, is evident from the Aldine edition's *στάσει*, *δόσει*, *ἀφίξει* (I 68), &c. Authors quoting Hekataios have -εῖ, e. g. *ῥρει* 344, *Ἄργει* 357. Forms from Anaxagoras likewise, cf. *πλήθει*, *μεγάθει* 1, *Melissos ὑγιέ*.

The open forms occur also in the other Ionic writers, who have been subjected to the same *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* as Herodotos. Thus Hippokrates regularly has -εῖ, and the letters current under his name -εῖ seventeen times, -εῖ only twice. The first epistle of Pythagoras has a contracted form. Lukian in the *Syr. dea* 32 has *ἀτρεκέι*, Arrian about twenty examples of -εῖ to three of -ει; Abydenos frag. 9 has *τείχει*, Euseb. Mynd. § 1 *ὑσπεβεῖ*, 63 *γένει* (MSS.) and *εὐτυχεῖ* (*συνεχεῖ* Mullach) and *κάλλει* in the same fragment. Arrian has both *Ἡρακλεῖ* (36₂) and *Ἡρακλεῖ* (8₆), *πλήθει* 11₉. The *Vita Homeri* has *τείχει* 26.

533.] Accusative Singular (Masculine and Feminine).

1. -εα. *ἀφανέα* Teos 174 *A* 12, *Στρατοκλέα* Amphip. 10₂, Theog. *βαθυκήτεια* 175, *εὐτείχεια* 1209, *περικαλλέα* 1277, Demokr. *πολυτελέα*, *αὐταρκέα* 36, *ἰσοσθενέα* 24, *δημοσφελέα* 57, Hdt. *διφνέα* IV 9, *ὑγία* III 130, 133, 134. -κλέα is common in Hdt. -κλήα, the Homeric ending, was adopted by Aldus (VII 193, VIII 92). There is no variant -κλήν. Hippokrates has *Περικλέα* III 120. *Ἡρακλέα* occurs in Ktesias § 21 and six times in Arrian. We find in Herakleitos 16 *Ξεροφάνεια*, in Lukian, *Vit. Auc.* 4 *ἐμφανέα*, 6 *ἐμπερέα*; *ὑγία Syr. dea* 19; *Astr.* 2 *ψενδέα* and *ἀληθέα*, 3 *πολυειδέα*, 5 *ἀτελέα*. In the *Vita Homeri* the open

forms prevail (twenty-four in all; two contracted forms). On *δεσπότεα*, *Γύγεια* and the like, see § 438, 2.

2. -εγ. *μελιηδέα* Anakr. 41₂, *νεοθηλέα* Anakr. 51₁, *δυσμενέα* Sim. Am. 7₁₀₂.

3. In Hdt. II 108 we find *ἐνδεᾶ*. For this form that in -εᾶ should be substituted; cf. epist. Hippokr. 22₁ *εὐκλέα*. *ύγιᾶ* occurs in Hippokr. III 252, and is Attic as well as *ύγιῆ*.

4. -η. *ἐξώλη* Mylasa 248 A 15 (367/66 B. C.), and so on the forged inscription from Tralles, C. I. G. 2919. This ending occurs also in poetry, where it is not different from -εα: *ἐξηκορταέτη* Mimn. 6₂ (Sitzler -εα), *ὀρθωκορταέτη* Solon 20₄, *ἀσκηθῆ* Sol. 19₄. In Theognis we observe *ἀπειθῆ* 1235 at the end of the verse, and *εὐαλόῃ* 830 (Bergk, *εὐώδη* MSS.) before the caesura of the pentameter. There is no example of -κλή in Ionic. *εὐφυσῆ* occurs in Aretaios 331, despite -εα in the plural.

In Hdt. VI 57 for *θυσῆν δημοτελή* Stein reads with good MSS. *θυσῆν δημοτελής*.

5. -ην. *Ἀντιγένην* is found in Thasos 72₈ (300-250 B. C.). Forms in -ην in inscriptions from Smyrna (*Μενεκλήν* C. I. G. 3238 as C. I. A. II 305₂₉, *Σωκλήν* 3241, and probably *Δημοκλήν* 3256) are common in the later stages of the life of all dialects. In Attic inscriptions the accusative of names in -κλής ends in -κλέα until the year 300 B. C., afterwards in -κλήν. But other names in -ης have -ην in the earlier part of the century. On Anakreon's *αἰνοπαθῆν* 36 (Bergk -παθῆ), see under AIOIC.

534.] **Vocative.** *Δημοκλεῖς* Theog. 923, though -εες was possible. Uncontracted are *Περικλεες* Archil. 9₁ (eleg.) and *Πριάκλεες* 119. Theog. 1323 has *Κυπρογένη*. Hdt. has *Ἰστασπες* I 209, since *Ἰστασπης* is inflected as an -ες stem (*Ἰστασπεος* l. l.), and also *Πρήξασπες* III 34, &c., *Ἀρτέμβαρες* I 116 and *Οἰζαρες* III 85.

535.] **Nominative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).** -εες. *ἀτελεῖς* occurs Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, but the inscription is Hellenistic. *κατρηρέεες* Anakr. 121, but *Λυδοπαθείς* 155, Demokr. *Mor.* *εὐσταθείες* 20₅, *ἀμαθείες* 70, *θεοφιλείες* 107, *πολυμαθείες* 140, *ἀνακηδέες* 214; and *φιλομεμφέες* 146, *ξυγγενέες* 152, and *εὐφυέες* 226 (all fragments of Demokrates). Hdt. has *ἐπίαιέες* (?) IV 130 (v. l. -ευέες), Hippokr. *φρικώδεες* V 588 (12). In Hippokr. the open far outnumber the contracted forms.

In the *Syria dea* of Lukian there are twelve, in the *Astr.* two open forms; Arrian also has twelve cases of -εες; Euseb. Mynd. § 4 *προσφιλέες*, 42 *ἀπειθέες*, 63 *ἀφανέες* for which Mullah reads *διφανέας*; epist. Thales 1 *φρηνήρεες*; epist. Hippokr. seven open forms. Abydenos 1 has *διφνεῖς*, Aretaios contracts seven times, and resolves sixty-one times in the first two treatises. Eusebios has *ἀδρανέες*. On nominative forms in -εις used as accusative, see § 539.

536.] Nominative and Accusative Plural (Neuter).

1. -εα. Upon inscriptions: *ἔτεα* Olynthos 8 A 5, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 293 (an inscription containing *ἀτελείς* and *τελλῶν*), *τέλεα* Olynthos 8 B 8. In Keos No. 437, an inscription of the fifth century written *στοιχηδόν*, Roehl has supplied *ὠλ[ο]-σχερ[έα]*. In line 17 of the same document *θήη* is certain. The difference according to Bechtel between the *η* and *εα* is here purely graphical; cf. *εῖρηται* Oropos 18₁₇ with the usual -εῖρηται in Ionic poetry.

Open -εα occurs in the poets. In the elegists: Archil. 91 *κῆδεα*, *φάρε'* Xenoph. 33, *νείκεα* Anakr. 94₂, *βέλεα* Mimn. 14₈. Theognis has *ἄλγεα* 1189, *αἴσχεα* 388, *ἄλγεα* 1252, *κέρθεα* 50, 835, *ἦθεα* 970, *ψευδέα* 713, *δήνε'* 222. Solon has *ἄλγεα* 4₈, 21₂, *ἄνθεα* 4₃₀, *κέρθεα* 13₇₄. *παναλουργέα* Xenoph. 33. In iambic poetry we find *ἀεικέα* Sol. 36₁₁ at the verse end with *ἦθη* in the next line.

-εα in Ionic prose: *οὔρεα* Hekat. 172, *ψευδέα* Demokr. 119, *εἶδεα* Melissos 17, &c., *ἀληθέα* Hekat. 332, Herakl. 107, Melissos 17, Lukian, *de Domo* 20, *ἀνωφελέα* Demokr. 13, *διαπρεπέα* 18, *ἀσφαλέα* 58, *ἀσθενέα* 185; Protag. *πένθεα*. Hdt. has -εα throughout, e.g. *ἔτεα* (*ἔτη* I 16 *b d z*), Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. II.* II 273) *ἔθνεα*, Lukian, *Vil. auc.* 14 *δακρνώδεα*, *Syr. dra* *ἀεικέα*, *ἀτρεκέα*, *θεοπρεπέα* 29, Aretaios *ἀπάθεα* and *ὑγία* 91. Hippokr. III 450 has the latter form by a conjecture adopted by Littré. Hdt. II 92 has *κρίνεα*, the usual nominative being *κρίνον*.

2. -εα. *δήνεα* Sim. Am. 7₇₈ (first foot), *ἔτεα* 3₂ (end of verse); *μέλεα* Archil. 12₁ (end of pentameter); *ἄνθεα* Mimn. 14 (before the caesura); *σκέλεα* Herodas 340 (perhaps *υύυ*).

3. -εᾶ. Hdt. *καταδεᾶ* II 121 (*β*), *ἀκλεᾶ* I 1 are as incorrect as the same forms in the singular. Fritsch in Curtius' *Studien* VI 93 proposes to read *καταδεᾶ* with hyphaeresis. Bredow preferred *καταδεεᾶ*.

4. -η. *ἔπη* Theog. 1366 and *ἀσεβῆ* 1180 at the end of the verse, a position occupied by *ἔτη* in Sol. 27₁₄. *ἀεικέα ἦθη* 36₁₂ (trim.); *κράτη* 36₁₃ (trim.) according to Blass, where Bergk reads *κράτει*.

537.] Genitive Plural.

1. -εων: *ἑτέων* Zelaia 114 F 3, *τελέων* 114 D 6; Archil. *ὀρέων* 115 (dactylic tetrap. + ithyphallicus), Mimn. *ὀχέων* 12₁₁, *δυσμενέων* 14₈, *δυσηλεγέων* 7₃; Tyr. *ὀρέων* 58, *βελέων* 11₂₈, *δυσμενέων* 12₂₁; Theog. *ἑπέων* 755, 1334, *ὀρέων* 1292, *χαμαιγενέων* 870, *εὔσεβέων* 1141; Solon *νεφέων* 13₂₄, *δυσμενέων* 4₂₁; *μεδέων* occurs in Archil. 138, a fragment of uncertain metre.

This form is constant in the prose of Hdt. Ktesias has ἐτέων 21, Herakl. ἐπέων 2, ἐτέων 12, ψευδέων 118 (*vulgo* -ῶν), Demokr. κτηρέων 127, Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. II. II* 273) κερδέων, παθέων, Lukian, *Vil. auc.* 3 ἐτέων.

2. -εων: Archil. στηθέων 103₃₃, Sim. Am. ἐτέων 18; Theog. κερδέων 46 (in *A O, ceteri κερδῶν*), τειχέων 951, στηθέων 1164 (*A, Stobaios*); Solon ἐπέων 12.

3. -ῶν: Archil. ἐνάδην δυσμενῶν 66₂ (tetram.), for which we may read ἀνὰ δ' ἔχου μένων, Theog. ἐπῶν 1321, Anakr. μελῶν 45 (Blass). τελῶν, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, is Hellenistic.

538.] Dative Plural. τέλεσι Priene 144₁ (φάρεσι in a non-Ionic epigram, Priene 141₃). Archil. has δυσμενέσιν 7, πελάγεσιν 11, κήδεσιν 66₁; Kallinos δυσμενέσιν 18; Simonides Amorg. οὔρεσιν 141 (as Hekat. 172, 173), ἄλγεσιν 123; Mimnermos ἄνθεσιν 23, Anakr. στήθεσι 39. The dative plural in -εσσι is practically restricted to sigmatic stems in Ionic, only two exceptions being known: ἰχθίεσιν Ananios 5, and περιρύγεσσι Anakreon 241. In Xenophanes 3, χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ταναῆσιν is preferable; especially since in a fragment of Aristaeas (Kinkel p. 245) we find χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι ταναῆσιν.

539.] Accusative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).

ἀφανέας Teos 156 B 38, ἀκρατέα[s] Chios 174 C 8, ἀνωφελέας Xenoph. 31, εὐγενέας Theog. 184, Τρήρεας Kallinos 4; Hdt. τρήρηεας VII 158, περιδέεας V 44, ἀνθροποφυέας I 131, Πιπρῶκρ. ὑγιέας II 119.

The nominative form -εις is used for the accusative in πρεσβυγενεῖς Tyr. 4₅ (Renner -εας), εὐανθεῖς Theog. 1200.

540.]

Many proper names in -ης, inflected in other writers according to the Ἄ declension, in Hdt. follow the -εσ declension. For a full list of such names, see Bredow p. 230 ff. Some are Φαρνάκεος VII 66, Αἰάκεος VI 13, Ἰδάρνει VIII 118, Φαρανδάτεος IX 76, Ἀρσάμεος VII 224, Πολυδέκτηος VIII 131 (Stein's -εω is a conjecture of Valekenacr). Names in -φρένης are invariably -εσ stems in Hdt., in Arrian -ᾶ stems. On Herodoteian names that are usually -ᾶ stems but incline to the -εσ declension, chiefly in the accusative, see above § 438, 2, and Bredow pp. 226-230.

541.] Stem in -υς-.

Original forms of the inflection of μῦς are rare, the influence of the type ὄφρυς, -ύος having obliterated the ancient inflection. In Hdt. II 141 we find μῶν for the old *μῦσα; in Herodas 376 μῦς is the nominative plural, whereas the older form is μῦες;

Epicharmos 28 Ahrens; $\mu\tilde{\nu}\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ ¹ for $*\mu\tilde{\nu}\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ is supported by a reading in Batrachom. 260 ($\mu\tilde{\nu}\sigma\acute{\iota}$, the regular form from $*\mu\tilde{\nu}\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ in 173, 174, 178), but is a mistaken form, only nouns of more than one syllable in the nominative ending in $-\tilde{\nu}\sigma\acute{\iota}$.

542.] Stems in -os-

Here belong $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. *Nominative*: Hdt. $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ VIII 83, Arrian $\xi\omega\varsigma$, $\xi\acute{\omega}\sigma\varsigma$ ², $\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$. *Genitive*: $\eta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\varsigma$ < $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ Oropos 18₄₆, Hdt. II 8, VII 167, $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\upsilon\varsigma$ Tyrnt. 12₄₀, Theog. 253, 410, 1266. $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\varsigma$ and $\eta\acute{\omega}\sigma\varsigma$ are everywhere possible in Homer except ν 171, Θ 470, 525, δ 188. *Dative*: $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\acute{\iota}$ may be read K 238. *Accusative*: the ground-form $*\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\text{-}a$ yielded $*\eta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha$ ³ = $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ ⁴, which may be read in Homer in place of the traditional $\eta\acute{\omega}$. $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}$ may likewise be displaced in favour of $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\alpha$. $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}$ appears in the MSS. of Hdt. I 8 and deserves the preference over $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$, an analogue of the $-\omega\iota$ declension, which Greg. Corinth. § 35 calls Ionic. $\eta\acute{\omega}\nu$ in the same grammarian is found only in an elegy in Athen. XI 473 A. In Hdt. IV 40 *B* has $\eta\acute{\omega}$, the other MSS. the Attic $\xi\omega$ as Arrian, *Ind.* § 28. Xenophon adopted $\eta\acute{\omega}$ according to Photios. Our MSS. have however $\xi\omega$.

543.] Stems in -vs-

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ in Mylasa 249 is the only inscriptional testimony in Ionic to the authenticity of a form preserved in T 117⁵, Hymn II 11, Hesiod *W. D.* 557, Pind. *N. V* 44, Anakreon 6 and Hdt. *e.g.* II 82. It also appears in a Korkyraian inscription, C. D. I. 3199₂, in one from Kalchadon, 3052₂₇, and is not unknown in Attic (*Tymaios* 39 C, *Kratylos* 409 C). The preservation of this original form until so late a period (the inscription no. 249 is not older than the first century B. C.) is an interesting case of the retention of dialect forms. $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ ⁶ is only apparently a *vu* stem, $\mu\eta\nu\sigma\text{-}$ being original. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ is from $*\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$ < $*\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\varsigma$, according to the law that a vowel followed by a nasal and a consonant is shortened; a law that came into existence after *vs* had become *vu* (Aiolic $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\nu\sigma\varsigma$).

The genitive $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\rho}\varsigma$ is found in Oropos 18₄₆, Keos 47₄; nomina-

¹ W. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 50.

² Eustath. 727_{52, 58}, 1142₅₁, 1504₄₄, holds that $\eta\acute{\omega}\nu\sigma\varsigma$ is the Ionic form as compared with $\eta\acute{\omega}\nu\sigma\varsigma$ and $\xi\acute{\omega}\nu\sigma\varsigma$.

³ G. Meyer and Schmidt (*K. Z.* XXV 24) regard $*\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ as the original ablaut form which became $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ through influence of $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$.

⁴ In Hdn. II 391₁₅ = Et. M. 351₂₀, Et. Gud. 195₁₃, An. Ox. I 158₅, $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ is attested as Ionic; incorrectly called Aiolic by Et. Gud. 196₁₅, An. Ox. I 137₂.

⁵ $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\varsigma$ was read T 117 in the Chian edition of Homer. The Schol. Ven. A *ad loc.* calls $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ Aiolic. $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\varsigma$ appears in the Herakleian Tables, Cauet 40₁.

⁶ $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ was abstracted from $\mu\eta\nu(\nu)\acute{\nu}\sigma\varsigma$. On the declension of this word see Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 61.

tive plural *μῆρες* Anakr. 41, dative plural *μηρών* Halik. 238¹⁸; Stein correctly edits this form in Herodotos, though *ῥ* has *μῆρῶσιν* in IV 43, VIII 51.

544.] Stems in *-ασ-* *-εσ-*, nominative *-ας*.

On the interconnected words *κέρας* and *κάρη* (§ 545), and on *κρέας* see Schmidt's *Neutra*.

κέρας is inflected in Hdt. as follows:—*κέρεος* VI 111, IX 26, *κέρει* IX 102, *κέρεια* II 38 and often, *κέρῶν* II 132, IV 183. In Hippokr. II 68 we find *κέρως* and *κέρατα*. The form with *τ* was contemporary Attic as we learn from [*κέρ*]ατε C. I. A. IV 185 B 46 (410 B. C.). The difference between Hdt. and Hippokr. is marked. *κέρως* could not have come into existence in Ionic at the same time and place as *κέρεος* < **κέρασος*. *κέρῶτα* is a new formation, which came into existence after **κέρᾶ(σ)ατος* had been substituted for **κρά(σ)ατος*. The former of these is the parent of Attic *κράτος*. *ὑψικέρητος*, which is cited in Hdn. II 68³³⁹ without any statement of its provenance, might at first sight appear to be Ionic; but is in fact a hetero-clite from *ὑψικέρης* as *ἀμένητος* from *ἀμένης*. Pindar fr. 325 has *ὑψικέρῶτα*, but no Ionian used *-κέρητα*.

κρέας yields *κρέως* Hdt. II 41, *κρέα* Hdt. I 119, II 47 and often, Hippokr. VII 196, Hekat. 355, Sim. Am. 241 (end of trimeter), Theog. 293 (*ᾶ*), *κρεῶν* Hdt. I 59 and often, Oropos 18³¹, Hippokr. VIII 238, [*κρέεσσιν* oracle in Hdt. I 47, cf. C. I. G. 1724], *κρέασιν* Hippokr. VIII 54, 138 as Θ 162. Hdn. II 319⁶ = Chorob. 488³³ has preserved in *κρεῶν* a trace of the form with *ε* for *α* before an *ο* sound. This may be either Ionic or Attic¹. That the substitution is preserved in Homer is assumed by Schmidt, who proposes to substitute *κρέων* for *κρεῶν* in Homer; though in Hymn II 130 *κρεῶν* is read by all MSS. (but rejected by Gemoll). I find this plausible, as it accounts for the *ει*, which is difficult.

The Herodoteian forms of *τέρας* are *τέρεος* VIII 37, *τέρατος* and *τέρατα* II 82 in all MSS., *τέρεια* VIII 37. Homer has *τερῶν*, *τερᾶσσι*, *τέραι*; and *τείρεα* Σ 485, *τείρῶσιν* Hymn VII 7 are usually ascribed to the same nominative form. Alkaios 155 used *τερῶν* (Eust. 1155⁴⁰), not *τείρων* (*σιν*) as is reported in the Lexicon of Kyrillos, An. Par. IV 192¹⁰. *τέρατα* is good Attic despite the statements of the grammarians to the contrary, and may well be Ionic of the fifth century. Inscriptional Attic has *κέρατα* but *κρέα*. *Τειρεσίας*² was introduced into later literature

¹ That Attic did not repudiate the stem in *τ* is evident from *κρέατος* in Ἄθην. VII 87, 73, the only occurrence upon Attic inscriptions.

² The name can, however, scarcely be derived from the dative plural *τείρεσι* + *ας*, as Ἄλκι-δάμας, &c. I do not know of any certain phonetic change that will explain it as coming from *τερατί-ας*.

in the form its initial syllable was forced to assume in the epic. *Τερρεία* in Kaibel 52 may contain the same root, but the name is too singular to be adduced as evidence without further light from other dialects. *τέρρεα* in Σ 485, where it is = *ἄστρα*, is not to be separated from *τέρας*. Cf. *τερρασκόπος* and Eurip. fr. 485: ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προνομιτεύσατο | χρησμοῦσι σαφέσσι ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς, and Δ 76.

The plural of *γέρας* occurs frequently in Ildt. in the form *γέρρα*. This is also found in Miletos 1007. In Kos (Paton and Hicks' *Inscriptions of Kos*, No. 37₂₁) we find *γ]εραφόρος*, but *γέρη* in l. 22 (*κρέα* l. 23). *γερηφόρος* appears in *B. C. H.* XII 282, *γερηφορία* in Dion. Halik.

Epic in colouring is *γήραος* in Ildt. III 14 (*γήραος οὐδῶφ*), Archil. 116, in Mimn. 2₆, and in Theog. 527, perhaps a verse of Mimnermos. In 174 Theognis has *γήρωσ* which is not Ionic. *γήραι*, not *γήραῖ*, is read in Hdt. VI 24. The occurrence of *γήραος* in Archilochos deserves attention, since it is a case of an Homeric form appearing in a trimeter. Elsewhere the poet contracts *a + o* separated by *σ* (§ 277, 2).

The substitution of *ε* for *α* before *o* sounds appears also in *γήρους*, in the pseudo-Hippocratic treatise *περὶ τῶν ἐν τὸς παθῶν* (VII 182). Littré here adopts *ἕως γήρους* (with Attic *-ους*), the reading of another hand in *H* (of the fourteenth century) for *ἐς τὸ γήρας*. In Luke I 36 we read *γήρει*. The grammarians register *γήρος*¹ under the same category as *οὔδος*, *κῶος*, *σκέπος*, *κρέφος*, &c., all of which forms appear to be nothing more than figments made out of the forms with *ε* before the case ending. *Γήρος* as a proper name is found in an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyshev II 140) that is peculiar from the presence of a genitive in *-κλήος* (§ 529). If connected with *γήρας*, it is the only occurrence outside of grammatical literature of a nominative form in *-os* interchangeable with one in *-as*.

Homer has *οὔδεος*, *οὔδεῖ* and *οὔδεῖ*; Aischylos *βρέτεος*, *-ει*, *-εα*, *-έων*.

The genitive *-aos* is called Ionic in the case of *κέραος*, *κρέαος*, *γήραος* by Ildt. II 301₂₁ = Choirob. 386₁₀, cf. Hdn. II 317₁₇, 773_{29, 35}, cf. 774₄, *κέραος* Et. M. 505₁₁; *δέπαος*, *κρέαος*, *γέραος*, *σκέπαος* An. Ox. I 251₂₃; *κρέαος*, *γήραος* Theod. 35₁₁ (Hilgard); *κρέαῖ* Hdn. II 316₁₁, 774₆ = Choirob. 388₅ [*κρεάοιν* Choirob. 388_{12, 22}, *κρέαε* Choirob. 388₂₁], *κρέασι* Choirob. 386₂₈. *γέραα* is assumed as an Ionic form, An. Ox. I 99, (cf. *τέραα* μ 394).

¹ Hdn. II 281₁₂ = Et. M. 639₁, II 220₁₂ = Eust. 1560₂₉ (cf. 600₁₁), II 773₅, 33 = Choirob. 386₅, 387₂. Nowhere is the form called Ionic. Of the forms that appear to be analogous, the only instances which are ascribed to definite dialects are *δέρος* (on which see Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 341) and *κῶος*, which are called Ionic or Doric by Et. M. 257₉; the latter, Aiolic by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 61. *ψέφος* is Pindaric (frag. 32₁) according to Et. M. 818₃₄ (cf. Lobeck, *Rhem.* 315).

545.] Stems in Tau.

1. Stems in -*ντ*-. It has been supposed that Hipponax 12 has preserved the original participial inflection of *τάλας*¹:—

τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλω συνώκησας ;

With this form we may compare *αἰνοτάλαντα* in Antimachos. The correct explanation is that *τάλαντι* is a neologism like *Σαρπηδοίτος*, *θεράποντος*, *δράκοντος*. Nominative and vocative were alike in the case of -*αν* and -*αντ* stems. Participles in Ionic are inflected as in Attic, e.g. *καθαροῦσι* Archil. 64, *φάγουσι* Hipponax 82.

Other stems in -*ντ* are: *Ἀλκιδάμας* Keos 41 (on *ā*, see § 161), *Δηιδάμαντ*-Aigiale 28 A; [*Λγ*] *λωφῶντος* Thas. 78 A 2, [*Νι*] *κοφῶντος* 75 A 2 (see § 277, 1, on the contraction of *a + o*), *Λεωμέδοντος* Smyrna 153₁₀, *Δηιλεόντος* Smyrna 153₁₈, *Μεγακρέ(ο)ντος* Chios 177₄, *Ἡγεκρέοντος* Samos 217₉.

Herodotos has *ὀδών*² VI 107 = Attic *ὀδούς*. An indirect attestation of Ionic *ὀών* is found by Bechtel in *KOKOΔON*³, *Styra* 19₅₃, formed as *Χαλκῶδων*. Hippokrates also has *ὀών*. Plural *ὀόοντες* Hippon. 62₂, Anakr. 43₂, Hippokr. II 320. *ὀόοντες* is the norist participle of the $\sqrt{\text{ed}}$ (or perhaps ēd) *cat*. Its initial *o* is assimilated from the *ε* of Aiolic *ἔδοντες*. See J. Schmidt in *K. Z.* XXXII 329.

2. Stems in -*τ*-. *δόντ* is inflected as a stem in *ρ* in the following cases: *δονρός* Tyrt. 11₂₀, *δονρί* Anakr. 21₉, *δορί* Archil. 21, 2. *δουρικλυτοί* 35. Elsewhere the *τ* form: *δώρατα* Hdt. VII 89, 224, IX 62 in all MSS., but incorrectly, *δούρατα* I 79 (all MSS.), *δούρασι* I 172, VII 41 (in *P* only), Tyrt. 11₃₇. The forms in *ου* are Ionic, notwithstanding Archil. *δορί* (§ 253, 1). *Δούριδος* occurs upon a Samian inscription (C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften*, No. 13).

Hdt. has *γόνυ* VI 27, *γόνυατος* II 80, *γόνυατα* I 199, III 103, V 86, *γουνάτων* I 112, IX 76 (*γούνων* Lukian *Syr. dea* 22), *γούνασι* IV 152, II 132 (*γόνυασι A B C*), VII 88 (*γούνασι A B*). *οῦς* yields *ῶτα*, *ὠσί* in Hdt., *ῶτα* Herakl. 4, *ῶτων* Herakl. 15. *ῶς* is found in a late inscription from Delos (*B. C. II.* II 322) and in one from Oropos (*Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1889, p. 3, l. 19). Hippokrates has *ῶτός* II 78, VI 368 (*θ*, Littré *οὔατος*), *οὔατα* VI 390 (*ῶτα* in *θ*), IX 84, *οὔατων* VI 126, IX 86; but *ῶσίν* VI 128, *ῶτα* II 646, VI 392 as Herakl. *οὔατα* is found in Theog. 1163, *ὠσί* Anakr. 21₄. In Homer we have the forms with *οὔ*- except *μ* 200 (*ῶσίν*, for which *οὔασ'* has been read). See § 266.

¹ Hdn. II 628₃ = Choir. 280₃₁ = Bekk. An. III 1421; Theokr. 2, has *τάλας*. In Hrd. 3₂₀, 7₂₃ we have an hyper-Ionic *τάλης*, according to Crusius, for the usual reading *τά λῆς*. I do not think such a slip possible even in the speech of the vulgar.

² Cf. Eust. 854₁₂, where *προῶδων* and *χαυλιῶδων* are cited. Epicharmos has *κυνῶδων* fr. 9, (Ahrens).

³ Cf. Meister in *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 525.

Hdt. has ἐν χροῖ IV 175. The word is rare in Ionic as in Attic prose. Homer generally has χροός, χροί, χροά which recur in Euripides. χροά is found in Archil. 100, Tyrnt. 10₂₇, Theog. 217, cf. ἀπαλόχροος 1341. χρωτα occurs in Keos 43₃₀. Hdn. has a nominative χροός I 401₅, II 921₈, &c., from which he derives χροός. Hdt. has μελάγχροες, Hippokr. -χροίος.

σταῖς Hdt. II 36 (not στάς) yields σταίτος. See Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 357. Hdt. I 120 has ονειράτων (cf. v 87) from τὸ ονειρον (ονειρος VII 16). ἔρωσ Archil. 103, ἔρωτι Anakr. 19, ἔρωτα Hdt. V 32. ἔρωσ occurs in Homer Γ 442, Ξ 294, a form with τ for the first time in Hymn II 449 (ἔρωτα). Theognis has the Homeric ἔρος 1322, ἔρον 1064. ἐσθήν Mykonos 92₂₄ is a heteroclitē (ἐσθήτος Hdt. IX 80), cf. μύκην in Hekataios (schol. Ven. A on O 302). Both of these words are classed by Bechtel (*Ion. Inschr.*, p. 66) with those which he maintains have pan-Hellenic η stems. The genitive of the latter noun is μύκew in Archil. 47.

From εἴλωσ we have εἴλωτες IX 80, εἰλώτων (C, -τέων R) in IX 80 and IX 28. In IX 10 εἰλώτων is read, but in VI 58, 75, 80 εἰλωτέων is the sole reading of all the MSS. εἴλωτας VI 81 is indifferent as no stress is to be laid on the accent. The co-existence of the two genitive forms in this and other abundantia such as μέγαρον, μέγαρος may have been in part the cause of such formations as μυριαδέων, -ων, ἀλωπεκέων, -ων, &c.

On λῖός from λῖς=λέων, see § 484. Hippokr. VIII 168 has ἄλειφα for ἄλειφαρ.

κάρη nominative Anakr. 43₁, accusative Tyrnt. 10₂₃, Ionic for κάρᾱ. This nominative in Homer forced an entrance into the genitive and other cases. In earlier prose the word went out of use save in compounds (Hdt. παραδοκεῖν which has Attic ᾱ, Hippokr. καρηβάρεια, -βαρέω, -βαρικός), but in post-Homeric poetry κάρη was treated as a stem of the first declension. Theognis 1024 (Mimnermos?) has κάρη. κάρην occurs in Kallimachos fr. 35 B, Nikander *Theor.* 131, &c. κάραν appears in the Anakreontics 50₃ and is the accusative of the Attic dative κάρᾱ (in tragedy).

546.] Stems in Delta.

According to Hdn. I 526₂₇, II 18₂₇ (cf. Drakon 23₁₉, 45₂₂), in trisyllabic nouns in -ις, the ι was long in Ionic, short in Attic. *e. g.* πλοκαμῖς, κεραμῖς, but ἀγαθῖς and πυγμαλῖς always have -ις. Clip-names in -ᾱς¹ have -ᾱδος², rarely -ᾱ, in the genitive. -ᾱ is

¹ *E. g.* Μικᾱς Thas. (L.) 14 A 7, Ἐκατᾱς Erythr. 206 B 23, Πρηξᾱς 206 A 8, Θευδᾱς Samos 225, Πυγμαᾱς Amorg. 28 A, Νοσσικᾱς Thas. 76₁.

² Hdn. II 65₇; Βιττᾱς Βιττᾱδος, Κυρᾱς Κυρᾱδος.

the original termination, *-âdos* having worked its way in from the analogy of *φυγάς, ρομάς, &c.*, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 345. On the accent of *-âdos* see Bechtel (*Iou. Inschr.* p. 60). Examples are: Ἡρᾶδος Thasos 76¹, 82 B 3, Thas. (L.) 18 A 10, 20 B 6, Μολπᾶδος Αἰθίονα 163, 13, Διοτυτ[α]ῖος Αἰδ. 163, 15¹, Ἀπολλᾶδος Ephesos. *Syll.* 344^{63, 98} (Ephesos), C. I. G. 3253 Smyrna (late), Εἰρηνᾶδος Erythr. 206 B 25, Σωπᾶδος 206 C 27, Βαρ(τ)ᾶδος Perinth. 234 B 16, cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 172₄ (Erythrai?), Κακρᾶδος Halik. 240 A 43, Ταυσᾶδος 240 A 64, Ὀλετᾶδος 240 B 47. These genitives in *-âdos* appear upon Ionic soil as early as the first half of the fourth century. Dative in *-âdi*: Φιλωνᾶδι Smyrna, C. I. G. 3392 (late). Μαιᾶς has the genitive Μαιᾶδος Hipponax 21 A.

Διονυτᾶ Smyrna, C. I. G. 3137³³, Θευνᾶ Iasos 106 (first century B.C. or later), Ἀπολλᾶ Ephesos (Dittenb. *Syll.* 344₇; first century), are the only examples of *-â*, which never gained a foothold in Ionic. See Dittenberger *Sylloge* No. 344, note 28.

Names in *-ûs* have *-ûdos*, e.g. Δεονῦδος² Erythr. 198, and *-ûos*, e.g. Διονῦος Olbia 133, inflected on the lines of *ιχθῦς*.

Ἄρτεμις³ yields Ἄρτέμιδι Chios 193, Miletos 101, Pantikap. 120, Phanag. 165, Paros 59 (epigr.), and so in Hdt. The accusative is Ἄρτεμιν § 491. On late coins Ἄρτέμιδος Ephesos Head II. N. 498, Ἄρτέμιτος Magnesia, *ibid.* 502. Μαυῆτις, Φθιωτίς, Ἰστιαιωτίς, Θεσσαλιωτίς, Τάναϊς have in Hdt. *-idos*, accusative *-ιν*. New Ionic usually prefers *-ios*. Hdt. has *κανβαβίδα* IV 74, but *-ios* 74, 75.

Θέτις yields Θετίδος Erythr. 206 B 27 (also Epic). On Θετίος see § 481. Theog. 499 has ἰδριες as Homer. *νεήνις* has the dative *νήνι* Anakr. 143.

The Homeric genitive Ἄϊδος which occurs in Theog. 917 is from the stem Ἄϊδ-. Ἄϊδος is elsewhere an *Â* stem (Ἄϊδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906, Ἄϊδεω Theog. 703 (in *A*), Solon 248).

πάλλωις has πάλλωδος Hippon. 15₄, but πάλλων 11; vocative πάλλων 30 A, 30 B. Hdt. has *νεήλυδα* I 118, *ἐπήλυδα* I 78.

Hdt. has *Μελῶπιπῶδα* II 49, *τρίποδα* I 144 &c., *αἰγίποδας* IV 25, but *Οἰῶπιπῶδα* IV 149, *Οἰῶπιπυρ* V 60, *ἀρτίπυρ* III 130.

A grammarian in Bekk. Anecd. I 104₁ says that Hdt. used the dative form *κόμμωι*⁴; whereas in reality both Hdt. and Hippokr. use *κόμμι*; cf. § 484.

On the parasitic *ε* in hyper-Ionic *-εων*, see §§ 74, 2, and 48c.

¹ Cf. also Διονυτᾶδος C. I. G. 3141₅₅, 3242 (both late inscriptions from Smyrna), Διονυσᾶδος Aldera, in *Cat. Brit. Mus.* Thrace 74, No. 62, 68, 85.

² Cf. *Zeit. f. Gymn.-Wesen*, 38, p. 110, note 1.

³ Cf. Buck, *A. J. P.* X 463.

⁴ This form was used by the comic poet Krobylos (Hdn. II 767₁₀).

χρυσάλγιδ <ε>ος Keos 41 (epigr.) is due to the error of the stone-cutter.

547.] Stems in Theta.

Hdt. has ὄρνιθος, ὄρνιθα IV 131, and ὄρνις II 73, ὄρνιθες and ὄρνεα, ὄρνιθων and ὄρνιθίων in II 77, ὄρνισι, ὄρνιθας.

548.] Declension of θέμις, χάρις.

Hdt. has Θέμιος II 50, Theognis θέμιστας II 41 as A 238. Cf. θέμιστος Aiolic and epic, θέμιτος in Pindar, θέμιδος Aischylos. The stem θεμιστ- has been regarded as a compromise between θεμισ- and θεμιτ-. Hdt. uses the adjective θεμιτός V 72, ἀθέμιστος VII 33 (A B C), VIII 143. See THESSALIAN § 37, 6 c.

ἄχαρις has the dative ἀχάρῃ I 41, despite χάριτα VI 41, IX 107, ἀχάριτα I 207 (neuter plural), ἀχαριτώτατον VII 156; ἀχαρίσσι I 90, εὐχαρίστως I 32. Hdt. has χάρις V 99, ἄχαρις III 24. Χάρισιν occurs Thasos 68 B.

549.] Stems in Gutturals.

In the old Chian inscription 174 we find A 16 οὐροφύλακες, A 19 οὐροφύλακας, whereas Hdt. uses both φύλακος and φύλαξ according to Stein: φύλακα I 41, 44, VIII 41, φύλακας VII 95, cf. also χρυσοφύλακας IV 13, 27, and Herakl. 123 φύλακας. In Hdt. I 113 φύλακα is supported by *d* and Aldus only, and in II 121 (γ) φυλάκους is undisputed.

From θρίξ, we have τρίχα Paros 67₁; Hippokrates has ἔλμιγες, -ων, from ἔλμιγξ for the ordinary ἔλμις, ἔλμιθος (VII 596).

Theog. I uses the Homeric vocative ὦ ἄνα¹; Hdt. has ὦναξ I 159, IV 150 &c. Theog. 949 has the Homeric (E 299) ἀλκί. Anakreon 24 has in πετέρυγεςσι a rare instance of the Aiolic transference of the ending -εσι to non-sigmatic stems.

ῥήνιξ Hippokr. VIII 116 (adjective ῥήνικός) is a noteworthy form. ῥήνις is found in lexicographers. Cf. κέληξ, κέλης.

On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

550.] Stems in Labials.

In VIII 322 Hippokrates uses λίπα with ἔλαιον in a preceding clause; in 324 we have ἐλαίω χρίων λίπα.

551.] Stems in Rho.

The inflection of πατήρ, θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ in Herodotos presents nothing unusual. The tendency of Homeric forms to find a footing in MSS. of Hdt. is seen in πατέρι, III 34. *R* and Aldus. πατρός is found in Theodosia (?) 127, πατέρα Delos 57, Chios 192. μητέρα is read in Keos 43₂₆. θυγατρός Pantikar. 120, θυγατέρας

¹ ἄνα is called Ionic, Bekk. An. II 930₁₈.

Keos 43²⁷. The epic and Aiolie¹ *θύγατρα* is called Ionic by An. Bachm. (Max. Pl.) II 65³, but is not met with. Hdt. has *Δήμητρος*, -τρι, -τρα (*Δήμητρον* II 123 in *d* and Aldus; cf. Kratylos 404 B where Schanz read -τρα, and Plutarch *de Malig.* 13 &c.). Hippokr. VII 596 *γαστήρσι*, *v. l.* *γαστρήσι*. In Hdt. the word presents no peculiarities.

χεῖρ has the following inflection:—*χεῖρός* Hdt., Hippokr., Sim. Keos 13⁶. *χεῖρὶ* Hdt., Hippokr. *χεῖρα* Hdt., Hippokr., Archil. 130, Sim. Keos 141⁶. *χεῖρε* Hippokr. VIII 236 *vulgo*, *χεῖρας* in *θ.* *χειρῶν* Solon 135^{0, 62}; cf. note 2 below. *χεῖρες* Hdt., Hippokr. *χειρῶν* Hdt.; Herodas 7³ has the hyper-Ionic *χειρέων*. In 6¹¹ *χειρέων* is a correction for *χειρῶν* of the papyrus. The appearance of this form harmonizes with the date of the papyrus (first century A.D., see § 113). *χειρέων* also occurs Hippokr. II 74, III 462; the correct form V 466. *χεροί* Hdt., Hippokr., Mimm. 12⁷, Tyr. 10²⁵, Sim. Keos 142⁸. *χεῖρας* Hdt., Hippokr., Solon 44, Sim. Keos 115¹.

In MSS. of Hdt. we occasionally find the forms with *ε*. Thus *χέρας* VIII 106 *C P*, the Venetus *δ* and Aldus. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Ἀυτόμολοι* cites Hdt. II 30, but in a form that is so Atticized that we need not wonder at *χερός*. Aldus alone has *χερός* II 169, V 77, VII 112, 115, *χερὶ* II 106, III 78, IV 71, VIII 121, IX 72, *χέρα* VII 42, *χέρας* IV 64, 69.

It is interesting to note that in Attic inscriptions we find [*χ*][*ε*][*ι*]*ροῦν* C. I. A. II 742 A 14; *χερσίν* C. I. G. II Add. 2811 b 10 (Aphrodisias) and 2942 c 4 (Tralles). In both places Boeckh read *χερσίν*. Hdn. II 277²², 748¹⁹ denies the existence of this dative form with *ει*. Hdn. II 748¹⁷ says that the form *χερός* occurred in iambographic poets; but he cites no example in proof.

The difference between the Homeric and Herodoteian inflection consists in the possession by Homer of the following non-Herodoteian forms:—*χερὶ* (only three times), *χεῖρε*, *χεῖρεσσι*, *χεῖρεσι*.

ἀνήρ has *ἀνέρος* Xenoph. 6⁴, *ἀνέρι* Kleobulina 1, *ἀνέρας* Phokyl. 15² (*vulgo* *ἀνέρος*), all poetical forms. The iambographic poets use the forms known to prose: *ἀνδρός* Sim. Amorg. 7¹¹⁰, *ἀνδρὶ* 7²², *ἄνδρα* Archil. 124, *ἀνδρῶν* Hipponax 45² trim., *ἀνδράσιν* Archil. 64 and 74⁶ tetr., Phokyl. 15, Mimm. 1⁵, Sim. Amorg. 7^{72, 92, 95}, *ἄνδρας* Hippon. 21 B trim.

On Aldus *ἀνδρέων* Hdt. VII 187, see § 480.

In Hipponax 51¹ Buttman read correctly *μάρτυρσιν* (Welcker *μάρτυσσιν*) for Tzetzes' *μάρτυσιν*. Theog. 1226 has *μάρτυς*. The suffix in *μάρτυρ-*, *μάρτυς* is a product of dissimilation (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 447) from *mytru-*. A suffix *-tur-* is unknown. *μάρτυς* is found in Pindar and in tragedy, and *μάρτυς* occurs upon an Attic epigram *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 3. *μαῖτυς*

¹ Tzetzes, Ex. II. 7411. This epic form from the shorter stem is due to an objection to the succession of short syllables.

and *μαῦτρος* occur in Kretan, *μάρτυρος*¹ in Homer, Phokian and Delphic, *μάρτυρ* in Aiolie according to Hdn. I 236₁₄, and certainly in Doric. Hdn. I 477 (cf. Eust. 114₂₀) cites *μάρτυρες* as occurring in the comic poets and in Hipponax. This form is found in Herakl. 4, 15, 118 (-as), and was read by Zenodotos in B 302.

The accusative *μάρτυν* occurs in Sim. Keos 84, *μάρτυρα* 148. The latter form is found in Archil. 152.

Solon frag. 14 has preserved the older form *μάκαρ* (Bergk *μάκαρς*) which occurs also in Diphilos (Clem. Alex. *Str.* VII 303). Alkman's *μάκαρς* (frag. 10) is due to analogy.

552.] Stems in nu.

The quasi *nu* stem Ionic *μείς* has been discussed above § 543. Under this section are included the stems of comparatives which end now in *nu*, now in *sigma* (-ω from -οσα, -ους from -οσες). The *nu* stems of Ionic are in general declined as in Attic. Hence only such inscriptional forms as serve to explain the language of the lyric poets, Herodotos, and the later prose writers are adduced.

The omission of *ι* in the form *πλέον*, &c. (see § 219, 3), is highly probable, at least in Herodotos, notwithstanding that the MSS. sometimes preserve it. It is difficult to see how the form *πλεῦν* could coexist with *πλείον*. The forms with *ευ* are less frequent in other Ionic prosaists.

Nominative Singular: *πλείον* Hdt. II 60, Herakl. 112 (Cobet for *πλείων*); neuter *πλέον* or *πλεῦν* often in Hdt. (all MSS. *πλείον* in I 192). *πλεῦν* occurs II 52, IX 41.

Genitive Singular: *πλείονος* Keos 43₅, as Demokr. 21, Hdt. *πλεῦνος* I 97, II 89, III 40, IV 43, V 34 with no case of *πλείονος*, though this form appears in *AB*¹ in IV 43. It is to be noticed that *πλείονος*, which does not appear on Attic inscriptions till the second century B.C., is found in no Ionic document. For *γλήχους* in Hippokr. VII 160 it is to be noted that *θ* has *γλήχωνος*.

Dative Singular: *Ἀπόλι(λ)ωνι* Naxos 24, Milet. 93 &c. In VII 49 Hdt. has *πλείονι* (*πλείονι d*, *πλεῦνι* Stob.) side by side with *πλεῦνα*; in II 25 for *πλείονι R d* have *πλείονι*.

Accusative Singular: *ἐλαττον* Orop. 18_{5, 22} (cf. Hippokr. *ἐλασσον* II 36) and *πλέον* 18₃ are neuter. In Hdt. we find *ἐλάσσω* often, e.g. VII 8 (a), where is also the sole occurrence of *ἐλάσσονα*; *καλλίω*; *ἀμείνω* seven times, but IV 158 *ἀμείνονα*; *μέζω*; *ἔσσω*; *κακίω*; *πλέω* but *πλεῦνα* IV 114, VII 49, 51, IX 111; *κρέσσω* but *κρέσσονα* IX 41; *αἰσχίονα* IV 144. In

¹ An. Par. III 135₁₁, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 132, Greg. Kor. p. 591 (Aiolie).

Hippokr. we find ἀμείνω II 24, 30, 146, πλείω 270, 292, 318, 326, ἐλάσσω VII 228 (cf. *Vita Hom.* 16), πλείονα II 112, ἥσσιονα 310. ἀμείνω occurs in Theog. 409, 1161, πλείω Theog. 907 (Ὁ has πλείον), κακίω in Archil. 64 (cf. κάκιον 13).

κυκεῶνα Hipponax 434, as in Hippokrates II 306, Lukian *V. A.* 14, Aret., Aristoph., Plato. Homer has κυκεῶ, -ειῶ. Τυφῶνα in Hdt. II 144, but also Τυφῶ in III 5. For γλήχωνα of the vulgate in Hippokr. VI 248, θ has γληχω (*sic*; see under genitive). Hdt. has εἰκόνα II 143 (cf. § 523).

The accusative singular of nouns in -ων, -ωνος is not -ω as in Attic inscriptions of the classical period: Ἀπόλλω C. I. A. I 915 (464/57 B.C.), Hdt. Ἀπόλλωνα I 87; Ποσειδῶ C. I. A. II add. 66 C 14 (356 B.C.), Hdt. Ποσειδέωνα VII 129, VIII 55.

Vocative Singular. In certain Milesian inscriptions from Naukratis (Roberts 132 A, B, F) Mr. E. A. Gardner has thought to discover a vocative Ἀπόλλω, a form hitherto unknown. That Mr. Gardner's conclusions rest upon incorrect reading of the inscriptions has been shown by Merriam, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* III 304, and by Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 153. For Ἀπόλλω, σοῦ εἶμι read Ἀπόλλωνό(ς) εἶμι. On χελιδοῖ see § 523.

Nominative Plural.

(1) *Masculine and feminine.* In Chios 174 B 24 we find ἰάσσορες. In Hdt. ἀμείνορες (but ἀμείνους V 78), πλεῦρες (πλείους II 8, where *R d z* have πλείους, and II 120, where all MSS. have πλείους), κρέσσορες, ἐλάσσορες, μέζσορες, κακίνορες, ἔσσορες. Hippokrates has πλείνορες II 58, 84, πλείους II 642, 668 (*bis*), μέλιους II 628, βελτίους II 24, ἐλάσσορες II 646, μέζορες II 628, ἥσσιους II 646 (*ἥσσιον A C H*). Demokritos 115 has πλείνορες, Xenophanes 24 μέλιους, Theognis κρέσσορες 618, 996.

The nominative plural in -ους was also carried over into the accusative.

(2) *Neuter (nominative and accusative).* In inscriptions we find μέζονα Oroφος 181₁, πλέω Miletos 100₁. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω (ἐλάσσονα III 102 accusative), κρέσσω, ἀμείνω, πλέω (πλείονα II 145, where *A B C* read πλείονα), μέζω (μέζονα nom. VIII 37, accusative I 26, II 68 where *P R d z* have μέζω, II 148, III 102). In Hippokrates we find πλείω II 650 nominative and III 482 accusative, πλείονα VI 368, ἀμείνω II 30, μέζονα II 52, μείζω II 624, μέζω 324, III 450, ἐλάσσονα VIII 36 (θ), ἐλάσσω II 24, 306, χείρω II 702, μείω III 534, κακίω II 306, κρέσσω VI 14; Demokritos 92, Anaxag. 14 (*bis*) have πλέω, a form adopted by Mullach in Melissos 3, where Simplicius read πλείω; Protagoras has κρέσσω (*sic*), Anaxagoras 6, 14 ἐλάσσω, 6 μείζω (Simpl.). In Theognis 702 we find πλείονα, in Herodas 385 πλέω.

Genitive Plural. Hdt. *πλεόνων* and *πλεύνων*; *πλειόνων* Demokr. 20. On hyper-Ionic *-εων*, see § 480.

Dative Plural. The regular termination is *-σι*, e.g. in *Μακεδόσιν* Olynthos 8 B 9, *ἐλάσσ[σ]οστ[ι]* Κοῶς 431, *μνήμη[σ]ιν* Halik. 238₁₀. Theognis has *νήφοσι* 481, 627, Xenophanes 27 *ἀγῶσιν*, Archil. 747 *δελφίσι*. Hdt. has *πλέοσι* II 53, VIII 69 (*πλείοσι R*), IX 122 (*πλείοσι A B C*), and so in Hippokr. III 450 in many MSS. (Littre *πλείοσι*); *μέζοσι* I 194, *εὔδαιμοσι* II 78.

An irregular *-εσι*, recalling the ending of *ἵνεσιν*, Ψ 191, &c., occurs in *δαιτυμόνεσι* Hdt. VI 57 (*-εσσι A B*), *πλεόνεσιν* VII 224 in *R d*. Neither of these forms is to be adopted. *μήνεσι* (§ 543) reminds one of Aiolic *μήννεσι* C. D. I. 213₁₂₋₁₃, though in that form one *σ* does duty for two. *σπλήνεσι*, found in Hippokrates III 432, 450, 452, 496, IV 120, 148, 156, 160, 218, 220, is a noteworthy form for *σπλησί*.

ἡγεμόνεσιν Solon 16 is not to be expelled though not Ionic, because of the existence of Homeric forms in his diction. The conjectures of Fick (*B. B.* XIV 254) *ἡγεμοροῦσι* or *ἡγεμονεῦσι* are improbable on other grounds. *πλεόνεσσι* in Theog. 800 is Homeric.

Accusative Plural (*masculine and feminine*). In Hdt. the Attic *πλείους* occurs I 167 for which Stein has substituted *πλείστους*, Bredow *πλέους* or *πλεύνας*; in II 120, II 121 (δ) Stein reads *πλέους* where all MSS. have *πλείους*. *πλεύνας* is the common form. On *πλεύνας* or *πλέονας* see § 287. Other forms are *αἰσχιόνας*, *μέζονας*, *ἔσσονας*, *ἐλάσσονας*, *ἀμείονας* (*ἀμείνους* V 92 (α) in *C*). Hippokrates adopts *ἀμείνους* II 92, *πλείους* 20, 308, *βελτίονας* II 64, *πλείονας* 278, *Vita Hom.* 34 *πλείους*. Theog. 605 has *πλέονας*.

Ionic uses the longer forms more frequently in nominative and accusative plural (masculine and feminine), the shorter more frequently in accusative singular, in nominative, accusative, and vocative plural (neuter).

If we compare the Ionic comparatives (*nu* stems) as attested by inscriptions with their Attic kindred, it is clear that the older forms were retained for some time by the Ionians, and that at a comparatively early date those derived from sigmatic stems came into use. But in Attika we find in the epigraphic monuments down to the opening of the first century B. C., only such forms as *μείζω*, *πλείω*, *ἐλάττω*; *ἀμείνους*, *ἐλάττους*, *πλείους*. Forms in *-ονα*, *-ονες*, *-ονας* appear in Athens with Sulla.

Later Ionic does not use *πλέες*, *πλέας* < **πλε-ισ-εες*, < **πλε-ισ-ας*. Cf. Hom. *πλέες*, Kretan *πλίές*, Hom. *πλέας*, Kret. *πλίανς*.

Adjectives.

553.] Varying case forms have been discussed under Declension of Nouns. On πολλός, πούλός see §§ 254, 479. On πλέος, πλέη, πλέον *full*, see § 478. In the following are mentioned some words whose structure is of interest, and others not recorded in I. S.

Hdt. has σῶς I 24, III 124, IV 76. A feminine σῶη is found in Babrios 94₈ (σῶην). For σῶον, occurring in Hdt. II 181, σῶον (*CP*) may be substituted. This form has come to light on an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 36₉. σῶοι should be read V 96, VIII 39, cf. σῶαι I 66, σῶα IV 124, VI 86 (α), σῶων II 121 (β). In these passages Stein wrongly adopts σῶος. [σ]ῶα? Hdt. 6₉₉.

In I 194 ζῶός is found (ζῶός *R d*) and so in II 122 (ζωιόν *ABCP*); and in Archil. 63₂ ζωοῦ is the MS. reading for which Porson substituted ζοοῦ. In 63₃ [Archil.] has ζωοί.

πίερα is found in Hippokr. II 90, VII 516 (*vulgo*), II 76 (πίερα). πιωρός in VII 512, 514 (and 516 according to Littré) has been emended to τὸ πῖαρ, because πιωρός appears only in later Greek. Anakreon's πέπειρα (87) recalls πίερα, which in Homer exists alongside of ἡ πῖωρ. αἱ πέπειροι Hippokr. VI 562; πέπειρον II 306, 308, πέπειρος VIII 228 (θ) have been attacked in favour of the feminine forms.

Hdt. has -ετις for -ετης, e.g. τριηκοιτοετίδας σπονδάς VII 149 (-αέτιδας *B d z*). Noteworthy is ἐπήλυδα ἔθνεα VIII 73.

ἀδαίς in Abdera 162 (epigram), is a word known to Hdt. IX 46, but not to Homer, who has ἀδαήμων.

ἀνηρίθευτοι Chios 174 B 25-26 is from ἔριθος with the initial vowel lengthened in composition. In ἀνερίθευτος the lengthening has not taken place.

ἀλοργ- and ἀλουργ-: see § 295, III.

σιυδῶν λῖς Samos 220₁₉. ΛΙΣ is all that is preserved. Since there appears to be no break after the word, it must not be filled out by λισ(ή). Cf. Odyssey 12. 79: πέτρην γὰρ λῖς ἐστι, and λιτί, λίτα. λιτός occurs in this Samian inscription (l. 23).

With τεσ(σ)ερακαιοβδο[μυ]ροντούτης Paros 58, cf. πεντηκοντόγρος Iliad IX 579, ἑξηκονταετή Mimm. 6₂. ὀγδωκονταετή Solon 20₁.

πρωτόμητος, found only Paros 67 (period of the empire), is applied to the hair of an ephebos.

αὔτοικος Zeleia 114 E 6.

Adjectives of two or three endings. ἔρημος (§ 123) in Hdt. has usually two, rarely three, endings. ἔτοιμος has sometimes three endings. Hippokr. has ἡ ἄρτιος, Hdt. ἡ ἡλίθιος. αὔλειος has usually no feminine in early Greek except in Hom. and Hdt.,

so *δούλειος* (ὄουληγύ Hdt. III 14). In Hdt. *ἐδώδιμος* has three, *ἰππίασιμος* three, but two in IX 13, *λόγιμος* three, but two in VI 106, *παραθαλάσσιος* varies (but two VI 48; VII 110, VIII 23 three); *αἴτιος* and *μετάριος* have three, *ἐπέτειος* three, but two in II 92; *αὐτομάτη* is found in Hippokr. VI 326.

Apollon. *Adv.* 602 = Schm. 180₃, states that Ionic adopts the -η forms in compounds instead of the -ο of the stem, and cites *inter alia* *ὄρκητόμος*, *αἰμηπότης*.

554.] **Comparison of Adjectives (Regular).** Forms which do not differ from those in use in Attic or not noteworthy for other reasons are not adduced.

1. -τερος, -τατος.

Hdt. has *πηγύτερος* (Plato *πραότερος*), *βραχύτερος*, *ταχύτερος*, *ταχύτερον* and *θάσσον* as adverbs. Hippokr. and Arrian have *ταχύτερον*. *οἰκρότερος* is Herodoteian. New Ionic is *κεινότερος* and *στενότερος* = Attic *κενο-* and *στερο-*. Melissos 14 has *κενεώτερος*. *κυδρότερος* is found in Xenoph. 2₆, Ion 2₁₀, *κύδιστος* Theog. 904. From adjectives in -οος we have *ἀθροώτερος*, *ἐπιπρωώτερος*, *δυσπρωώτερος* (-πρωοστέρος Hippokr. II 154), *ἐνρωώτερος*, *ἐνχροώτερος*, *λευκοχροώτερος* in Hippokrates. *ὑβριστότερος* Hdt. III 81 and not -ιστερος.

ἀνδρηιότερος Hdt. I 79 (-ειω- *d*, -ειο- *ceteri*), -ηιότατος IV 93 (-ειο- MSS.), IX 37 (-ειω- Venetus 8, -ειο- *ceteri*). In I 123 Stein reads *ἀνδρειωτάτω*, in all the other passages -ηιω-. -ηο- is correct.

ἱρωτάτας is read by Stein V 82 (cf. Attic *ἱερω-*), where *ἱρο-* of *P* (*pr.*) *r* is better.

In VII 99 we have *εὐδοξοτάτας* (-ωτ- *d*).

Hdt. has *οἰκηιότατος* III 65 (-ηο- *R*, -ηῖω- *P d z*, -ειο- *Prisc.*), V 5 (-ειο- *r*) according to Stein. Since *ηι* cannot here be regarded as two sounds, we must write -ηιότατος with Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252. *ἐπιτηδεύτερος* and -ότατος are read by Stein. I would adopt -ειο-¹ which occurs as follows: I 110 -ειω- in *CPz*, -ειο- *ABd*; I 126 -ειω- *CP*, -ειο- *AB*, -ειο- *R d z*; IV 72 -ειω- *CPz*, -ειο- *ABd*, -ειο- *R*; VI 102 -ειο- *A*, -ειο- *R*, -ειω- *reliqui*, except *B* which has -ιο-; IX 2 -ειο- *ABR*; IX 25 -ειο- *ABR*. In I 115 Stein cites only *AB* with -ειο-, II 133 -ειω- *B corr. P d z*. How *ἐπιτήδεος*, even if correct (§ 219, 5), can yield -εότερος, -εότατος, I do not see. Hippokrates II 334 has the correct form *ἀνεπιτηδειότερος*.

2. -εστερος, -εστατος².

Hdt. has *σπουδαιέστερος* I 8, -έστατος I 133, as Hekataios

¹ Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 43, prefers -ηο-, which is nowhere found. Demokr. has *ἐπιτηδειόστατος* (Eust. 1441₁₆).

² Et. M. 317 *αἰδοιόστατον*, *ἀφρονέστατον ποιητικά*, κατ' ἔθος Ἰώνων γινόμενα; cf. 394₅, 420₈.

arud Eust. 1441₁₇ (Hdt. -ότατος II 86), ἀμορφέστατος I 196, ἀγνωμονέστερος IX 41, ὑγιηρέστατος II 77 but ὑγιηρότατος IV 187, ἐρρωμειέστερος IX 70, εὐνοέστερος V 24; ἡσυχέστερος Hippokr. VI 76, 80 (-αίτερον *A C*), II 154 (some MSS. -αίτερος which Littré adopts), ἀκρητέστερος II 496, VI 74, 80, 82, 84 (-έστατος VI 82), εὐδιέστατος II 54, ἀφιληκέστερος VI 186.

3. -αιτερος, -αιτατος.

μεσαίτατος Hdt. IV 17 is not an analogue of παλαιέτερος, which occurs in Homer and in Hdt. I 60, but formed from *μέσαι (cf. μεσαιπόλιος Hom.) as παλαιέτερος from πάλαι¹. μέσσατος is found in Theog. 998. Hippokr. has γεραίτερος II 162, 334, VI 186, IX 50, the Homeric form; πλησιαιτέρω occurs in Hdt. IV 112, but παραπλησιωτάτην V 87. These forms are sporadic; as is clear from Hippocratic ὀψίτερος, Platonic ὀψιαίτερον. ὀψιαίτερον Hippokr. III 478 (*v. l.* -ώτερον) is a noteworthy form from ὀδυνηρός.

555.] Irregular Comparison of Adjectives. ἀγαθός: ἀμεινότερος Mimn. 149; on κρέσσων see § 142; ἀρείων Hippokr. VIII 58, ἀρειότερος Theog. 548; βέλτερος Theog. 92, 181, 866, βέλτιον Mimn. 210. κακίων Archil. § 196. χεῖρον Hippokr. II 680. χειροτέρη IX 240 is to be read χειρίστη. On ἔσσω see § 139. ἐλάσσων § 163. ὀλίγος (notice the use Hdt. IX 70), ὀλιγότερος Hippokr., ὀλίζων § 377. On μέζων see § 142. πλέων, πλέον § 552. In Hippokr. VIII 36 θ has πλέα for πλέονα of *C* and πλείονα of the vulgate. On πλέα and connected forms, see Collitz, *B. B.* X 306.

ρήιδιος or ῥήιδιος yields ῥήίτερος or ῥήίτερος. ῥηιτέρως Hippokr. VIII 10, but ῥάιον in θ VIII 124, 274 for ῥήιον. In the first case Littré adopts ῥάιον, in the second ῥᾶιον. Hippokr. VII 196 ῥήιον according to Littré (*v. l.* ῥήιον, ῥᾶιον, &c.). ῥήιδιον Theog. 577 (ῥήιον conj.). ῥᾶιον is found in Theog. 429, ῥήιτερον 1370.

δηίως yields ἀνήστως in Phoenix of Kolophon *ap.* Athen. XI 495 D, Herakl. 114, Anaxag. 10, Pythag. *arud* Diog. L. VIII 49, Aretaios 331. The comparative exists in Nikander *Alex.* 627 (δηίμιον).

Of πέπων the comparative is πεπειρότερος in Hippokr. VI 554 (θ). πιότερος Hippokr. VII 512, 516, πιότατος VII 512. ῥίγιον Mimn. 42. φίλος requires the aid of μάλλον and μάλιστα in Hdt. ὠκύτερος Theog. 715, 986, 1306, ὠκιστα 427 (cf. O 238). Heightened superlatives are rare in Ionic prose. Hippokr. VI 522 has ἐγγιστότατα.

From adverbs or prepositions are formed ἀνώτερος Hippokr. III 528, ἀνώτατος Hdt. II 125; κατώτερος Hippokr. III 528; ἀγχιότερος Hdt. VII 175.

¹ With the adverbs in -αι, cf. those in -αί in Lithuanic.

δοῦλος is an adjective Hdt. VII 7 (δουλοτέρην); cf. ἀνεμοὶ ὑετώτατοι II 25, βασιλεύτερος Tyrnt. 127.

556.] Comparison of Adverbs. Some noteworthy forms are ἡσσώρως Hippokr. VI 14 (in *A* according to Gomperz), θειοτέρως Hdt. I 122, ἰσχυροτέρως III 129, εὐπετεστέρας III 143; ἰκαρωτάτως Hippokr. VI 24, ἰσχύτως VI 14, ἐλαχίστως IX 254. Hdt. has κατωτάτω, ἄσσον (Sim. Am. 7₂₆, 33), ἀγχοτάτω (v. l. -τα in *A B C d* VII 64), ἀγχοστα, πλησιαιτέρω, προσωτέρω, προσωτάτω and -ωτατα, ταχύτερον and θάισσον. Hippokr. has ἐξωτάτω, τηλοτέρω, ἔγγιον VI 568, ἔγγιστότατα, πελαστάτω (VI 298, 340, VIII 140, 292), ταχύτερον.

μάλιον, a specifically Ionic form according to Choïroboskos (An. Ox. II 240₂), is found Tyrnt. 12. Cf. § 163. μάλλον occurs in Archil. tetr. 63₂, Theog. 598, &c. μαλιώτερα¹ is suggested by Bergk for the μαλκώτερα of Solon 27₁₅.

Personal Pronouns.

In his treatment of the Ionic pronouns Apollonios Dyskolos draws upon Homer with but few exceptions. On the Herodoteian forms, see Ekedahl, *De usu pron. pers. et refl. Herodoteo*, 1885. Dual forms do not occur in post-Homeric Ionic.

557.] First Person.

1. ἐγώ Hippon. 63, Anan. 4₂, Anakr. 8₁, 74₁, Solon 2₁, Xenoph. 7₄, Theog. 878, 1226, &c., Hdt., &c. ἐγών occurs in Theognis in only three places (253, 527, 968) though possible elsewhere, except in 27. This form is found in all dialects except New Ionic and Attic. In Theognis ἐγών occurs only before vowels as in Homer, and with the second syllable in the arsis of the second foot.

2. ἐμέο² in Homer (K 124), in Demokritos, and Pherekydes according to Apoll. 82 C, Hdt., epist. Hippokr. 27₃₉.

ἐμεῦ³ Hom., Archil. epod. 92, Mimn. 14₂, Theog. 957, 1101, 1235, Pherekydes, and Demokritos (Apoll. 82 C), Hdt., and also in late Doric texts.

ἐμεῖο⁴ is found in Homeric Ionic, not in prose.

¹ Cf. Hesychios' μάλιον' μάλλον, and μαλιώτερα' προσφιλεστέρα.

² An. Par. III 317₁₉, Et. Gud. 436₂₈ (cf. 169₁₇), An. Ox. I 143₂₈, 322₂₈, An. Baehm. (Max. Plan.) II 66₃₂. ἐμέο is called Attic An. Ox. I 156₃₁.

³ Hdn. I 47₄₁, II 330₂₈ = Joh. Alex. 2₃₁, An. Ox. I 399₁; Ionic and Doric, Apoll. 82 C and *Adv.* 185₆ (Schn.); Doric, An. Ox. I 156₃₂ and An. Par. III 317₁₉.

⁴ An. Ox. I 131₄, 156₃₁, ποιητικῶς Choïrob. *Orthogr.* in An. Ox. II 202₁₈.

The Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\tilde{\iota}$ ¹ appears sometimes in the MSS., e. g. Archil. ep. 111, Theog. 100, 202, 607, 1203, 1240, 1340, 1342, in Hdt. occasionally, and in Herakl. 1. In the spurious portions of Theognis $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\tilde{\iota}$ is probably correct, as $-\omega\tilde{\iota}$ in other words ($\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\omega\tilde{\iota}$).

$\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ² Hipponax 62 (tr.), Anakr. 76, 81, Homer, Hdt., Herodas (about ten times).

$\mu\omega\upsilon$ is incorrect in Hippon. 83 tetr. It is found in Theognis' second book (1366).

3. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\iota$ Mimn. 8₂, Theog. 14, Hippon. 19₁, 20₁, Sim. Amorg. 1₂₂ (*vulgo* $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\omega\iota$), Anakr. 24 ($\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\iota\gamma\epsilon$ 7), Hdt., &c.

$\mu\omega\iota$ Mimn. 1₂, Theog. 787, &c., Hippon. 19₄, Anakr. 50₁, Hdt., &c.

4. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ Anakr. 45, Sol. 19₃, Hdt., &c. $\mu\epsilon$ Hipponax 78, Anakr. 25, 47, Solon 4₃₁, Naxos 23, 24, Theog. 88, Hdt., &c.

5. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ Mimn. 2₁, Solon 15₂, Theog. 513, &c. (Theognis does not use the Doric $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$). Hdt., Hippokr., Lukian (*Syr. dea* 2, *Astr.* 4), Arrian *Ind.* 34₁₂, 35₆, &c. Hyper-Ionism overreaches itself with its $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$, which Mullach has adopted in Demokritos, *Phys.* 1, despite the statement of Apollonios³ and the testimony of the MSS. of Sextus Empiricus who quotes the fragment. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$ appears in the supposititious letters of Hippokrates twice, and Thales (a)⁴. See below on $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$.

6. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ ⁵ Hdt., Hippokr. (in II 316 *A* has $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$), Herakl. 114, Philip of Pergamum (*B.C.H.* II 273), &c.

$\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ Theog. 353 (thus *A*, $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ *reliqui*), Solon 13₇₂, Herodas 1₂ and often, Phoinix of Kolophon II 20 (Schneid.).

$\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ Theog. 228, a verse of Solon (13₇₂). In the MSS. of the latter we find $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$, not $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$, as we might expect. In the MSS. of Hdt. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ is unusual (*d* in I 112), as it is in Hrd. (148).

$\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\upsilon$ ⁶, a molossus, Hrd. 146. In the same line we have $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$. Crusius gives the form a place in his edition, though even in Homer it occurs but four times.

7. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ ⁷ Theog. 345, 467, 833, 1213, 1215, Archil. 391 (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 31, 131, Anakr. 27, Herodas 244. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ is both Old and New Ionic, and is the only form in Ionic prose.

¹ Called Ionic by Tzetzes Ex. II. 93₂₅, and on Hsd. *W. D.* 225 (Gaisf.). In the first passage $\mu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\tilde{\iota}$ are called Doric and Aiolic.

² An. Ox. I 143₂₅.

³ Apoll. *Pronom.* 118 B.

⁴ In some MSS. of Hdt. we find the open form, II 6 (*P*), IV 139 (*S*), VI 11 (*P*), VIII 29 (*R*), 144 (*R*) &c. Aldus regarded this form as a mark of Ionism, and adopted it when it was without MS. authority (VIII 143, IX 87).

⁵ Apoll. *Pronom.* 120 C, Joh. Gramm. 242.

⁶ Joh. Gramm. 242 B.

⁷ An. Ox. I 51, $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ ($\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$?) II 216₁₃ (Choir.), Apollonios 123 A.

$\eta\mu\iota\nu$ ¹ occurs in Homer and Attic², but does not occur in post-Homeric poetry or prose composed by an Ionian. Whether $\epsilon\mu\iota\nu$ or $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ should be read in Theognis 235 with cod. *O* is doubtful. Most of the MSS. have $\eta\mu\iota\nu$. Among them is *A*, which alone presents the correct reading of the following verse.

$\eta\mu\iota\nu$ Anacr. 43₁, 63₁, Hrd. 7₇₅. Why Bergk should adopt this form in Anacr. 62₂ in preference to $\eta\mu\iota\nu$, is not clear.

Aiolic (epic) $\alpha\mu\mu\iota\nu$ occurs in Theog. 418.

8. $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ ³ is the inscriptional form (Miletos 46, of the fifth century, where the smooth breathing is correct), and that adopted by Hdt., who is followed by Lukian. Abydenos, Euseb. Mynd., Arrian 34_{10, 12} (but cf. $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$). The letters of Hippokrates have fourteen cases of $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, one (X) of $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, Aretaios fifteen cases of $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ to one (267) of $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Philip of Pergamum has $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, *B. C. H.* II 273.

$\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ Arch. 9₇, at the end of the pentameter, Herodas 1₄, 2₃, 7₆₆. In Homer $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ may always be read.

$\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ⁴ Theog. 1215 and in Herodas frag. (6), *Class. Rev.* V 481.

Aiolic (epic) $\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon$ occurs in Theog. 1273.

558.] Second Person.

1. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ Archil. 88₂, Hipponax 32, Anacr. 2₆, Hrd. 4₁₈, Theog. 696, 781, though the Doric form is $\tau\acute{\upsilon}$. Herodotos and the other Ionic prosaists have $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$.

2. $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$ in Herodotos; and twenty-three times in Homer.

$\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}$ ⁵ Sol. 20₂, Theog. 253, 516 (thirty-four times in Homer). The Solonian form shows that the poet did not write in his native dialect.

$\sigma\epsilon\nu$ Theog. 377 Hrd. 1₃₈, 2₈₁, 5_{21, 39}, 7₈₃.

$\sigma\omicron\acute{\upsilon}$ ⁶, the Attic form, Theog. 414, 1239, Hrd. 1₈₅.

$\sigma\omicron\nu$ in Hippon. tr. 76 cannot be Ionic. It occurs also in Theog. 969.

$\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron$ in Theog. 1 and $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$ 1232 are epic.

¹ Apoll. 123 A says $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ $\mu\alpha\rho'$ Ἰωσι $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ ι' $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}$ $\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$ $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron$ $\mu\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\sigma\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, and then cites Doric $\epsilon\mu\iota\nu$ and $\eta\mu\iota\nu$. The Et. M. 84₂₁ wrongly calls $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ Doric, but is correct about an Ionic $\eta\mu\iota\nu$. Cf. also Hdn. II 517₂₀, An. Ox. II 216₁₃ ($\eta\mu\iota\nu$), Eust. II 123₁₋₃₇, cf. 1611₃, 1670₁, 1690₁₃; Bekk. An. III 1150₁₀; An. Ox. I 188₂₁ states that the η is found in Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic. In An. Ox. I 188₁, ϵ the Homeric forms $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ A 147 (where a long ultima had to be assumed on account of the following $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$) and $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ P 415 are referred to.

² $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ is almost a characteristic of Sophokles' style in contrast with that of Aischylos and Euripides.

³ Apoll. 126 C, Schol. Ven. A on Θ 352.

⁴ $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ if enclitic, Apoll. 127 A citing π 372, the only example in Homer. In Sophocles some prefer to write $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

⁵ An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66₃₂; Doric and Ionic *ibid.* II 367₃₂ (= Gram. Par. 678).

⁶ Tzetz. on Hsd. *W. D.* 225 (Gaisf.).

often in Herodas. In Homer the form occurs four times; in O 494 we find ὕμεων.

ὕμων in Archil. tetram. 74₆ I would emend to ὑμέων.

The epic ὑμείων (four times) is not employed in post-Homeric Ionic.

7. ὕμῶν¹ Archil. 89₁, Sol. 116, Theog. 825, Hrd. 119, 2100, and in Ionic prose. ὕμῶν occurs in Hrd. 470. On ὕμῶν, Bergk's reading of Theog. 235, see under ἦμῶν.

8. ὑμέας Herodotos, Hippokrates, &c. The fictitious letters of the latter have this form seven times, ὑμᾶς in 27₃₉ (in 27₃₉ the MSS. vary). ὑμᾶς is found in the *Vita Homeri* § 19, Hrd. 7118.

ὕμέας is everywhere possible in Homer, and is so read in Hrd. 260, 755; in 7118 read ὑμέας.

ὕμῶν (epic) Theog. 1104 in A, other MSS. ὑμᾶς or ὕμῶν. Bergk conjectures ὕμᾶς or ἦμᾶς. But the latter form occurs only once in Homer (π 372), and the former is quite unknown to the epos.

559.] Third Person.

The original usage of this pronoun has not been restricted in Ionic as in Attic.

1. εἶ² in Herodotos occurs only in the enclitic form (III 135); Ion Ἐπιδ. 1 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* II 46).

2. οἶ³ always appears in the enclitic form in the lyric poets: Xenoph. 120, 29, Theog. 178, 186, 391, 405, 519, 1256, 1376, Solon 424 (melos), Archil. 292, 97, Sim. Amorg. 779, Hrd. 460.

Φοι Rhegion 5, according to Bechtel, is Doric. In Mimn. 124 ἵνα οἱ θεόν is to be rejected for ἵνα δὴ θ. In Hdt. IV 34, VI 119 we find οἶ used of things neuter in gender. Here as elsewhere in Hdt. the form is enclitic and = ἀντῶ, ἀντῆ. See also Lukian *de domo* § 20. I do not find the orthotone οἶ.

3. εἶ < σφε as an enclitic occurs in Solon 1327 by a conjecture of Hermann.

4. σφεῖς⁴ in Hdt. (indirect reflexive IV 43, VII 168).

5. σφέων⁵ in Hdt. (enclitic, neuter V 58) and Hippokrates II 312 but σφῶν ἀντέων II 58 in the vulgate (σφέων adopted by Littré), III 194 (σφῶν Littré).

¹ Apoll. *Pronom.* 124 B, who notices that ὕμῶν is the enclitic form. This is confined to Homer and Attic, unless we admit it in Theognis.

² An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 662; Apoll. 136 B calls εἶo Ionic.

³ Apoll. *Pronom.* 105 C.

⁴ Greg. Corinth. § 70; τὸ σφεῖς καὶ σφᾶς καὶ σφῶν διαιροῦσι καὶ οὕτω προφέρουσι σφέες, σφέας, σφέων. This does not apply in the case of σφεῖς, and is flatly contradicted by Apoll. *Pronom.* 118 B, who expressly attests σφεῖς as Ionic. See on ὑμέας. In no case do the MSS. of Hdt. support Gregory's statement, nor is there any such epic form. Even Aldus refrains from σφέες.

⁵ Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. 70 σφέων.

6. *σφι* (= *αὐτοῖς, αὐταῖς*) in Herodotos is enclitic. This form is rare in Attic (*O. K.* 421, where Elmsley read *σφιν*: see on *Medeia* 398).

*σφίρ*¹, enclitic, occurs in Archil. 748 (tetr.), 125, Sim. Keos 845, Theog. 66, 422, 732, 772. This form is also Doric and Homeric, and is used in tragedy (*Prom.* 252, 457).

σφίσι (= *ἑωυτοῖς, ἑωυταῖς*) Hdt. In V 103, VI 105, VIII 68 (3), the pronoun is not reflexive. Stein here reads *σφι*. The MSS. vary constantly between *σφίσι*, *σφι*, and *σφιν*. When the pronoun is reflexive, read *σφίσι*, otherwise *σφι* (not *σφιν*). Aldus confuses *σφι* with *οἱ* in III 14. *σφίσι* appears in Sim. Keos 1033, *Prom.* 481, *O. K.* 59 (indirect reflexive).

7. *σφέας*² (= *αὐτούς, αὐτάς*), enclitic in Hdt. but *σφᾶς αὐτούς* Hippokr. II 78, where Littré's *αὐτέους* is not to be preferred to the vulgate *αὐτούς*. Aretaios has *σφέας* five, *σφᾶς* seven times. The *Vita Hom.* has *σφέας* § 17, and so Lukian *V. A.* 14. In Archil. 272 (tr.) *σφέας*, and so the Homeric *σφέας* may be read as a monosyllable (see Menrad *de contractionis usu* p. 111 for *σφας* in place of *σφέας*).

8. *σφέα* (= *αὐτά*), enclitic, Hdt. I 46, &c., also in Attic poets. Cf. the Attic (poetical) nominative *σφέα*.

9. *σφέ*. The epic and Doric *σφέ* (enclitic) appears in Theog. 552. In Hdt. VII 170 it is found in most of the MSS., and here, if at all, it is to be accepted. Bekker and Abicht adopt the *σφεας* of the Cambridge (36, Askew) MS. In I 71 *R* confuses *σφε* with *σφεας*. Stein has no better authority for his *σφι* than the Aldine edition; but finds for the construction of the dative after *ἑποτρύνω* a parallel in O 258. All the MSS. in III 53 have *σφε* for *σφεα*, which is due to Valekenauer. In III 52 Bredow emended *σφε* to *σφεα*. *R* confuses the two in I 89, but here we have the guidance of other MSS. to show the correctness of the latter form.

10. *μίν*⁴ (enclitic) in the lyric poets is generally = *αὐτόν*, sometimes = *αὐτήν*: Hippon. 52 (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 78, 16, 29, Kall. I 10, Mimn. 17, 142, 15, Xenoph. 62, Tyrt. 1237, Solon 1341, Theog. 195, 293, 310 in MSS., 1127, 1173, 1347, Hrd. 351, 7102. In Hdt. *μιν* is anaphoric in all genders⁵ and also an equivalent of *ἑωυτόν -τήν* (ind. reflex.)⁶. It occurs in Ion's *Ἐπιδ.* I, in

¹ Apoll. 125 A, B; Greg. Kor. 61 (*τὸ σφίσι σφιν λέγουσιν*) cannot refer to Herodotean usage.

² Apoll. 128 A *σφέας* (M 43) and *σφας* (θ 315), Greg. Kor. 70, Hdn. II 1552c (N 276), *σφεας* enclitic.

³ Apoll. 128 A, 131 A; cf. Aiolic *ἄσφε*.

⁴ Apoll. 108 A, schol. Ven. A on A 201, interlinear schol. on A 399.

⁵ *μιν* = *αὐτό*, e. g. in I 93, 178 (cf. II 138); in *μιν αὐτήν* I 205 *μιν* is Kyros.

⁶ *μιν* in Homer is not reflexive unless accompanied by *αὐτόν*.

Protagoras, Lukian *Syr. dea* 4. *μν* has been expelled from *Eumenides* 631, *Choeph.* 622, 791, *Septem* 453, *Trach.* 388 in favour of *νν*. The MSS. of Pindar have the Ionic (Homeric) *μν* as well as the Doric *νν*¹.

11. *νν* Theog. 364 (*eum*) is called a Doric² form of the accusative, but was used by the Attic tragic poets in trimeter for *eum, eam, id, eos, eas, ea*. The above case is the sole instance where Theognis seems to have adopted a Doric form in the declension of the pronouns not differentiated by gender. *νν* is plural in Bakkyliades 8. In Herodas *νν* is used more frequently than *μν* (333, 54, 90, 96, 621), and seems to be preferred after words ending in *s* or *ν*.

560.] Possessive Pronouns. *ἑμός* Homer, Hdt., Anakr. 12 A 146, &c., Theog. 530, 540, &c. *σός* Homer, Hdt., Theog. 360, 518, 598, 738, 1091, &c. *τεός* (Epic, Aiolic, Doric³), Hdt. *ὄς* Homer (who has also *έός*), Sim. Amorg. 7112, Tyr. 102, Theog. 920, Hdt. I 205 (the only occurrence). *ἄ* was used by Demokritos for *ἴδια* according to Photios. *ἡμέτερος* Homer, Hdt., Tyr. 51, 6, Solon 190, Theog. ten times, *ἡμετέριος* Anakr. 71. *ἰμέτερος* Homer, Hdt., Solon 111, 192. *σφός* Hom., of one person Theog. 712 (*σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις*); cf. Hsd. *Theogony* 398. In Homer *σφός* is always used with reference to more than one. *σφέτερος* Theog. 142, Euseb. 1, Hdt. (plur.). In Homer it is used of more than one person.

The Demonstrative Pronouns.

561.] The Article and ὃδε.

1. The Article.

The lyric poets hold fast to a considerable extent the Homeric use of the article as a demonstrative, *e.g.* Mimn. 23, 125, 145, Tyr. 410, 1026, Xenoph. 123, 73, Theog. 51, 104, 349, 392, 397, 398, 883, Solon 1358, 375, Archil. 745, 895, Sim. Amorg. 783. In Theognis we observe traces of the Homeric and Doric *τοί*: 305 in *A*, 936 (Theog.?), 1062 (Mimn.). This *τοί* even appears in the Aldine edition of Herodotos⁴. Ionic, Attic, Aiolic, Thes-

¹ Tycho Mommsen, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* 83, p. 44 ff., pronounces in favour of *νν*.

² The horizon of Apollonios (108 A) is limited in that he restricts *νν* to Doric. It was doubtless Old Attic too.

³ It is noteworthy that Theognis does not use a form that Apoll. 135 A calls Doric, though it occurs in Homer. In tragedy *τεός* is restricted to the melic parts.

⁴ See Struve, *Quaest.* I 10.

salian, Arkado-Kyprian displaced the older *τοί, ταί*, and adopted *οί, αί*, which owe their origin to form-association with the singular. Herodotos preserves the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun (*c.g.* I 172, II 162, III 23, V 97, VII 6, IX 25). *ὁ δέ* is common in Hdt., and indicates, as it does in Homer, not merely a change of person, but also a change of action on the part of the same person. In Hippokrates we find frequently the phrase *ἐπὶ τὰ . . . ἐπὶ τὰ* (*c.g.* II 296, 328). It may be noted that in inscriptions the article may or may not occur with proper names when reference is made to descent, as, for example, in Πολυάρητος ὁ Ἰστιαίου Thasos 72₃ and below, l. 6 Πολυάρητον Ἰστιαίου.

On the feminine *τῶν*, not *τέων*, see § 444, on *ταῖς*, § 450, *τοῖς*, § 473, 2, 475.

2. New Ionic has *ὄδε, ἦδε, τόδε*: plural *οὗδε*, &c. The Homeric *τοῖσδεσι, τοῖσδεσσι* have their parallels in later Ionic. In Demokr. 13 we find *τοῖσδεσι*, a form that is put into the mouth of Pythagoras by Lukian *V. A.* 5 (perhaps *-δεσσι* in Ψ). In Hippokrates in certain adverbial phrases: *πρὸς τοῖσδεσσιν* VIII 358 (*τοῖσδεσσιν* in θ, *τοῖσδε vulgo*), *σὺν τοῖσδεσσιν* VIII 268 (θ), 372 (*τοῖς δεσσι* θ, *τοῖς δεσσιν* some other MSS.), 308 *ἐν τοῖσδεσσιν* (θ, Littré *τοῖσδεσσιν*). All these forms occur in the treatise on the *Diseases of Women*.

Like forms occur in Aiolic and in Thessalian.

562.] *οὔτος*. Hdt. has *τοιούτο, τοσοῦτο*, rarely the *-ν* forms, *c.g.* III 27, 85, VII 103 *τοιούτων*; I 107, 178, 207, IV 45, V 50, VII 153 *τοσοῦτον*, but they are frequently found in Hippokrates. The difference between Old and New Ionic is noteworthy; for Homer uniformly adopts the *-ν* forms. The feminine *τούτων* in Ionic and Attic is due to the analogy of the masculine. The Dorians said *ταυτᾶν*, the Aiolians *ταύταν*. So too *οὔτοι, αὐται* are made on the lines of *οὔτος, αὐτα(η)*. Even Theognis (638, 1057) does not adopt the Doric *τοῦτοι, ταῦται*. On a very late inscription from Teos (*B. C. II.* IV 182) we find *τοῦτα* for *ταῦτα*¹.

In the inflection of *οὔτος* hyper-Ionic *ε* has obtained an entrance into the MSS. of Herodotos and Hippokrates, of the authors quoting the early Ionic prosaists, into Aretaios, Lukian, and later pseudo-Ionists. In Hdt. masculine and neuter *τουτέων* (and *αὐτέων*) are not supported by a consensus of MS. authority. In the case of Hippokrates the depravation has advanced far beyond the point reached in Herodotos. It has yielded such forms as *τουτέου, τοιουτέου, τουτέω, τοιουτέω, τοιουτέων, τουτέοις, τουτέοισι, τοιουτέοισι, τοιουτέους, τουτέους*.

¹ Joh. Gram. 243 B, Meerm. 659 called *τούτας* Doric for *ταύτας*. This statement is rejected by Ahrens.

In Herakleitos are read *τοιουτέων* (2), *τουτέοισι*¹ (126), Lukian *Vit. auct.* 4 *τουτέοισιν*, where Ψ has *τούτοισιν*. Most of these monstrous forms owe their existence to the perverse attitude of the editors towards the Ionic dialect. The MSS. have again and again the correct form *τούτων*, not *τουτέων*, e.g. Anaxag. 4, 9, 11, 14, Diog. Apoll. 2, Demokr. 204 (*τουτέω*). See §§ 113-116. On the feminine gender see § 447, 3.

563.] *αὐτός* (Pronoun of Identity). The oblique cases of *αὐτός* are used generally for the reflexive; though the MSS. of the lyric poets often have *αὐτοῦ*, &c., e.g. Theog. 480, 539, 895, 955, 1009 (Mimn.?), 1218, Tyr. 103.

In the neuter Hdt. never has the *-ν* form (always *τῶντό*). *τῶντόν* appears in Parmenides 117, 118, Hippokr. III 212 (*τῶντό* in C), but *τῶντό* II 12, and so usually in Hippokrates. Diog. Apoll. 2 has *τῶντό* (Simpl. *ταῦτό*), Arrian the same form in 256, but the Attic form six times. Lukian *Vit. auct.* 14 *τῶντό* (*-ν* in ΩΓΦ). On the crasis forms, see § 316.

The MSS. of Herodotos give only a feeble support to a masculine and neuter *αὐτέων*; but in I 133 *αὐτέω*, though well attested, is to be rejected. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, Lukian and other pseudo-Ionists, we encounter such forms as *αὐτέη*, *αὐτέης*, *αὐτέη*, *αὐτέην*, *αὐτέησι*, *αὐτέου*, *αὐτέω*, *αὐτέων* (masculine and neuter), *αὐτέοισι*, *αὐτέους*. All these are hyper-Ionic figments (§ 108). Though often well supported in the MSS. of the pseudo-Ionists, there are numerous instances where the parasitic *ε* has been foisted on the early prosaists (e.g. Demokr. 12, 71) without good evidence. This hyper-Ionism has not attacked the MSS. of the lyric poets. On feminine *αὐτέων* see § 447, 3.

The dialect has no example of compounds of *αὐτός* other than those found in the reflexive *ἐμμεωντοῦ*, &c.; that is, Ionic has not *ἄσατῶ*, *αὐταντον*, *αὐτούτα*. *αὐτός* is never petrified. The *αὐτοσαντοῦ* of a Vienna papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XI.1 746) is Doric, despite the fact that the document is chiefly Ionic.

564.] *κεῖνος*. This form is stated by the grammarians² to be Ionic on the principle by which *χθές* is declared to be Ionic for *ἐχθές*, and *ὄρη* for *ἐορή*.

¹ Gram. Paris. 681 (An. Bachm. II 3706), Eust. 1026₁₃ attest *τουτέοισι* as Ionic, and regard it as an example of *προσχηματισμός*. This is the only case that I recall of the mention of such a form in grammatical literature. The analogy of *ὄρειοισιν* in part misled the grammarians.

² Apoll. 73 B, Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. pp. 447, 456, Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678₃₆, An. Bachm. II 365₁₁ (Ionic and Attic), Schol. Ven. A on O 94 (*ὄλος κείνου*), where A C D E, &c., have *ἐκείνου*, Aristarchos *κείνου*. Arist. often adopted forms which the scholiast takes pains to call Ionic. Cf. La Roche, *H. T. K.* p. 247.

χθές occurs in Hdt. in but one passage (II 53 *πρώην τε καὶ χθές*). In Attic comedy this form appears in the phrase *χθές τε καὶ πρόην*, and occasionally, according to Rutherford (*Phryn.* p. 372), in cases where it lends itself to the aid of the metre (*Clouds* 353, *Wasps* 242). *ἐχθές* was the regular Attic form. *ἐορτή* occurs upon an Oropian inscription 18₂₁ (see § 287, 1, note). On *ἐθέλω* in relation to *θέλω*, see § 588. In Hipponax 63 (Hdn. I 116₂₅, II 92₄₁₇) we find *ῥαδιός*, of which the common form was *ἐραδιός*, occurring in Hipponax 76 and Sim. Am. 9. The spelling with iota subscript seems to be due to the supposed connexion with *ροιάζω*. Hrd. 8₃₅ (Crus.) has *ἀρωδι[ῶν]*.

ἐ-*κείνος* may be compared with the Oscan *e-tanto* = *tanta*. The loss of the ε in other words may be due to the parallelism of *ἐκείνος*, *κείνος*; and at the same time furthered by the laws of sentence phonetics.

Homer has *ἐκείνος* and *κείνος*, *ἐκέϊσε* and *κέϊσε*, *κεῖθεν*, *κεῖθι* and *κεῖνῃ*. For *ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκεῖθι* ρ 10 (the only occurrence of *ἐκεῖθι*), we may read *ὄφρα κε κεῖθι*: cf. *ὄφρα κε κείνῃ* β 124. In Parmenides 118 *κἄκεῖνο* is read. The Aiolic form is *κῆνος*, Doric *κῆνος* (*κείνος*) with *τῆνος* as a by-form from a different stem.

1. *κείνος* is found in all inscriptions (§ 224, 15) free from the suspicion of containing an admixture of Atticism.

2. Of the Ionic poets, the *elegists* use *κείνος* more frequently than *ἐκείνος*. The shorter form is found in Archil. 34, 121, Mimn. 141, 9, Theog. 47, 223, 308, 479 (Athen., *ἐκείνος* Stob.); cf. *κεῖθεν* Mimn. 95, Theog. 711 (*sic* Bekker, *κἄκεῖθεν libri*). The longer form appears in Archil. 63, Theog. 787, 1205. In the *anablographic* poets *κεῖνος* is the correct form: Archil. tetr. 51, Sim. Amorg. 751, 84; *ἐστ' ἐκείνος* Archil. 87 (epode) may easily be read *ἔσττω κείνος* (*ἔσττω* has MS. authority); in 92, also an epode, *ἐμεῦ δ' ἐκείνος οὐ καταπρόξεται*, Schneidewin emended δὲ *κείνος*, correctly, as I think, though Hdt. III 36 has *Καμβύσης ἔφη ἐκείνους οὐ καταπρόξισθαι*. Archil. 170 has *κεῖ* (An. Ox. I 249₂₇), of which the Aiolic equivalent is *κῆ*, and 132 *κεῖθι*. Solon 38₃ has the latter form. *κείνος* is found in Anakr. 86 (iambic tetr.). Herodas has *κείνος* in 1₄₂, 4₂₃, 27, 30, 73, 5₂₂, 61, 6₂₀, 7₆₄, 7₉₇; *ἐκείνος* in 4_{76 bis}, 4₇₈, 6₄₂, 7₁₁₁.

3. Prose. In the MSS. of *Herodotos* *ἐκείνος* is so decidedly preferred to *κείνος*¹ that Bredow² and Dindorf³ proposed to expel the latter form altogether. Kirchhoff, on the other hand, would follow the testimony of the iambic poets and the inscriptions and admit only *κείνος*. Stein steers a middle course in adopting

¹ *ἐκείνος* is found about 230 times without *v.l.* *κείνος* is not often the sole reading. *v.g.* I 11, 227, III 74, 140, IV 9, V 15, 87, VI 13, 69, VII 136, VIII 61, IX 90 *A B*. In V 23 one inferior MS. has *ἐκ*, in V 82 *ἐκ*-*A B*, in VII 103 *ἐκ*-only *B*, in VIII 58 *κείνα* in *C* (?) *B*, in IX 52, 53 *ἐκ*-in *B*. Demokr. 205, Herakl. 67 have *ἐκείνος* with no case of *κείνος*.

² Pp. 118-120.

³ *De dial. Herod.* xxxvi.

κείνος only when the MSS. pronounce in its favour. This procedure necessitates the adoption of both forms in one and the same chapter, *e.g.* I 207 κείνοι but ἐκειν- three times, III 74, VI 69, VII 136, 239 (ἐκέισε, but κείνον). κείθεν is found I 122 and καὶ κείθι II 122 according to Stein (*v. l.* κακείθι, &c.), κείνωσ I 120 (*no v. l.*), ἐκέισε VII 239, ἐκεῖ IX 109.

In the case of Hdt. the κει- forms are not to be abandoned. Both forms coexisted, as they did in Homer and in Attic. But the distinction which has been set up (that ἐκείνος is less emphatic than κείνος) is valueless.

In the MSS. of *Hippokrates* ἐκείνος is the preferred form, *e.g.* II 60, 78, 128, 226 (κείνοι in *A*), VI 368 (*bis*, in one case *θ* has κείνο), ἐκεῖ II 80, 90; κείνος IX 34, 50, κείθι and κείθεν VII 586, κείθι VIII 22. In the pseudo-Hippocratic letters the proportion is twenty to three in favour of ἐκείνος. Lukian adopts the longer form almost everywhere, and Arrian and Eusebios Myndios always avoid κείνος.

Reflexive Pronouns.

565.] In the oldest phase of the dialect represented by the Homeric poems the compounded reflexive pronoun does not exist. Thus Homer says ἐμοὶ αὐτῶ, ἐμ' αὐτόν, ἐ αὐτήν¹, ἐμέθεν αὐτῆς and the like. So in Archil. 6₃ αὐτόν μ' ἐξέσάωσα was a reading for αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον. In the elegists of Ionic birth there occur two passages which would seem to show that the compound form had become a part of the apparatus of the dialect in the early post-Homeric period. These are Mimn. 7₃ = Theog. 795 (τῆν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε) and Xenoph., Bergk⁴ p. 116 (ἐμαντόν). The objections² brought forward to these forms are less valid on the ground of the presence of the compound than on that of their failure to display the proper Ionic vocalization. If in Herakleitos, Herodotos, and other prose writers the compounded forms have obtained sole possession, it is not incredible that by the time of Xenophanes they should have gained an entrance into the dialect. ἐαυτῆ is as old as Hesiod³. Alkaios

¹ Such spellings as ἐωυτήν in some MSS. may be referred to Ionic editions. ἐμαντόν also occurs; La Roche, *Hom. Textkritik*, 252 ff.

² In Mimnermos Ahrens read αὐτοῦ or σαυτοῦ. Bekker σ' αὐτοῦ, Renner σῆν αὐτοῦ (as Hymn to Hermes 565). The last named reading was once suggested by Bergk, who in his latest edition clings to σαυτοῦ.

³ *Theogony* 126. ἐωυτήν appears upon a papyrus MS. according to Wilken, *Berichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1887 p. 812. Most of the MSS. have ἐαυτῆ (*ἴσα οἱ αὐτῆ* Göttl., *ἴσον ἐόντα* Köchly). If ἐωυτ- is as old as Hesiod, which I doubt, the *av* of σαυτοῦ and ἐμαντόν is more difficult to defend.

has *ἐμαύτω* 72, *ἐαύτω* 78, *σαύτω* 87, *σαύτω* 101, Sappho *ἐμαύτα* 15¹. *έωντῶ* in Parmen. 117 is a conjecture for *έαντῶ*. Recent editors of Pindar reject the traces of the reflexive (Gildersleeve on *Ol.* XIII 53)². The suspicion that attaches to Anakreon's *χθόνιον δ' έμαντῶν ἤρειν* (frag. 64) extends to the Xenophanic fragment containing the same form. In Anakreon *δέ μ' αὔτ'* may be conjectured, in Xenophanes any conjecture is otiose, since it is not even certain that the first part of the fragment is genuine. Bergk once made trimeters out of what Meineke thought pure prose. Trimeters were probably not written by the Kolophonian poet.

If the existence of the compound form may not be disputed, objection might however be raised on the score of the character of the diphthong. Apollonios (*De Pron.* 94 B) reports as Ionic the pronoun under the form *έμωυτοῦ*; and in the monuments of the prose literature which are stamped with the die of the dialect, the diphthong *av* has given way to *εω* (*ωυ*). Now it is possible that at the time of the first beginnings of the compound forms, the points of departure for their formation were *έμ' αὔτόν*, *σ' αὔτόν*, &c.; whence it follows that *έμαντόν* and *σαντοῦ* were correct, at least in poetry, up to the time when the Herodoteian system of composition came into vogue. *έωντῶ* was then formed from *έοῖ αὔτῶ*, and *έωντοῦ*, *έμωυτοῦ* followed in its wake. The forms with *av* in later Ionic poetry recall the Homeric *έ αὔτήν* (or *έF' αὔτήν*) in *Ξ* 162, *Fε αὔτήν* *P* 551. Of the epigraphical examples with *av*, none is old enough to avoid the suspicion of being due to Attic influence. In inscriptions we find (1) *έωντῶν* 144 from Priene, and (2) forms with *av*: *έαντοῖ* (dative) Oropos 18₂₅, the oldest example (either between 411-402 or between 387-377 B. C.), *έαωτῶν* (= *av* § 243) Samos 221₂₀ (after 322 B. C.), Asiatic Ionic No. 263₂, *έαντοῦ* Zeleia 113₁₃ (after 334 B. C), and in other inscriptions after 350 B. C. when Attic influence cannot be gainsaid: *έαντοῦ* Theodosia (?) 127₁, *έαντῆς* Pantikap. 123, Chios 192₂, *αὔτοῦ* Ephesos 147₁₈ (300 B. C.), Smyrna 153₁₆, *έαντῶν* Olbia 129₁₄ (period of the empire).

Two sets of forms have been handed down as peculiar to the Ionic dialect.

1. *έμωυτοῦ* Apoll. 94 B C³. This form occurs nowhere in literature (*έμωυτόν* Zenodotos A 271), and is the only instance of a pronoun reported by Apollonios which is unattested in the monuments. It owes its rise to the influence of *έμο(ῖ) αὔτῶ* = *έμωυτῶ*, where elision has been at work.

¹ Apollonios attests *σαύτω*, *Fαύτω*. Between *σ' αὔτῶ* with elision (Ahrens) and *σαὔτῶ* the difference is trifling. On the passage in Apoll. 103 A, see Dyrolf. *K. Z.* XXXII 103 ff.

² *σαυτῶ* fr. 97 in one MS.

³ *τὸ έμωυτοῦ παρ' Ἰωσι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν* is certainly wrong as it stands.

2. *ἔμεινωτοῦ, σεωυτοῦ, ἔωυτοῦ, &c.* These forms are not due to the contraction of *ἔμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, ἔο αὐτοῦ*; the *ων* does not stand in any shifting relation to *αυ*, and is to be kept apart from the *ων* which varies with *αυ* in *θωῶμα θαῶμα* (§§ 205, 258). In Ionic the force of analogy carried *εων* from the dative, where *ἔωυτῶ* was the direct result of the fusion of *ἐὼ αὐτῶ* (as *οἱ αὐτοὶ* became *ὄντο* § 316), into the genitive and accusative, where *ἔμεινωτοῦ* and *ἔμεινωτόν* would have been in place. In Attic *ἔμεινωτοῦ* owes its *αυ*, by a similar process, to the influence of the accusative *ἔμ(ε) αὐτόν*. So *σεαυτοῦ* arose from the analogy of *σ' αὐτόν*. *σεαυτοῦ* is to be explained as arising from *σέ(ο) αὐτοῦ*¹.

Of this second type of form there is no example on any inscriptional monument. Boeckh's *ἐ(ω)υτῶν*² in Bechtel's No. 144, a decree of the *Κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων* from the *Πανιώνιον* in the neighbourhood of Priene, cannot hold ground against *ἔωυτῶν*, on which see § 256. Nor is there any example in Ionic poetry of the form with *ων*, except in Herodas. In Ionic prose we find the following forms: *ἔμεινωτοῦ* Hdt. IV 97 (*A B R*), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Pythag., ep. Hippokr. *ἔμεινωτῶ* Hdt. III 142. *ἔμεινωτόν* Herakl. 80 (Plutarch), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Hippokr. XXVI 2 in *A*. *σεωυτοῦ* Hdt. I 45, III 155, ep. Hippokr. XVII 22. In Herodas 7₉₉ we find *σεωυτοῦ* added in the margin, but at the top of the column (No. 40) *σεωυτοῦ* is written. The word forms the first foot of the trimeter. *σεωυτόν* Lukian *Syr. dea* 25, *Vit. auct.* 5, Euseb. Myndios; *σεωυτήν* Hrd. 2₆₆. *ἔωυτοῦ* Hdt. I 45 *bis*, Herakl. 17, Hippokr. III 200, 204, 208, 210, VI 114 (with lenis? *M* has here *μετewῶτοῦ, Α μετ' ἔωυτοῦ*), Demokr. 92, 100, 188, Lukian *Syr. dea* 12, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 55 *ter*, *Astr.* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 47, 8₁₀, 92, and 20₆ (*ἔαυ-* MSS.), 42₃, Abyd. 1, Euseb. Mynd., ep. Hippokr. often, Aretaios nine times. *ὄντοῦ* twice. *Vida Hom.* thirteen times; *ἔωυτῆς* Hdt. V 28, Hippokr. III 208, *Syr. dea* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 10₁₁. Hrd. 6₈₄ has *ὄντῆς*. *ἔωυτῶ* Hdt. III 142, Hippokr. III 188, Demokr. 207, Herakl. 45, Arrian *Ind.* 92 (MSS. *ἔαυ-*), 204, Eusebios; *ἔωυτῆ* Hdt. I 11, Lukian *Astr.* 2. *ἔωυτόν* Hdt. I 45, Hrd. 578, Hippokr. I 630 (*ἔωυτό Α*), Demokr. 20₂₂, 30, 100, Lukian *Syr. dea* 20, 25, 29, 51, 53, 57, Arrian *Ind.* 43, 78, 94 (MSS. *αὐτόν* and *αὐτόν*), Euseb. Mynd.; *ἔωυτήν* *Syr. dea* 22 *bis*, 27, 39 *ter*; *ἔωυτό* Hippokr. VI 178, 180. *ἔωυτῶν* Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. III 210 vulgo (*-τέων B M N*), II 12, Herakl. 114, Demokr. 213, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49, 58, *Astr.* 12. *ἔωυτοῖσι* Hdt. VI 138, Hippokr. VI 354 (see below), Herakl. 5, Lukian *Astr.* 20. *ἔωυτούς* Hdt.

¹ So Brugmann, *Gram.* § 96. This is preferable to Wackernagel's explanation (*K. Z.* XXVII 279) whereby *σεαυτοῦ* was formed from the analogy of *σεαυτόν*, from *τεφ' αὐτόν*. W.'s theory presupposes that, through remembrance of *σαυτόν, τεαυτόν* became *σεαυτόν*.

² This form is defended by Renner, Curtius' *Studien* I 2, p. 5.

IV 148 (see below), Herakl. 106 in Stobaios, Gaisford following *B. man. sec.*, Bywater *éav-*, Lukian *Syr. dea* 26, 35, Arrian *Ind.* 247.

In authors quoting the Ionic prosaists the Attic forms occur very often, e.g. *éavto* Anax. 15, Melissos 5. *éavtoû* Anax. 6 *ter*, 16, Demokr. 20²¹, 84, Melissos 5. *Vita Hom.* twice, Ion 'Eπιδ. 1. *éavtῶ* Parm. 117. *éavtῶν* Demokr. 46, although Stobaios has preserved the *av* forms very often. *σεαυτόν* Demokr. 98. Herodas has the Attic forms *έμαντόν* 2⁸⁸, *έμαντήν* 3²⁷, *σαυτοῦ* 2⁸³, *σαντῆς* 6⁴, *σαυτόν* 1²³, <έ>*αυτόν* 2²⁸. The MSS. rarely have *ώυτ-* for *έωυτ-*, a form comparable, as it were, to Attic *αὔτ-* (Hrd. 6³⁴ *ώυτῆς*).

In the MSS. of Hippokrates and of the pseudo-Ionists we often find the illegitimate parasitic *ε* in *έωυτέον* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *έωυτέῳ* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *έωυτέης*, *έωυτέην*, *έωυτέῳ* (Hippokr. II 188, 214), *έωυτέων* (Hippokr. II 76, Lukian *Askr.* 1, Euseb.), *έωυτέοισι* (Hippokr. II 90), *έωυτέησιν* (Hippokr. II 90).

Hdt. rarely uses the uncompounded forms, e.g. *αὔτῳ τ' έμοί* III 142. *σοὶ αὔτῳ* I 108 Stein with *P* (*A B σοὶ έωυτῶι*). *αὔτῶν-μιν* I 24 (cf. *μιν - - έωυτόν* *ibid.*) is perhaps an error; *αὔτῆν μιν* II 100 is an unusual (Homeric) use as direct reflexive. Herodas has *με αὔτῆν* 6^{2,3}, *μιν αὔτῆν* 7¹², not as Hdt. I 205. The strengthening of the reflexive by *αὔτός* occurs in Hippokrates VI 600 *αὐτὰ* (*omis. vulg.*) *αὔτοισιν*, 178, 188 *αὐτὸ έωυτοῦ*, 180 *αὐτὸ έωυτῶ*, *αὐτὸ ἀφ' έωυτοῦ*.

In the plural we find both *έωυτῶν*, &c., and *σφέων αὔτῶν*, &c., e.g. Hdt. I 73. *αὔτοισι ήμῶν* V 91 is an unusual turn for *ήμῶν αὔτοισι*.

In Hdt. the pronoun of the third person is not used in the singular for the second or for the first, though the MSS. here and there support such a usage. Cf. I 124 (*έωυτ- R d z*), III 36 (*έωυτ- R'*), and IV 97 (*έμειωντοῦ A B R*, others *έωυτοῦ*). In V 92 (a) *αὔτοί πρώτοι τύραννοι καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὔτοισι . . . άίχησθε κατιστάται* is the only case in Hdt. Usually the plural of the first person is *ήμέων αὔτῶν*, of the second *ύμέων αὔτῶν*. *σφέας έωυτούς* in IV 148 is a reading long abandoned for *σφέας αὔτούς*; *σφίσιν έωυτοῖσι* Hippokr. VI 354 is the vulgate reading for *σφίσιν αὔτοισι* in *θ*.

Relative Pronouns.

566.] In the Homeric dialect, besides *ός*, *ή*, *ός*, we find the demonstrative *ός*, *ή*, *τό* used as relatives¹. *ός* is also used as a demonstrative in the epic dialect, which also uses *ός* for *τό*. In the language of the elegy we find occasionally the relative used

¹ See Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678¹⁴ (*τὸν θέλω*). The relative use of *τόν* in A 36 is called Ionic by An. Par. III 3176.

for the demonstrative :—Phokyl. 1₁ (cf. Demod. 2₁), 3., Tyr. 2., Solon 35₁, Theog. 169, 800 (MSS. vary in both cases).

In the iambographic poets and elegists we find some few survivals of the use of the demonstrative as a relative. The aspirated relative has, however, evidently gained upon the τ- forms from the year 700 B.C.

A. Iambographic Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative. τó Sim. Am. 13₂; τῆς Sol. 36₃, Hrd. 2₆₄; τῶ Archil. epod. 87₃, Anakr. 86 (Elnusley); τῆ Hrd. 3₂₁, Sim. Am. 7₃; τάς Hrd. 4₁₇; τῶν Hrd. 5₂₈; ταῖσι Hrd. 6₃₁.

2. Pure Relative. ὅς Anan. 1₁, Hrd. 4₁; ἣ Sim. Amorg. 7₁₃, 27, 44, 58; οὗ Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₇ (οὐτρε)¹, Hrd. 6₄₂; ἧς Hrd. 4₄ (ἧς τε), 5₃₀; ᾧ Hippon. 3₂, Hrd. 3₆₉; ὅν Sim. Amorg. 23₂, Hippon. 4₅; ἧν Hippon. 37₂ (conj.), Hrd. 5₈₂; ᾧ Sim. Amorg. 1₄ (where οἶα is the usual Attic construction), Hrd. 5₃₇; ᾧν Hrd. 5₅₀, 7₆₁, 9₄; ἧς Archil. 9₄₃; οὗς Archil. tetr. 59₁, Hrd. 2₆₇; ᾧς Hrd. 3₉₇; ᾧ Solon 37_{2,3}.

B. The Elegiac Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative. τó Xenoph. 2₁₇, Theog. 17, cf. Mimn. 11₅, τόθι; τοῦ Theog. 256, 451, Xenoph. 5₃; τῆ Theog. 216; τόν Theog. 501, 879; τῆν Xenoph. 6₅; τοί Theog. 383; τά Theog. 481, 583-584, 1185; τῶν Theog. 462, 716, 1096, 1175; τοῖς Theog. 132 (but A has οἷς, Bergk ὄτοις), τοῖσιν Sol. 13₁₈; τάς Theog. 880; τά Theog. 591.

2. Pure Relative (including ὅσ τε). ὅς Theog. 91, Hipponax hex. 85₂, Anakr. 94₁; ὅσ τε Theog. 703, 1124, and Anakr. 51₂ (ionics); ἧτε Theog. 196, 386, 410, 705, 827, 1198; ὅ Mimn. 4₂; ὅ τε Mimn. 5₇, Theog. 466; οὗ Theog. 152; οὗ τε Theog. 395; ᾧ Theog. 412, Mimn. 2₁₆; ὅν Tyr. 5₂; ἧν Archil. eleg. 6₁; ἧν τε Theog. 336, Sol. 27₈; οἷ Theog. 598; οἷ τε Theog. 737, 1069; αἷτε Theog. 709; ᾧ Sol. 26₂; ᾧν Tyr. 10₁₉, Theog. 34; ᾧν τε Mimn. 2₁₃; οἷς Theog. 1312; οὗς Theog. 84, Tyr. 10₇.

567.] **The Relative Pronoun in Prose.** If we compare the use of the iambographic poets with that of Hdt., we observe this difference: Hdt.² uses the forms beginning with τ in by far the greater number of oblique cases when no preposition precedes³; also when the oblique cases are preceded by prepositions which cannot suffer elision⁴. The exceptions are now generally brought

¹ Gaisford οὗ γε. But cf. the use of τε in Theog. 1049, Mimn. 2₁, 8, 11₅.

² Greg. Kor. p. 385, Struve, *Quaest.* 7 ff.

³ Exceptions are οὗς II 81, οἶσι V 6, ᾧ II 118, ἧς and ἦ I 109, ἧν I 39, ᾧ III 140.

⁴ Exceptions are πρὸς ᾧ IV 200, ἐν ἧ V 16, 49, VI 97, and always when ἐν ᾧ = *while*, e. g. I 164, ἐς οὗς II 95, ἐς ὅ V 91, VIII 60 and always when ἐς ὅ = *until*, and = ἐς ὅσον as IV 56, 71, VII 50. ἐς οὗ generally has the v. l. ἐς ὅ, which is read by Struve and Stein. ἐως οὗ II 143 has also been changed

into line except in the case of certain formulae, such as ἐς ὄ. In case the relative follows upon a preposition whose final vowel may be elided¹, the aspirated forms are in place in the oblique cases²; and in the nominative ὄς, ἦ, ὄ are invariably employed. What has been said above holds good in the case of ὄσπερ.

It is doubtful whether so artificial a system can have found a place in the ordinary language of Herodotos' day. The language of the inscriptions as well as that of the Ionic philosophers records a usage different from that of Herodotos, and similar to that in vogue in Attika. While the speech of the iambic writers still preserves both the τ- and the aspirated forms, it is not so complicated as that of Hdt. It is more likely that the preservation of the old forms in Hdt. should have been upheld by syntactical requirements than by so purely external a canon as that adopted with considerable uniformity in the Herodoteian MSS.

The prose inscriptions have only the pure relative, not the τ- forms, e.g. ὄς Thasos J. H. S. VIII 402., ὄν Miletos 1007., ὄν Thasos 72., ὄπερ Miletos 1007., ἦσιν Teos 156 B 36. ἦσιν Teos 158_s deserves attention as ὄσοῦν is not found in Attic, nor indeed in any other dialect except Ionic; ὄτεωιοῦν Amphip. 1021. The demonstrative relative appears in τ(ὸν) Amorg. 34 (epigram).

The fragments of the philosophers usually have the pure relative forms: Anax. 6 ἦν, 5 οἴσι, 10 ὦν, Diogen. 6 ὦ, ἄτε, Herakleitos 11, 112 ὄν, 93 ὦ, 115 ὄν, Demokr. 73 ἄ, 168 οἴσιν, but 188 τῶν ἄν δέη, 60 τῶν, 47 τοῖσι.

In Hippokrates traces of the demonstrative form are exceedingly rare³: τὰ occurs in VI 476 (twice in θ), 486 (τὰ pro ἄ vulg.), τῆπερ VI 480 (sic θ, Littré τῆ περὶ), τοῖσιν VII 478, IX 84, τῶν I 586 (Δ), II 74 (Zwinger ἀφ' ὧν, perhaps ὄτων). Elsewhere we find the aspirated forms, e.g. ἦς II 12, 14; ὦ II 644, ὦπερ III 196; ἦπερ II 24; ἄ II 18, III 84; ὦν II 256, 618, 660, 668, 676 (περὶ), as III 84; οἴσι II 250, 334, 372, 608, 612 bis, 626, 642, 642, III 74, VI 610: ἦσιν III 196 (v. l. ὄσιν). II 648, 658 bis; οἴσι II 372 bis, 664; ἄς II 648. ἄτε occurs often in Hdt., in Hippokr. II 26, 78, III 226, Diogen. 6, οἴον τε Hippokr. II 38, Diogen. 6, &c.

Of the pseudo-Ionists⁴ Lukian follows in general the lead of Herodotos. In a few passages (*Syr. dea* 18, 24, 31, 48) Δ E have

to ἐς ὄ (cf. Greg. Kor. p. 472). ἐξ ὄν, &c., is found nine times, but ἐκ τοῦ, &c., eighteen times. μέχρη and ἀρχὴ ὄν are uniformly used. περὶ with τοῦ is always in position to suffer anastrophe.

¹ ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό. ἀμφί and ἀνά chance not to occur with a relative.

² Exceptions are ἐπὶ τῆν IX 11 (v. l. ἐπὶ ἦν), ὑπὸ τῶν VII 217 (v. l. ὑπ' ὧν).

³ Gomperz' *Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 78 ff.

⁴ Lindemann p. 86.

the aspirate forms, the other MSS. those with τ-. In 25 only *A* has ᾶ. When a preposition precedes there is considerable variation in the MSS. We find ἐν οἴσιν *Astr.* 10, ἐν τοῖσιν *Astr.* 24, *Syr.* *deca* 2, 10, 21, 47; ἐπὶ τοῦ *Syr.* 12; ἐπὶ τῆς 30; ἀντ' ὧν 12; ἀπὸ τέω (so Jacobitz) *Astr.* 7, 12. The examples that are Attic rather than Ionic may safely be corrected. Eusebios has τά, τάπερ, τῶν, ἀπ' ὧν, but ἐν τῷ. The other imitators of Ionic prose use the aspirated relative. Arrian has a fondness for ὄστις.

568.] Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun. Nominative τίς, τί, τις, τι Hom., Hdt., Hippokr., &c. Genitive: τέω¹ Homer, Hrd. 8₁; τεο in Homer only π 305, Hdt. I 58; τεῦ Homer, Hdt. V 106, Kall. 1₁, Hrd. 2₉₈; τευ Homer, Hdt. I 19, Archil. 110, Theog. 749, 750; τέου Archil. 95 (MSS. τεοῖ); του Hippokr. II 34; τίως Theog. 1299, Hippokr. III 214; τιως Hippokr. V 726. Dative: τέφ Hymn I 170, Hdt. I 11, IV 155; τεφ in Homer four times, Hdt. II 48, 124, IV 47, Anax. 6 bis; τῷ the most common form in Homer, Theog. 139; τῶν in Homer only ξ 96, P 68; τινι Homer, Hippokr. III 82. Accusative: τίνα Homer, Hippokr. III 214; τινα Homer, Hdt., Hippokr. Nominative: τίνες Homer, τίνα (?) X 450; τινες Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., τινα Homer, &c. Genitive: τέων Homer; τεῶν Hdt. V 57 (*see A B, τέων C P*); τίνων, τινων. Dative: τέοισι Hdt. I 37, VIII 113, IX 27; τοῖσιν in Homer (κ 110) accord. to Aristarchos, Hdt.; τισι Hippokr. II 618, 644, III 76. Accusative: τινας Homer, Hippokr., τινα Homer.

Note on the interrelation of the stems of this pronoun.

The stem τε- (I. E. *qe*, cf. Avest. *ca-hyā*, Goth. *hvi-s*) appears in τέω (τεῦ), a more original form than τέον. τέω is formed from *τε-σιω as ἐμέω (ἐμείω) from *ἐμε-σιω. τέον is formed as if the stem were τεο-; which appears also in τέφ, τέων, τέοισι. The τ of τῷ is borrowed from that of τοῦ < τεο; and the dental of τέφ together with the ε is taken from τέω. In the dative, from *qō we should expect *πῷ, *ποῖς. The forms with τιν- are built up from the lost accusative *τι-ν which was constructed from a stem τι-. In τίνα, which replaced the old τι-ν, the stem appeared to be τιν-. The form τίσι, however, need not be explained as arising from τιν-σι; it may be the direct descendant of τι + σι. τι- appears in ἄσσα < τι-α (after a word ending in α), which is not Herodoteian. The Aiolio forms τίφ Sappho 104, and τλοισιν 168 are not descendants of τέφ, τέοισι as often stated, but from the different stem τι- (*qi-*), found in (ἄ)σσα < τι-α. Cf. ὄτειq Gortyna 432 and τεῖον- ποῖον. Κρήτες. This stem τι- was not originally in place in the dative. Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 93, Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 89, XXVIII 121, XXIX 149.

569.] The Compound Relative ὄστις.

I. *Nominative.* ὄστις Hom., Tyr. 12₁₄, Theog. 221, 744, 1173, Anakr. 94₃ (eleg.), Sim. Am. 7₇₀, &c., Herakl. 35, Teos 156 A 1,

¹ An. Ox. I 403₉ (cf. I 400₃) τέω Ionic, τεῦ Doric.

Herodotos, Hippokrates; Arrian is fond of *ὄστις*, &c., in preference to the simple relative forms. *ὄστις*¹ Hom., Theog. 676; *ἦστις*² Hom., Sim. Am. 7₁₀₃, Hdt., Hippokr. *e.g.* II 12. *ὄτι* Hom., Theog. 160, 690, Hdt., Herakl. 105, Hippokr. II 358. *ὄττι*: Hom., Theog. 17, 818 (not Ionic).

2. *Genitive*. *ὄστινος*, *ὄστεο*, *ὄστευ* Homer; *ὄστευ* Hom., Hdt. The form *ὄστινος* might have been Ionic if analogy had had its way, as was the case in Doric. Herodas 4₄₀ has the non-Ionic *ὄστων*; but cf. *ὄτεύεκε*³ 5₂₀ despite *ὄτούνεκεν* 7₁₀₃.

3. *Dative*. *ὄστω*³ Hom., Hdt., Demokr. 166, 188, Herakl. 127, Herodas 7₁₁₂, but *ὄτω* 2₂₆ (cf. 7₁₇). *ὄστωιούν* is found in Amphip. 10₂₁. *ὄτω* is found M 428 where Zenodotos read *ὄστω*; *ὄτω* occurs in Theog. 154, 416, 609⁴, and in Anaxag. 6 *ad fin.* according to Simplicius (Diels 157⁴ for *ὄτω*, Preller and Mullach adopt *ὄστων*). In Solon el. 24₁ = Theog. 719, Bergk adopts *ὄτω* (Renner *ὄστω*), where Plutarch has *ὄτε*, Stobaios *ὄστος*. *ὄτω* is found also in Hippokr. III 238, 252, Lukian's *Syria dea* and in Arrian. *ὄ τωι* Hsd., Theog. 631 (in *A*), 807 (*ὄ τωι A*). In both passages this form should have been adopted by Bergk (cf. Hom. *ὄ τωι*); *ὄ τωι* Hippokr. II 664.

4. *Accusative*. *ὄστινα* Hom., Tyrt. 12₃₃, Theog. 403, Hrd. 4₁₂, Hdt.; *ὄστινῶν* Sim. Am. 7₄₀; *ὄστινα* Hom.; *ἦστινα* Hom., Hdt. (not *τῆστινα* as all MSS. I 9C); *ὄτι* Hom., Hdt., Hippokr. II 12, III 228; *ὄττι* Hom.

5. *Nominative*. *ὄστινες* Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 114, 126, Hippokr. II 240 (*οἱ δὲ τινες*); *ἀστινες* Hom., Hdt.

6. *Genitive*. *ὄστων* Hom., Hdt.; *ὄτων* Hippokr. II 64, 74 (? see § 567), a rare form in Attic (see on Xen. *Anab.* VII 6, 24).

7. *Dative*. *ὄστέοισι* Hom., Hdt. See Eustathios quoted under *ὄστω*.

8. *Accusative*. *ὄσστινας* Hom., Hdt.; *ὄστινας* Hom.; *ἄστινας* Hom., Hdt.; *ὄστιν'* Hom. X 450 (?).

*ἄσστα*⁵ < *ἄ + ττω* Hom., Phokyl. 6₂, Theog. 1048, Solon 38₄ (?), Hdt. I 47, 138, 197, Herakl. 122, Melissos 17; in Anax. 6 *ἄσστα* is a conjecture (Simpl. *ἄσστα*).

570.] **Other Pronominal Forms.** On the form of the pronouns *κόϊος*, *κόσος*, *κότερος*, &c., see § 342. *ἀμός* is not found in Ionic literature, but occurs in the Herodoteian *οἰουαμοί*, *μηγαμοί*.

¹ This form is totally distinct from *ὄστις* (from *γα-s*). *ὄστις* contains the neuter **σφοδ* of the reflexive *σφο*, which appears in Lokrian *φῶτι* (C. D. I. 1479 A 6) and in the Homeric *φῶς*. The *ττ* forms in Homer are due to the assimilation of *δτ*, and are Aiolic.

² Tzetz. Ex. II. 63₁.

³ Eust. 230₁, 1026₄₃, 1036₃₃.

⁴ This form is neither Doric nor epic. Homer prefers *ὄστω* with synizesis.

⁵ Bekk. An. I 461₂ (= Bachm. An. I 161₁₁).

The former is also Homeric. Demokritos, who gave to several of the letters of the alphabet names different from those in ordinary use, followed Alkaios 76, who divided οὐαίς into οὐ + αείς (neuter δέιν). Plutarch πρὸς Κολώτην 4 (*Mor.* 1109 A) quotes a saying of Demokritos: μὴ μάλλον τὸ δὲν ἢ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι¹. No grammarian assigns δέις, δέν for τις, τι to any special dialect. Dr. Jackson (*Journ. of Philol.* XXI 73) ventures to find δαμά (μή + δαμά) in Parmenides. ὁ δέινα is unknown to Hdt.

Numerals.

571.] A special Ionic termination is -φαστος; -ξος in διξός, τριξός (§ 380) is specifically Ionic. 1. εἷς, &c., Hdt., ἐν and ἔνα Samos 220₃₂, ἐν Miletos 100₁, ἐνός Chios 174 D 19, cf. Keos 43₃ and Iasos 104₄₁. μιᾶς Olynthos 8 B 13. μίαν Miletos 100₃ disposes of Aklus' μίη in Hdt. *e.g.* II 100, and *R'd's* μίην in II 111, and show that such forms in Anaxagoras, Hippokrates (*e.g.* VIII 274 in *C*), and later Ionic writers are hyper-Ionisms. See above, § 419. πρῶτον Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 8, Keos 43₁₆ and Hdt., cf. Πρωτοῦς Styra 19₄₇. Hdt. has οὐδέρες III 26, IX 58. 2. Homer, Hesiod δύνω, δύο: δύο Paros 62, Samos 220_{21, 26, 29, 31}, Ananios 3₂, &c., with the noun in the plural as often in Attic. δύνων is found in Chios 174 D 9. It occurs in the Herakleian tables and in Gortyna 1₄₀. In the Chian document it occurs in conjunction with the Aiolic πεντηκόντων. Hdt. has δύο but not δύνω, though the latter occurs as a *v. l.* in *C. e.g.* VI 57, VII 24, 28. The indeclinable δύο is often used in Hdt. as in Attic. δύνω is found only in composition (see under 12). Hdt. has also δύνων² VI 57, &c., but not δνοῖν, despite I 11, 91, where there is no *v. l.* δνοῖσι Hdt. I 32, VII 104; δνοσί is not Herodoteian. Hippokrates has δνοσί (II 522 *v. l.* δύο, VII 368) as perhaps Thukydides VIII 101 (but see Phrynichos, p. 289 R) and certainly post-Aristotelian literature and inscriptions (*e.g.* C. I. A. II 467_{7, 7}, 471_{4, 5}) of the Roman period. Hdt. IV 66 has σίνδνο, cf. σύντρεις ι 429. δεύτερος Hdt., Hippokr.; δευτεραῖος Hdt.; δῖς Archil. 163, Sim. Am. 7₆₄, Hippokr. II 78; διξός § 380; διφάστος (Greg. K. p. 527); ἀμφοῖν Hippokr. II 686 (ἀμφοτέρων *A. Galen*), VII 120 (ἀμφοτέρουσι in *θ*), VIII 238, 240; cf. § 412, where δνοῖν is adduced from Lukian and Arrian. 3. τρεῖς Chios 174 A 3, Iasos 104₃₃, Zeleia 113₃₀, Paros 63, Oropos 18₄

¹ Cf. Zenobios in *Et. Mag.* 639.

² δύνων Eust. 802₂₆₋₀ (cf. 26₂₁); An. Par. III 88₂ on τῶν δύο II. K 253: Ἄττικὸν ἢ κοινόν, Ἰωνικὸν γὰρ δύνων.

(accusative). The accusative has usually been displaced by the nominative in Ionic, *e.g.* Anacr. 42, 83, Ananios 32. The original form is *τρῖς* (cf. *τρῖς* Gortyna 534), from which descended *τρῖς*, the reading of *θ* in Hippokr. VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304. *τριῶν* Oropos 1815, Keos 439, Hippokr. II 636. [*τρι*]σί Keos 4323; *τριούσι* in Hipponax tr. 511 (*σὺν τριούσι μάρτυσιν*) is formed on the model of *τριῶν*, from a stem *τρι-*. It is doubtful whether this form is due to the satirist's residence at Klazomenai, the Aiolie city which was late in joining the Ionic league (Paus. VII 3, 5); *τρίτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 688, Erythr. 206 A 38; *τρῖς* Sam. Am. 74, Sam. 215 (epigr.), Hdt., Hippokr. II 78; *τριξός* § 380; *τριακάδι* Erythr. 206 C 47; *ἡμικριταῖος* Hippokr. II 608.

4. *τέσσερες*, *τέσσερι*. To the forms adduced, § 134, we may add *τέσσεροι* Hippokr. VI 198, VII 368, the reading of *θ* which ought to have been adopted by Littré. In VIII 200 *θ* has *τέρσσει*. Hdt. has *τεσσέρων*, *τέσσερσι*, *τέσσερας*. Doric *τετόρων* in Phokyl. 31 is borrowed from the Hesiodic epos (*τέτορα W. D.* 698), cf. *τέτορες* Kinkel p. 178 (No. 248), a fragment rejected by Flach. *τέταρτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 682, 690, Zeleia 114 F 3, Kyzik. 108 B C. Homer has also *τέτρατος* (Joh. Gr. 241 B). *τεταρταῖος* Hippokr. II 680.

5. *πέντε* Anacr. 42, Keos 4328; *πέμπτος* Mylasa 248 B 1, Halik. 2385; *Πέμπτις* Styra 1922; *πεμπταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682; *πεντάκις* Hrd. 323.

6. *ἕξ* Chios 174 A 5 is a unique form (§ 378); *ἕξ* in *ἄεκαῖξ* below. *ἕκτος* Thas. 7111 < *ἕκστ-*, or from a form without the sibilant. *ἐκταῖος* Hippokr. II 646.

7. *ἑπτὰ* Samos 22021; *ἑβδομος*; *ἑβδομαῖος* Hippokr. II 682. Epidaurian *ἑβδομη-*.

8. *ὀκτώ*; *ὄγδοος*, Erythr. 206 A 46; *ὄγδοηκοστός* Hippokr. II 626.

9. *ἐννέα* No. 137 (Chalkidian), *ἐννεῖα* Zeleia 11330 (on the *ι* cf. § 220), *ἐννεοβολοῦ* Orop. 1822. Ionic *ἑντατος* in Hdt. as in Homer is = Kretan *ἦντατος* < *ἐντ-*; Attic *ἑντατος* Hippokr. II 704, Myl. 248 A 1; *ἐνταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682.

10. *δέκα* Eretria 1513; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14 is a loan form from Aiolie¹. *δέκατος* Keos 476, Milet. 93, Halik. 241, Phokaia 170, *ἐπιδέκατος* Amphip. 1013, Eretr. 1514.

11. *ἐνδέκα* Zeleia 11323, *ἐνδέκατος* Hdt., Hippokr.; *ἐνδεκαταῖος* Hippokr. II 654.

12. The later Ionic has *δωδέκα*, Hdt. II 145 and in some thirty other passages without any variant; so also Thasos (L.) 8 A 5. In VIII 121 Stein reads *δωδώεκα* in opposition to *δωωκαῖδεκα* of *ABC*, and also in VI 108, where all MSS. have *ῶώεκα*. The latter form occurs in Hippokr. II 520 (*A*), where the Homeric *δωωκαῖδεκα* is adopted by Littré. Arrian *Iud.* 195 has *δωώεκα*. This Attic form is to be expelled from the text of

¹ This form, like *πεντηκόντων*, *ἐνενηκόντων* in the same inscription, arose from the fact that the final *α* of *δέκα*, &c., was regarded as a neuter plural termination. That the dative plural of like formation does not occur is a matter of chance.

Herodotos. δωδέκατος and δυοκαίδέκατος occur in Hippokrates; δυωδέκατος Hdt. I 19, III 92 (δω- *A B C d*). In III 91 for δυοκαίδεκα (*A B*), δυωκαίδεκα (*C P d*), Stein reads δύο καὶ δέκα (*μυριάδας*). δεκαῖο is found in Iasos 104₃₂, a document containing few traces of Ionic. It appears in C. I. A. II 476₃₁ (100 B. C.). 13. τρία καὶ δέκα Hdt., τρίτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., τρισκαίδέκατος Hippokr. II 712. 14. τεσσερεσκαίδεκα Hdt. VII 36, I 86 (-*ar*- in all MSS.), Hippokr. VI 216 is indeclinable; τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. III 93, τεσσερεσκαίδέκατος I 84 (-*ar*- in all MSS. as Hippokr. II 668); τεσσερεσκαίδεκαταῖος Hippokr. II 148. 15. πεντεκαίδεκα Chios 174 A 19, Hdt.; πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 16. δεκαέξ Iasos 104₄₅, ἑκκαίδεκατον Hdt., ἐξκαίδεκα Hippokr.; ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἐξκαίδέκατος Hippokr. 17. ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἑπτακαίδέκατος Hippokr. 18. ὀκτωκα[ί]ο[ε]κα Palik. 238₁₈, ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ὀκτωκαίδέκατος Hippokr., ἐν δυοῖν δεούσαιν εἴκοσι Hippokr. VI 216 (so *θ*, other MSS. δεούσαις), δυοῖν δεόντων εἴκοσι VI 286. 19. ἔννεακαίδεκα, εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 20. εἴκοσι(*v*) Paros 62, Anakr. 18, Hrd. 391, εἰκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 654. 21. εἴκοσι[ν] ἔ]νός Iasos 104₄₀, εἰκοστὴ πρώτη Hippokr. II 680. 22. δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι Hdt. 30. τριήκοντα Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 10, Erythr. 202₁₇, τρηκοστός Myl. 248 A 1, Hippokr. II 680 (with Attic *a*), τρηκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 150, τρηκόστ[ια] Keos 43₂₀. 35. τριήκοντα πέντε Hdt. but ἐνὶ καὶ τρηκοστώ. 38. δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα Hdt. I 15. 40. The Herodoteian and Homeric τεσσεράκοντα Iasos 104₅₂, Kyzikos 111₁₁; τεσσ[ερα]κ[ί]οντων Chios 174 C 16 as in Aiolic¹; τετρωκοστώ καὶ πέμπτωι Myl. 248 B 1 as in Archimedes II 282, 23 = Attic τεσσαρακοστώ, &c. Doric is τετρώκοντα (Herakl. Tablets). On the objections to referring this to the type ὀγδώκοντα (*K. Z.* XXV 235) see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 192, τεσσαρακοστός Hippokr. II 678, 698 (with Attic *a*). 49. ἐνὸς δέοντα πενήκοντα Hdt. I 16. 50. πενήκοντα Olynth. 8 A 5, Iasos 104₄₇, πενήκόντων Chios 174 D 7 as in Aiolic. It is to be noticed that this form, δέκων, τεσσ[ερα]κόωντων, and ἐρ[ε]νηκόωντων stand in close proximity to inflected numbers in this inscription. 60. ἐξήκοντα Thasos (L.) 95, ἐξηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 70. ἑβδομήκοντα Chios 174 A 7, Delphic and Herakleian ἑβδομήκοντα, ἑβδομηκοστός Hippokr. II 700; ἑβδομήκοντα τριῶν Iasos 104₃₅; τεσσ[ερα]καῖ-εβδο[μ]ηκοστούτης Paros 58. 80. ὀγδώκοντα Hom. and Hdt. < ὀγδοηκ-; ὀγδοηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 90. ἐν[ε]νηκόντων Chios 174 C 26, inflected as in Aiolic. See under 40. Hom. ἐνήκοντα τ 174, ἐνεήκοντα B 602. In Dittenb. *Syll.* 170₃₄ from Miletos (234 B. C.) we find ἐνεήκοντα. 100. ἑκατόν Anakr.

¹ Cf. τρηκόντων Hsd. *W. D.* 696 (Stobaios, Eust.).

83, Keos 436, Chios 174 A 13, ἑκατοστός Hippokr. II 680; cf. ἑκατοστῆν Samos 221₃₀. 200. διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios 174 D 19. 300. τριηκόσιοι Thasos (L.) 96, Chios 174 B 23, C 16. 400. τετρακόσιων Kyzikos 111₁₁. 500. πεντάκοσιων Mykonos 92₂₀, Chios 174 D 7. In γ 7 Aristarchos and Herodian read πεντάκοσιοι, and so Ludwich. La Roche has πεντη-. 700. ἑπτακοσίων Chios 174 C 18, 21. 800. ὀκτακοσίων Chios 174 C 23, Aiolie ὀκτωκόσιοι. 900. εἴνα[κ]οσίων Chios 174 D 2, εἰνακόσια Hdt. II 145 (cf. Hom. εἴνατος). Here *R* has ἐννα- and so *Rd* in II 13. 1000, &c. χιλίους¹ Thas. 72₁₄, χιλίων Chios 174 D 2, 12, C 17, 23, δισχιλίων Chios 174 C 20, τρισχιλίων Chios 174 C 25, τρισχίλια Hdt. I 50, πεντακισχιλίων Chios 174 C 15, Hdt. πεντακισχίλια II 145, &c. In Homer Aristarchos wrote ἐννεάχειλοι, δεκάχειλοι which would seem to be more in harmony with Ionic than ἐννεάχιλοι, δεκάχιλοι². With χιλιαστῆν Ephes. 147₂₀, Samos 221₃₀, cf. Methymian χέλληστus. χιλιάδων in Hdt. II 28 is correct, not χιλιαδέων as *Cd z* in VII 29. 10,000. μυριάδες Hdt. VII 29.

Hdt. uses *μηδαμός, οὐδαμός* in the plural only (e.g. VI 103 οὐδαμαί). These stems are used in Attic for the construction of adverbs only. The neuter plural is used adverbially in Hdt. (as Halik. 238₄₀) and the feminine is rare. *μηδαμέας* IV 114 in good MSS. (*ABC*) is an instance of the tendency of the scribes to inflect according to the -εσ- or -ην- declensions. See above § 454.

In composition with nouns the form of the cardinal is not preserved, Hdt. herein agreeing with Homer, e.g. *διέτης, τριπάλαιστα, but τετραέτια χρόνον* I 199. *πέντε, ἕξ* and *εἴκοσι* appear as *πέντα-, ἕξα-, and εἴκοσα-*.

The conjunction in Hdt. of smaller and larger numbers may be illustrated by the following: I 32 *πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων*; III 95 *τάλαντα μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα*. Hippokr. VII 138 has *τῆ πέμπτη καὶ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα*.

Patronymics.

572.] The grammarians called -ιάδης an Ionic by-form of -ῖδης, e.g. Gram. Par. p. 677 Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης, Greg. Kor. p. 487 Πηληϊάδου καὶ Λαερτιάδου (*sic*). -ῖδης is also recognized as Ionic, e.g. Greg. Kor. p. 460. Hdn. II 858₂₅, An. Ox. IV 326₂₇³, Bekk. Anecd. II 850₁₅, call the patronymics in -ων Ionic. It is of

¹ The only attempt to explain the divergence between the εἰ and ἰ forms sufficiently plausible to warrant mention, is that of Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 422. The forms in χίλοι are derived from *χισοί, χεῖλοι from *χέσλιοι. Aiolie is χέλλιοι, Lakon. χηλίοι.

² Cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ξ 148, Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 242.

³ Here -αδιος is called Aiolie (see under that dialect), -δης Common.

course not restricted to Ionic. The same dialect sometimes has both *-ίδης* and *-ίων*. Euboian Ἰππώνδης recalls the Boiotian *-ωνδας*. A unique patronymic is that in *-αδεις* occurring nowhere outside of Hipponax, who has Ἐρημῆ Μαιαδέε (frag. 16) = Μαιάδος Ἐρημῆ (21 A). Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα (accusative) appears in hexameters (85). It may be observed that the ending *-κλίδης* may be derived from clip-names in *-κλος*, e.g. Ἀριστοκλίδης Styr. 19₁₆₃; cf. Ἀριστοκλίδης 19₁₂. Παρμενίδης owes its *-ίδης* to the analogy of Παρμονίδης. Παρμενείδης occurs (but not on Ionic inscriptions). For the heavier *-είδης* we not unfrequently find the lighter *-ίδης* substituted. In masculines derived from *ην*-stems we expect to find *-ηίδης*, *-είδης*, in feminines *-ηις* (*-ης*). On Σελληνίδεω and Βασιληίδεω see §§ 233, 235, on Νηριείδων § 233.

THE VERB.

573.] The Dual.

Conjecture as to whether the dual in Homer is Ionic rather than Aiolie must be barren of result. In the most ancient period of the cultivation of the epos the dual was alive in both dialects; but in early post-Homeric times in Ionic it had passed out of ordinary use. It occurs but once (No. 265) in an inscription dating from about 460 B. C.: Κριτίος¹ καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποίησάτην. Though the dedicator of the memorial, Hegelochos, was either an Euboian or an Ionian of one of the Kyklades, there is nothing to compel us to assume that the artists were also Ionians. The inscription was found near the Parthenon and the alphabet is Old Attic, though the dialect is Ionic. An indubitable example of the Ionic usage in the fifth century is the Parian inscription No. 59, in which there are two dedicators (ἐχσάμενοι στήσαν). In post-Homeric Ionic literature there does not occur a single example of the occurrence of the dual of a verbal form.

The Syllabic Augment.

574.] This augment may be omitted in such Ionic poetry as has an epic colouring², but not in iambic verse. To the rule

¹ On the accent, see Göttling in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1845, p. 96. The conjunction of Kritios and Nesiotes is attested in two other inscriptions in which ἐποίησάτην occurs. See Brunn, *Geschichte der gr. Künstler*, p. 74.

² The examples in the grammarians of the so-called omission of the syllabic augment are either drawn from Homer outright and usually called Ionic and poetic (at least in the later grammarians), or tacitly regarded as epic. Cf.

that in prose only pluperfects and iteratives may omit the augment $\chi\rho\eta\nu$ is but an apparent exception. It is derived from $\chi\rho\eta + \eta\nu = \chi\rho\epsilon\omega \eta\nu^1$ and $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\nu$ is an analogical formation.

The omission of the augment in Homer, notwithstanding the treatises by Grashof, Poehlmann, M. Schmidt, La Roche, Koch, Skerlo, and Molhem, has been generally regarded as practically subject to no rule. Latterly Mr. Arthur Platt has shown (*Journal of Philology* XIX 211) that, when the aorist is employed to denote the immediate past or in its gnomic use, the forms with the augment are much more frequent. The imperfects in narration are often devoid of the augment. M. Schmidt (*Philologus* IX 426 ff.) endeavoured to establish the procedure of Aristarchos, who, he maintains, omitted the augment of verbs beginning with λ and $\tau\rho$; when $\tau\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\xi\epsilon$, $\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\epsilon$, $\delta\tilde{\omega}\kappa\epsilon$ stand after the second foot; when a noun precedes whose ending is α (except neut. pl in $-\epsilon\alpha$, and $-ia$ usually); and when the verb is preceded by a preposition with anastrophe.

1. In prose inscriptions this augment is never omitted.

2. In the following metrical inscriptions this augment is omitted: $\kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon$ Amorgos 34 (but $\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ in l. 2), $[\epsilon\acute{\iota}|\tau\epsilon\nu\xi\epsilon$ Erythrai 200, $\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ Paros 59. These inscriptions are epigrams. In Halik. 241, after a dedication in prose, we read $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ Μακεδών Διονυσίου Πρακλεώτης. Boeckh read $\epsilon\acute{\iota}|\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$, but, apart from the objection to this conjecture because of the unusual position of the verb in a prose inscription, the omission of the augment in artists' signatures is not unknown, even when it does not constitute a part of an hexameter. $\text{Μαχάτας π\acute{o}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon}$ in C. I. G. 1794a (cf. *b*) precedes an epigram. We find $\epsilon\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ in an hexametrical inscription containing the signature of Alxenor (no. 26).

575.] The syllabic augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows: A. *Elegiac* (by imitation of epic models).

Kall. I₁₅ $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\nu$, Tyr. 5₈ $\phi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu$ (in the first foot), Mimn.

Apollonios de Pronom. 113 C, Ptolemy cited by Hdn. II 28₁=schol. Ven. A on A 464, II 34₁₂=schol. Ven. A on B 427, Hdn. II 125₁₃ (from $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ παθών) where the omission of the augment is referred to the Ionians and not merely to the poets. That Herodian maintained the view (different from that of Apollonios) that the omission of the augment was poetic, not Ionic, cannot be proved. It is quite true however that he does not call the phenomenon in question either Ionic or poetic, and that most of the passages in Lentz' edition ascribing it to the Ionians do not mention Herodian's name outright. Joh. Gr. 241, 242, Greg. Kor. p. 404, Gram. Meerm. 654, Aug. 660, Vat. 699, Paris. 675 (An. Bachm. II 36₂₉), An. Ox. I 310₂₁, 334₁₂, 374₂₃, 433₄, II 359₁₃, 412₂₁, IV 176₁₀, 185₂₈; An. Par. III 120₅, 134₁₆, 137₁₉, 138₂₂, 183₂₄, 304₂₁, 441₇, IV 219₂₈, 223₁; Choirob. 513_{10ff}, 556₂₆, 595₃₃, 609₃₂, 633₃₃ (=An. Ox. IV 418₂₃), 637₈, 701₁₇, 909₁₀; Et. M. 338₁₇; in the scholiast Ven. A we find the remark Ἀρίσταρχος ἰακῶς or its equivalent on A 160, 374, 464, B 35, 427 (cf. A 464), 682, 751, Γ 415, Δ 109, 517, Z 155, 157, I 86, K 546, Ξ 285, O 601, Π 120, 207, 290, 379, Ξ 549, Υ 156, Φ 84, Ψ 475, Ω 648; in the following passages no mention is made of Aristarchos: H 428, A 28, M 420, Ξ 114, Ψ 440 = Hdn. II 122₂₈, schol. P, Q on η 239 = Hdn. II 147₂₃, &c. Cf. also Eust. 72₄₅, 1759₇, and Tzetzes Ex. II. 73₂, 74₁₄, 88₂₆, cf. 103₁₉, Drakon 160₂₃, cf. 155₂₂.

¹ Cf. Ahrens *Kleine Schriften* I 24.

14₁₁ ἀυγήσιν φέρετ', Sol. 4₁, ὑπέρθορεν, Phok. 3₁ τῶνδε γέγοντο (where Stobaios' *B* has ἐγένοντο), Theog. 5 θεὰ τέκε, 10 γήθησεν (first foot), 196 πλήμονα θῆκε, 123 ποιήσε, 206 ὑπεκρέμασεν (so Bergk, ὑπεκρέμασεν *O*, ἐπεκρέμασεν other MSS.), 266 φθέγγετ', 463 θεοὶ δόσαν, 1101 ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν . . . καὶ σ' ἐκέλευσεν, 1108 γενόμεν, 1319 τοι δῶκε; and in Archil. κάλλιπον 6₂.

*B. Iambographic*¹ (including all of Archilochos).

κάλλιπον Archil. 6₂. λίπε is not objectionable in Archil. epod.

114:

πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἦπιος Ποσειδῶν since the verse is an ἐξάμετρον περιττοσυλλαβές. Frag. 186 consists merely of the words ὀξύν ποτάτο, which may be written ὀξύν ποτάτο as ἄτη κινήσατο (73₁ tetr.) for the unaugmented form². Even in prose inscriptions we find 's, 'λάσσονες. Archilochos elsewhere retains the augment (29₁, 29₃, 33, 34, 35, 52). καὶ ποιήσατο in Sim. Am. 7₄₅ was cured by Ahrens' κάποιήσατο. In a fragment ascribed by some to Xenophanes, Bergk (*F. L. G.* II, p. 116) writes βληστριζόμεν contrary to the MSS. The word seems confined to Ionic (Hippokrates and Aretaios use it), but the verse is suspected; cf. § 565.

φύγον in Anacr. 29 is nothing but a conjecture for φεύγω in order to harmonize the metre of 29 with 28, *i. e.* choriambic dimeter + first pherecratic.

On iteratives in poetry, see § 576, 2.

576.] In prose the syllabic augment is omitted only in the case of pluperfects and iteratives³. As stated in § 574 χρήν is not an exception. It is more frequent in literature from the time of Herodotos, and in that author occurs oftener than ἐχρήν. The latter form should have been adopted by Stein in II 173, where it is supported by *A B R*. In III 52 ἐχρήν is found in all MSS.

Lukian is the only pseudo-Ionist who might be thought to have attempted to omit the syllabic augment under other circumstances. In *Syria dea* 19 and 22 Jacobitz adopts λίσσετο (in both cases after a vowel). In § 19 *E* has the correct form ἐλίσσετο. In § 25 we find φθέγατο, in § 45 ἀνακέατο in *A E*, ἀνακέτο in *Vatic*. 90, the reading adopted by Jacobitz, in the other MSS. the correct ἀνεκέατο. Even the pluperfects in Lukian retain the augment, and in no case may the augmentless forms be accepted as representing older Ionic prose usage, or in fact anything more than vicious theorizing on the part of a copyist.

¹ Cf. Hdn. II 497₁₈: παρὰ τοῖς λαμβογράφοις . . . οὐ δεῖ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφειν αὐτό (εἶδον), ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθ. μόνον.

² The form ἄτη is here the shorter form of ἄατη, which should not in § 261 have been mentioned as possible. Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 106, *Agam.* 730. Hesychios has κατέβασκε' κατέβλαψεν. The initial *a* of ἄ-ἄτη is prosthetic.

³ Other cases of omitted syllabic augment are errors, even when supported by all the MSS., *e. g.* Hdt. I 208 ἐξαναχάραεε.

1. *Pluperfect*. In Herodotos according to Lhardy's count¹ there are 162 cases of the presence of the augment, 31 where it is omitted. From the latter number, Stein deducts all but the following seven, which are found in all MSS.: ἀναβεβήκει I 84, ἀναβεβήκεσαν VII 6, τετελευτήκει I 165, καταλελοίπει III 61, καταλέλειπτο VII 170, δέδοκτο IX 74, παρατετάχαστο VIII 95. Whether even these are correct may well be doubted. Other editors are not so rigorous as Stein in excluding the unaugmented forms.

The repugnance of the Κοινή to augmented pluperfects may explain some of the omissions in the MSS. of Attic prose literature. There is not a single example of the loss of the syllabic augment in the pluperfect in any Attic inscription.

2. *Iteratives*². In the case of iteratives no augment was necessary. They were preterites differing from other verbal forms in having no present with a distinct iterative force and no mood form other than the (past) indicative. In the post-Homeric poetry which was composed by Ionians we find two cases of the preservation of the iterative: ἔσκειν in Mimn. 14₁₀ (also Homeric) and θύεσκε in Hipponax 37₂. The presence of the latter form in trimeter is proof that the Ionians did not cast aside this peculiar formation which all the other dialects found too cumbersome, and that the forms in Ionic prose are not mere reproductions of epic diction. Doubtless the fondness of the epic dialect for the iterative aided in part its revival in the fifth century, but the forms had not died out at that period. The post-Homeric prose iterative is a strongly marked Ionism. While New Ionic did not utterly abandon the iteratives formed from the second aorist active stem, it avoided those of the sigmatic aorist and second aorist passive. The iterative in post-Homeric Ionic is confined to Ω verbs.

Examples from Herodotos, &c. (1) Imperfects: ἔσκου, ἔχεσκε (so IV 200 for ἤχεσκε), and in about twenty other verbs. χρηίσκουτο (by conjecture in III 117 for -ται) and ὀδυνέσκετο III 119 are the only middle forms. Lukian *Syr. dea* 22 has κλαίεσκε. (2) Aorists: λάβεσκον IV 78 and 130. καταλίπεσκε is preferable to καταλείπεσκε in IV 78.

In some MSS. the augment occurs, e. g. I 100 (C P εἰσεπέμπεσκον), IV 78 (R ἐποίησκε), IV 78 (R καταλείπεσκε, A B κατελίπεσκε); in IV 130 all the MSS. have ἐλάβεσκον.

¹ *Quaestionum de dialecto Herod.*, chapter II.

² The grammarians regard the iterative forms as Ionic only. Cf. Hdn. I 535₆ = II 38₁₂ = II 792₁₆ (Schol. Ven. A on B 832), εἶασκεν II 49₃₄ = 210₁₃ (Schol. Ven. A on E 256), cf. 496₂₄; Choroib. 632₂₃ (cf. An. Ox. IV 418₂₂), An. Ox. I 309₁₅, 376₁₄, 385₁, where it is stated that ῥίπτασκεν and ἔχεσκες are not Ionic but poetic; An. Par. IV 219₂₈, Et. M. 284₂₅, 295₁₂, 381₂₆, 624₃₁, Et. Gud. 428₃₆, Drakon 433.

577.] The augment with η.

The forms ἡβουλόμην, ἡδυνάμην, ἡθελον are called Ionic¹ in An. Ox. II 374³². Of these forms ἡθελον occurs in Homer, where it is from ἐθέλω², θέλω being found in ο 317, possibly in Α 277, and occasionally in the hymns³. Hippokr. III 70 has ἡθελες, cf. § 588. Homer has ἔμελλον. In M 34 Zenodotos wrote ἡμελλον. In an elegy attributed to Theognis we find (v. 706) ἡμελλ', and in another probably not composed by the Megarian poet occurs (v. 259) ἡμέλλησα (so A, ἡμέλησα O), and δὴ μέλλησα in most of the MSS., a form that may be adopted). Perhaps the ἡ- forms are an echo of those appearing in Hesiod's Theogony, as Renner suggests, though it is doubtful whether they are a part of the older epic dialect. Fick (Hesiod's *Gedichte*, p. 21) endeavours to displace ἡμελλον by transposition and other means⁴. In a very late hexametrical poem on the death of a child, found at Smyrna (C. I. G. 32727), we read ἡμελλεν. ἡμελλον is certainly fifth century Attic, as it appears twice in Aristophanes where the metre (anapaestic) calls for the ἡ-form. ἡ- Hippokr. In Herodotos we find ἔμελλον, ἐβουλόμην. In the case of δύναμαι there is some evidence for the ἡ- forms. Stein and Holder adopt ἡδυνέατο IV 185, IX 70, but ἐδυνέατο IV 110 (MSS. ἡ-) and the ἐ- forms elsewhere. In at least thirteen passages there is no variant ἡ- form, which is elsewhere supported by some MSS., e. g. in I 10 (*R b d*). ἡδυνάμην is however Hippocratic: II 686, 712, III 36, 38, 58, 120, IV 256, V 430, &c., and ἡδυνήθην appears in *Prometh.* 206; Herodotos has ἐδυνάσθην, never ἡδ-, despite R in VII 106. In Attic inscriptions ἡδυνάμην and ἡβουλόμην are posterior to 284 B.C.

In no Attic inscription do we find an example of ἡμελλον, and in Attic poetry there is no certain case of ἡβουλόμην.

On the augment of verbs which once had F, see § 582.

The Temporal Augment.

The omission of this augment is regarded as Ionic by the grammarians⁵, who cite only Homeric forms.

¹ But cf. Eust. 1523⁴⁸.

² The η of ἡδυνάμην, ἡβουλόμην, ἡμελλον is merely an analogue of that of ἡθελον. Of this verb there were three forms θέλω, ἐθέλω, ἡθέλω, in which the η is a preposition (cf. ὕφελος, ὠφέλεω). The η form was cast off except in the imperfect.

³ See Eberhard's *Die Sprache der homerischen Hymnen*, I 12.

⁴ In 478 Fick reads παίδων τέξεσθαι ἔμελλε for παίδων ἡμελλε τεκέσθαι; 888 δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε for δὴ β' ἡμελλε; but 898, where the verse begins ἡμελλεν τέξεσθαι, is difficult to correct. The last verse is certainly later than the genuine Hesiod.

⁵ Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 23, Hdn. II 28₂ = 345₆ (on A 464), 341₂ (on B 427) in Schol. Ven. A; cf. also schol. on Δ 213 and N 383 (ἐλακεν),

578.] Inscriptions.

In prose inscriptions the temporal augment is preserved except in ἐργάσατο Ephesos 146, an inscription of the fourth century, and ἐργάσαντο No. 263, an Ionic inscription found in Lykia¹. In Rhegion 54, where we find ΕΥξάμην, which may be either ηύ- or εύ-, the Herodoteian form with εύ- (I 48, IV 76) may be adopted. In Attic inscriptions ηύ- is the preferable form before 300 B. C. In the same document from Rhegion, Ελθον is ἤλθον. In Teos 1707, an inscription that has lost almost all traces of Ionic, we find ἐπωκοδομήθη. Is this an error of the stone-cutter or are we to read ἐποικ- as in Hdt. and occasionally in Attic in the perfect participle (at least in Makedonian times)? An Ephesian inscription (*Brit. Mus.* III 2, 449) has σπυδιόικησεν.

In metrical inscriptions the augment is preserved (Amorg. 35).

ἐπηνωρθώθη in an inscription from Mykonos of the Makedonian period (Ditt. *Syll.* 3731) is an interesting form since no certain example of the double augment in ἀνωρθώω occurs on Attic inscriptions. Whether this form is Ionic or Attic must be left undecided. Latyshev, *B. C. H.* XII 460, calls for ἐπηνωρθώθη.

ἀνάλωσα (Hellenistic) is found in Amorgos, *B. C. H.* VIII 450₁₆ (third century B. C.). Cf. ἀνάλωμα Thasos 72₁₁.

Verbs that have lost an initial σ have εἰ—e. g. ΕΙχον Halik. 238₃₀, ΕΙχεν 240₃₂.

579.] Lyric Poets.

The temporal augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows :

A. *Elegiac* (in imitation of Homer). Tyr. 41 οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν by conj. (Hdt. has ἠνεικαν &c.); Mimn. 94 ἐζόμεθ' as always in the form with no preposition, 114, καλὸν ἔκοιτο. 142 οἱ μιν ἴδον (*Αἰεῖδον*); Solon 429 εὔρε; Theog. 16 καλὸν ἀείσατ', 208 ἔζετο, 226 ἄδον, 542 ὄλεσεν, 831 ὄλεσσα (*Ὀ ὦλεσ'*), 1115 μοι ὀνειδίσας Bergk (*vulgo μ' ὀνειδίσας* with a double accus. after the verb or an elided μοι), 666 ἔθειλον from ἐθέλω (see on ἐθέλω, § 588). In 951 ἀλάπαξα is the preferable form because of Λ 750, ρ 424, but ἐλάπαξα the reading of *Ο* is not impossible, as λαπάσσω was used by Aischylos and Hippokr. V 176, 628, Aret. 281.

Δ 329, 367, K 252, 359, T 259, Ψ 691, Aristarchos adopting the unaugmented forms; An. Ox. I 316₁₀, 395₄ (Ἰωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς), III 260₁₉ (Hdn.), 266₂₆ (Hdn.), IV 176₁₀, 178₂₀, 185₂; An. Par. III 258₅, IV 219₃₂, 222₆; Choirob. 513. *Iac.* ἢ ποιητικῶς 28 513₂, 591₂, 593₂, 556₂, 633₂; An. Ox. IV 418₂. Cf. *Chorob.* 1309, 701₁₇; Et. M. 12₂₀, 23₂₅. *Iac.* καὶ ποιητ. 1 352, ἔλκε, 617₁₈; East. 42₁₆, 72₁₅, 380₂₃, 646₃, 922₁₃, 1522₁₃, 1759₇; Tzet. Ex. II. 73₁, 83₂₃, 105₁₈, 117₆ 214₁₀ Hsd. *Theog.* 555, W. D. 79; *Max. Plan.* in An. Bachm. II 56₁₂.

¹ In Attic inscriptions of the classical period ἠργάζομην, ἠργασάμην are the correct forms (κατεργάσθησαν C. I. A. II 809 b, 117 from 325 B. C. and ἐπεργάσαντο in Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 169–170, l. 21 from the second century A. D. are the only exceptions). This shows that the augment was η not ε. The perfect ἐργασμαι is correct in the classical period of Attic. In Oropos Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 71 ff. l. 17 we find ἐξεργασμαι; Hdt. ἐργασμαι.

Elsewhere we find the augment retained: $\phi\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron$ Mimn. 117, Theog. 1137, 1292.

B. *Iambographic*. Though we find $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ in Hipponax 513, the support for Bergk's $\sigma\nu\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ in 12 and $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$ in 47 is very weak. Codex Mare. has $\sigma\nu\rho\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ($\sigma\nu\rho$), the vulgate being $\sigma\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, and there is no authority for $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota$ whatever. I should have no hesitation in adopting the augmented forms. In Herodas 42 we have $\phi\kappa\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, but $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon$ 685, $\omicron\iota\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu$ 237. In Sim. Am. 24 for Bergk's $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\nu\sigma\alpha$ (in the text) read $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$.

Where two consonants follow: Archil. tetr. 67 $\sigma\upsilon$ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγγχεο from Arist. *Pol.* VII 6, 3. Here P_4 has ἀπάγγχετο, P_5 ἀπήγγχεο, *Sb Fl* ἀπέγγχεο, and P_1 ἀπάγγχαι which we may adopt though the quotation is too fragmentary to permit a certain restoration¹. In Sim. Am. 118 $\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ is Bergk's reading though Stobaios' B has $\eta\psi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$, cf. Hdt. I 19. Solon tetr. 352 has $\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\delta\omicron\nu$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\rho\delta\omicron\nu$ in Arist. *'Aθ. πολ.* 11).

The augmented forms appear in Sim. Amorg. 17 $\eta\lambda\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$, Archil. ep. 1041 $\eta\theta\rho\omicron\iota\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$, tetr. 73 $\eta\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$, Hippon. 421 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\nu\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta$, &c. Not even in Hdt. do all verbs with two consonants omit the temporal augment. The poets claim an equal licence. Renner thinks that Solon in his $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\eta\psi\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$ tetr. 32, follows the lines of his native Attic. But it is not certain that Herodotos rejects the augment in $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ (cf. I 176). Where a long syllable is necessary ($\pi\alpha\rho\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$ Archil. tetr. 784, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$ Sim. Amorg. 92, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$ Solon tr. 364, $\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\nu$ Hippon. tetr. 81, $\acute{\omega}\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 772) the temporal augment is not omitted. On $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\eta\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ Hipponax tr. 632, Renner remarks that the augment $\eta\nu$ is an indication of the Ionic fondness for η . But in Herodotos many opportunities for $\eta\nu$ - from $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - verbs are neglected, and $\epsilon\nu$ - is the almost universal form in the MSS. in the case of verbs beginning with $\epsilon\nu$.

580.] Herodotos.

In the majority of verbs the augment is preserved, but (1) in certain cases it is never found, (2) in certain others it is omitted in isolated forms only, and (3) in others it is at times present, at times omitted. The other dialects evidence the fact that the demonstrative particle utilized to give expression to past time was recognized more and more as an integral part of the verbal form. Even in the domain of the poetry which succeeded to the epos the licence to omit the augment was restricted, and only upon certain definite occasions was its absence permissible. The latitude to be discerned in the MSS. of Herodotos is quite exceptional. A minimum variation is no doubt supported by the

¹ Bergk himself suggests that the imperative $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\epsilon\omicron$ is correct.

analogy of other dialects, *e. g.* Attic in its treatment of verbs beginning with a diphthong, but such laxity as the presence or absence of the augment in such verbs as ἄγω is exceedingly strange.

Various causes may have contributed to this laxity: the view that Herodotean Ionic was not radically dissimilar to Homeric Ionic, the growth of the historical present in the fifth century, which, by causing the imperfect to be assimilated in form to the present, may have fostered such forms as ἀμείβετο, and the objection to diphthongs whose first member was a long vowel. Thus *ai*, *av*, *ev*, &c., in Hdt. may be normal developments of primitive *āi*, *āv*, *ηv*, and not augmentless forms at all. But the repugnance to these initial diphthongs, it must be confessed, is more strongly marked in non-Ionic dialects, notably North-West Greek.

For the considerable diversity of opinion between scholars¹ as to the freedom in the treatment of the augment by Herodotos, the confusion of his MSS. is responsible. So great is this confusion, which must have existed in the archetypal MS., that the following summary can make no pretence to reproduce the usage of fifth century Ionic, or in fact claim to do more than record the testimony of the MSS.

All verbs except iteratives (ἄγεσκοι) and those mentioned below accept the temporal augment, *e. g.* εἶχον, ἦσαν, ἤλασα, ἠγήμωτο. On the augment of verbs once beginning with *f*, see § 582.

Verbs beginning with **A**. (1) Unaugmented are ἀγινέω, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, ἀμυρῶω, ἀμείβομαι (but ἠμείψατο in all MSS. IV 97, cf. *v. l.* VI 68, VII 109, &c.), ἀνάγω, (κατ)αργυρῶω, ἀρωδέω. With but two exceptions these verbs have a liquid or a nasal after the initial vowel. (2) Variable are ἀγάλλομαι, ἀγγέλω, ἀλίζω, ἀλλάσσω, ἀνδροῦμαι, ἀντιάζω, ἀπειλέω, ἄπτω, ἀρμόζω, ἀρτέομαι, ἀσπάζομαι. (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἀγορεύω (προαγόρευε), ἄγω (ἄχθη), ἀγωνίζω (ἀγωνίδαται), ἀνδραποδίζω (ἀνδραποδισμένους), ἀριθμέω (ἀριθμέοντο), ἀρτημαί (ἀρτέαται), ἀρχω (ἀργμένος, κατάρχοντο). **E**. (1) Unaugmented are ἐσσόω, ἐσθέω, ἔζομαι, εἶω, ἐθελοκακέω, ἔρδω, ἐτεροῖώω, ἐτοιμάζω, ἐλινύω, ἐξεμπολέω and the pluperfect of ἴσσημι. ἐργάζομαι may belong here though there is evidence in favour of the augmented form, see § 582. Hdt. has ἔωθα, not εἴωθα. (2) Variable are ἐλευθερῶω, ἐπίεγομαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἔργω, ἀνέχομαι (ἠνεσχόμεν and ἀνεσχόμεν). (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἔλκω (ἀνελκυσμένας), ἔπω (περιέφθησαν), ἔψω (ἀπεψημένος)². **O**. (1) Unaugmented are ὀδοιπορέω, ὀρμέω, ὀρμίζω, ὀρτάζω, and ὄφελον (but cf. the *v. l.* I 111, III 65). (2) Unaugmented only in certain forms is ὀρμάω (ὀρμημένος, ὀρμέαται, ὀρμέατο). **AI**. Unaug-

¹ Abicht in *Philologus* XI 275 ff. held that in verbs beginning with *ai*, *ei*, *av*, *ev*, *oi* omission is the rule. With this Curtius (*Verbum* I 139 Germ. ed.) agreed; while Dindorf combatted the neglect of the augment even before diphthongs.

² In Hippokrates II 254 A has ἠψήσθαι; in VIII 192 ἐψημένος is correct.

mented are *δαιτώμαι*, *αἰνέω* (but *παρήνεε* IX 122), *αἰρέω* (but *ἐξηρέθησαν* in VII 106), *αἰτέω*, *ἐναϊσιμῶμαι*, *προαιδέομαι*. The second aorist of *αἰσθάνομαι* appears once (VII 220), and with the augmented form which is not in harmony with the above. *ἐπαίω* or rather *ἐπάω*, has *ἐπῆσε* IX 93. **AY.** (1) Unaugmented is *ἐναύω*. (2) Variable are *ἐξαναίνω*¹, *αὐτομολέω* (*αὐδάω* is augmented). (3) Without the augment only in certain forms are *αἰξάνω* (*αἰξέτο*, *αἰξεται*). **EI.** Unaugmented are *εἰκάζω*, *εἰρώω*, *εἰρωτάω*, *εἰρωμαι*. Only in the case of the genuine diphthong would *ηι-* have been possible. **EY.** Unaugmented all verbs except *εἶδω* which has *ἦδον* I 211 (*A B*, *ἦν- R* with *εῶ* written above, *εἶδον C*), *ἦνδε* III 69 in all MSS. Homer uses only the unaugmented form. *ευ* does not appear as in Attic as the augment of *αυ* verbs. *ηυ* is rare in Attic, a fact that at least in part may be ascribed to the ever-growing objection to this diphthong. **OY.** *οὐρίζω* contains a spurious diphthong and *οὐνομάζω* is incorrect. **OI.** is always unaugmented.

581.] The temporal augment in other Ionic prose writers.

On verbs beginning with *F*, see § 582.

Hippokrates follows the Attic norm, *v. g.* *ἤρξατο* II 604, 684, 708, *ἤρξαντο* II 642, III 80, *παρήνεον* II 226, *ἡμορράγησε* II 644 (*ἦμ-* in *A C*, *αἴμ-* *ευίγο*), *ἠδρώθη* V 356, *ἦπτετο* III 98, *παρωξύνθη* II 686 (*v. l.* -οξ-), III 24, 34, 62, *ἦλγε* (-εε) II 708, III 52, *ἠνόμασεν* III 232. On *ἠδυνάμην*, see § 577. For *ἐλύτρωται* IV 190 of many MSS., the vulgate is *ἐλλ-*, which we may correct to *εἰλ-*. The unaugmented form appears to be due to association with the following *ἐλύτρωσι*. Demokritos 12 has *εὔρέθη*. A noteworthy form is *ἠκηκούει* Hippokr. VII 490. From *ἀναλώω* we find in the same writer *ἀνήλωμαι* VII 514, 588, *ἠγαλώθη* V 122, 126, but *ἀνάλωμαι* VII 574, *ἀνάλωτο* I 594.

Of the pseudo-Ionists Lukian alone (except Aretaios who has *ἔλε* 43, *-αιωρηται* 111) neglects the temporal augment. In the *Syria dea* we find *δαιτεύοντο* 26 (Dindorf -ητ-), *ἀλλίζοντο*, *ἔλπετο*, *ἄπτετο*, *ἀναίνετο* 22 (which contains *ἠδέετο* and *ὠμολόγεεν*), *ἀμείβετο* 18, *οἰκοδόμειον* 21, *ἄρχετο* 21, 24, *ἄρξατο* 17, *ἔχε* 17, 24 (*εἶχε* 45), *ἔχετο* 17, *ὀρρώδεε* 19, 21, *συννεείχθη* 27 (*ἠμεικε* 22, 25), *ἔσαν* 3, *αἴτεε* 25.

Arrian 28₂ has *εἶω*.

582.] The Augment and Reduplication of verbs once beginning with Digamma.

Excluded from this list are verbs whose presents have beyond doubt accepted a fixed adulterine *ει*, *v. g.* *εἰρώω*, *εἰρωτάω*. In this section are included verbs from Herodotos, Hippokrates and other sources.

ἄγνυμι. *κατῆξα* in Hippokr. V 224 recalls *ἦξε* in Ψ 392, τ 539, for which *ἔαξε*² must be substituted; cf. *ἄξαι* with *ᾱ* taken from the indicative *ἔαξα*.

¹ In Attic we find both *ἀναίνετο* and *ἠοαίνόμεν*. Hdt. has *ἐξανάνθη* IV 151 but *ἐξηόνηε* IV 173. Abicht augments in each case.

² Zenodotos read *ἔηξε*, cf. ε 316.

Though *a*fa becomes *ā* in Ionic, a form *κατήγγνυμαι* was invented to give a supposed Ionic colouring to *κατάγγνυμαι* which was regarded as Attic only. This *κατήγγνυμαι* appears in *κατάγγνυται* Hippokr. III 556, *κατηγγνύμενα* III 506 (v. l. *κατεγγμμένα*, an unusual form for Hippokrates, who uses *κατεγγότα*). Elsewhere Hippokr. adopts *κατάγγνυμαι*, e. g. IV 278, *ἀπάγγνυμαι* III 558, or *καταγγνύω* VII 530; though *κάτηγμα* III 498, 500, IV 154, 164, VI 118, 134, 150 and *κάτηξις* III 494, IV 118, 170, and not the *ā* forms, are employed. The perfect is *ἐηγα* found in *κατέηγε* Hippokr. III 428, 492, 506, VI 150, *κατεηγάς* Hdt. VII 224, Hippokr. III 442, 500, IV 130, 200, 278, 282 where the MSS. often have the Attic *ā*. The feminine must have had *η* not *α*. In Phoinix of Kolophon *σμιυ* Athen. XI 495 E = Schneidewin *Del.* 34, *κατηγγύης* (Porson for *καὶ τηγγύης* *AB*) recalls forms that occur in the MSS. of Hippokrates. Littré edits *κατεαγγύια* in III 426 where several MSS. have *καταγγύια*, *ΜΝ-ηγγύια*, IV 158 where *Η* alone has *κατεαγγύης*, *BCE* &c. *κατηγγύης*, *Ο* *καταγγύης* (*κάτηγα* quoted by Veitch on Kühn 3, 75). Aor. pass. *ἐάγην*. In Homer we find *ἐάγη* or *ἄγη* except in *Δ* 559, where the MSS. have *ἀμφὶ ἐάγη*. The substitution by Bekker of *ἀμφὶ ἐάγη*, perf. subj., (cf. Ahrens, *Formenlehre*, § 197, note 1) still leaves the text encumbered with an Attic (or Aiolie?) *ā* that is found in Hesiod *W. D.* 534 (*νῶτα ἐάγε*, Bentley *νῶτ' ἐάγη*, though he made no further conjecture to bring this into the verse). The Ionic form would be *ἐήγη*. Confusion between perfect active and aorist passive led to the construction of such augmented forms as *κατεγγῆ* Hippokr. III 428, *κατεαγγῆ* IV 220 (*-ηγγῆ ΜΝ*, *-εηγγῆ Β*), *κατεαγγῆ* IV 118 (*-αγγῆ C O*), *κατεαγγείς* IV 132, 172 (*καταγγέν C*), 324, 346 (Littré). *καταγγῆ* is well supported, IV 126, 168, 158 (*FEJ-εαγγῆ*), *καταγγείσα* IV 164, *καταγγείσης* IV 148, *καταγγείσαν* IV 154 in many MSS. but rejected by Littré, *καταγγείσα* IV 166 in *CKN* (Littré *-εαγγείσα*), *καταγγείη* IV 128 *vulgo* (Littré *-εαγγείη* with *H*), *καταγγῆ* IV 120 many MSS. (Littré *-εαγγῆ*), III 442 *vulgo* (Littré *-ηγγῆ*). *ἀλίσκομαι*. *ἤλσκετο* Hdt. VII 181, and II 174 (MSS. *καταλ-* and *κατηλ-*); *ἤλω* I 78 (so always in Hdt.) and *χ* 230, the only indicative form in Homer (*ἐάλω?*). In Hdt. IV 127 *δείσαντες μὴ ἄλωρ* (in *ABP*) *ἡ καρῆ*, the adoption of the Homeric form was aided by the following *ῆ*. Read *ἄλω* (I 84, cf. II 93). Bekker's *ἄλφῆ*, found in Aldus and perhaps in *C*, is not defensible. In Hippokr. VII 284 we find *ἐάλω*, the Attic form < *ἡάλω*. Hipponax (frag. 74) has an indisputable case of *ἄλῶναι*, the only occurrence of this form in literature. Its *ā* might have been borrowed from the indicative *ἐάλων*, though that form is not attested in Ionic sources. *ἄλῶναι* recalls *ἄλόντε* in E 487: *μὴ πως ὡς ἄψισι λίνου ἄλοντε πανάγρου*. Here the v. l. *λίνοιο* removes the difficulty as regards quantity, but creates the worst possible caesura¹. *ἤλωκα* is better supported in Hdt. than *ἐάλωκα*: *ἤλώκοι* I 83, *ἤλώκεσαν* I 84, VIII 61, *ἤλωκώς* I 78, *ἤλωκέναι* I 70, but *ἐάλωκε* I 209, *ἐαλωκόντων* and *-κώτας* I 191 (read *ἤλ-*). Arrian 13₁₀ has *ἐαλωκώτας*. *ἀνάλισκω* (*ἀναλόω* Hippokr. II 50 where Galen has *ἀναλίσκεται*, VII 588 with *ἀναλίσκομαι* twice on the same page). In VII 514, 588 we find *ἀνήλωται*, in V 122 *κατηναλώθη*, 126 *κατηναλώθησαν* as IX 178, 180. *ἀνάλωσα* Amorgos *B. C. II.* VIII 450₁₆ (third century v. c.) is an Hellenistic form often found in the MSS. of Attic writers. Attic inscriptions always have *η*. *ἀνδάνω*. In Hdt. IX 5, 19 we find *ἐάνδανε*, the form to be substituted for *ἐήνδανε* *Ω* 25, *γ* 143; but in VII 172, VIII 28 *ἐήνδανε* in almost all MSS. As both forms cannot well coexist, I should adopt *ἤνδανε*

¹ The attempts to cure this verse are enumerated by Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 236.

(cf. O 674). The open form derived its existence from the belief that Herodoteian Ionic was like Homeric Ionic in its preference for open *ει*, and perhaps also to the presence of *ἔαδον*. *ἔαδε* Hdt. I 151, IV 201, VI 106, *ἄδη* I 133, &c. Hippocr. 100 has *ἄδηκε* with the lenis, which is supported by *ἀνδάνει* Hippocr. II 230, *ἀδείν* Hdt. III 45 in *dz*. In Homer we find the non-Ionic *ἔαδοτα* in I 173 = σ 422. With *ἄδηκε*, cf. Homeric *ἄδηκότες* from *ἄδέω*. **εἶθίζω**. *εἶθισμαι* Hippocr. IV 254, *εἶθιστο* II 294, *εἶθιδαται* twice in II 298 (in *A*) for *εἶθισμένοι εἰσί*. **ἔθω**. *ἔωθα* Hdt. I 133, II 91, IV 134, *ἔωθός* I 34, III, III 27, 31, *ἔώθεα* I 73, III 31, IV 127, 134, VI 107. Homer has *ἔωθα* and *ἔωθα* each twice, but only *εἰωθός*. Hippocr. has *ἔωθα* V 610, 718, VI 242, *εἰωθός* II 300 as in Attic. **εἶδον** Hdt. I 68, II 148 (*ἶδον* in *PRz*), *εἶδησα* Hippocr. II 436, V 352, IX 230, *ἦδεα* Hdt. II 150, *ἦδεε* II 100, IX 94, *συνῆδατε* IX 58, *ἦδεσαν* VII 175, VIII 78. In I 45 *ἦειδε* is supported by *Ac Ps*, but *ἦδεε*, the conjecture of H. Stephans, is to be adopted. The pluperfect always has the augment: *συνεἶδε* VIII 113 in *ABC* is to be corrected (cf. VII 164). The epic *ἦειδης* X 280, *ἦειδει* ι 206 are certain cases of the augment *η*. Elsewhere Homer has *ἦδ-* as in New Ionic. **εἰκάζω**. *εἰκάζον* Hdt. III 133, *εἰκασα* II 104, *εἰκασμαι* II 182, III 28. Attic distinguished imperf. aor. (*η*, i. e. with augment *η*¹) from perf. (*ει*-). ***εἶκω**. A sharp dividing line separates Herodotus² from other Ionic writers in respect of the perfect of this verb. *ἔοικα* is found in Sim. Amorg. 741, Theog. 391, 525, Hippocr. II 24, 52, Anax. 11. *ἔοικασι* Hippocr. II 12, 68, Herakl. 2, 3. *ἔοικώς* Anacr. 84, Hippocr. II 34, Diog. 6, *εοικυῖαι* Hippocr. II 58, *εοικυῖαν* Aret. 169. In Hdt. on the other hand, though *ἔοικα* appears in the MSS. I 39, III 71, IV 31, 99, 132, VI 64, VII 18, the testimony in favour of the unreduplicated form is so strong as to justify the substitution of *οἶκα* which is read in IV 82, III 71 (in *R*), *οἶκατε* V 20, VII 162, *οἶκασι* VII 106, *οἶκω* IV 180, *οἶκός* VI 125, I 155, &c. Eberhard adopts *οἶκός* in Arrian 1310, not *εἰκός*, as in 66, where the MSS. have *ἔοικός*. Hercher edited *εἰκός*. For *εἰκός* it is fitting, found in Hippocr. II 50, Hdt. has *οἶκός* V 97. **εἶκω** yield. *εἶκον* Hdt. VIII 3, *εἶξα* IX 63, 106. **εἶπον** and **εἶπα**. *εἶρω* say < *φερῖω*. *εἶρηκα* Hdt. I 155, *εἶρημαι* II 24, VIII 93, Hippocr. VIII 20, *εἶρέαται* Hdt. VII 81, *εἶρητο* VIII 26, *εἶρημένος* Hippocr. VIII 20, *εἶρέθην* Hdt. IV 77, 156, and so elsewhere though the MSS. often have *εῖρηθην* or *εῖρηθην*, Hippocr. V 196 *προεῖρηθην*; inf. *ῖρηθῆναι* Hdt. III 9, *ῖρηθείς* I 91, &c. fut. *ῖρηθήσομαι* Hippocr. II 362. *εἶρήσομαι* is confined in Attic to the form *εἶρήσεται*, which occurs in Hdt. IV 16, Hippocr. I 596. The latter author has also the strange form *εἶρησόμενος* III 516 (where nine MSS. have *ῖρηθη*). **εἰλίσσω**. Traces of a form *εἰλίσσω* or rather *ἐλίσσω* appear in Hippocr. *κατελίσσεται* II 470. For *διεξελίσσουσι* Hdt. IV 67, *ἐνελεξιμένοις* II 95, the recent editors adopt the forms with *ει*. There is but little doubt that the Herodoteian form was *εἰλίσσω*. Hippocr. has *κατελίσσαι* VII 32, 42, 50, VIII 426, *εἰλίσας* VIII 166 (θ), *ἐνελεξασα* VIII 168 (*ἐνελεξας* θ), *ἐνελεξας* VIII 172, Littré (*ἐνελεξας* θ), *ἐνελεξιμένην* (-ει- θ) VIII 376, *εἰλίσχαστο* Hdt. VII 90; *συνελεισθέντα* Hippocr. II 438. [*ἔλκω* has lost σ not *f*, cf. *sulcus*.] **ἐλπίζω**. *ἤλπισον*

¹ Other Attic verbs which have *ει* in imperfect and aorist according to tradition may in reality have had *η*; cf. An. Ox. IV 1792, which says that some wrote *ἦθίζον*, *ἦστίων*. *ἦθίζοντο* is actually attested. *εἶθισται* is the correct form in the perfect.

² Eust. 1714₁₅: τὸ δὲ εἰκυῖα οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑστερον Ἰωνικὴν γλῶσσαν λέγεται. οἱ γὰρ μεθ' Ὀμηρον, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, οἶκός γράφουσι, καὶ ἀκολουθῶς καὶ οἰκυῖα, Ἀττικὸν δὲ οἶκός καὶ οἰκυῖα. Homer has *εἰκός*, *εἰκός*, *εἰκυῖα*, *εἰοικυῖαι*.

Hdt. VII 168, ἤλπισα VIII 24, ἠλπίζετο Hippokr. IX 320. **έμέω.** ἤμει Hdt. VII 88, ἤμεισα Hippokr. II 696, VII 194 (not ἤμισα), ἐμημέεε V 232. **έννυμι.** ἠμφιέσται Hippokr. VII 456, ἠμφιέσθαι VI 76. **έργάζομαι.** This verb is probably unaugmented in Hdt. and inscriptions, § 578. In Hdt. I 185 A Bpr. have ἠργάζετο, *είργ-* the other MSS., I 93 ἐξηργάσαντο A, *-είργ-* the other MSS., except Bpr. which has *-εργ-*, II 15 περιεργάζοντο d (cf. R), *-ηγρ- A Bt.* *-είργ-* Bm CP. Hippocrates does not omit the augment in κατειργάσατο II 58, Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 *είργασαο*, but *είργάζοντο Astr.* 23. *είργασται* Hdt. III 155 is better supported than *είργασται* which Stein and Holder adopt, but in II 121 ε', IX 45 *είργασμαι* is certainly correct. *είργαστο* I 179, *είργασμένος* V 53, Lukian *Syr. dea* 24 (MSS. *είργ-*), *είξεργάσθη* IV 179. It may be noted that *έξεργάσατο* Hermionc, C. D. I. 3383, does not impeach the contention that digammated verbs may have had η as their augment. This Argolic form is simply a new formation from the present. **έργω** (Attic *είργω*). The correction of a few passages, e.g. Hdt. IV 69, IX 68, where the Attic form has crept in, will reinstate *έργω* in complete possession. Homeric *έέργω* is never well supported in Hdt. *έργω* is augmented in *έξείργον* V 22, and receives no augment in *έργετο* IV 164 according to Stein (Cobet and Holder *είργετο*). In VII 197 Stein reads *έργετο* with A B, Holder *είργετο* with PRs, as I think correctly. In III 136 we read *είρξε* (CPt *έρξε* or *έρξε*), *κατείρξαν* V 63 (*-ερξαν* CPt). The perfect is *άπεργμένος* I 154, II 99, V 64, VI 79, the aor. pass. subj. is *ίερχθῆ* in Hippokr. VIII 26, 36, according to Littré, where *έρχθῆ* is well supported (in 26 by C θ). **έρδω.** *έρδον* not *έρδον* Hdt. IX 103, *έρξαν* V 65, *έοργε* III 127, *έδργε* I 127 not *έώργε* with Bt. **οίγνυμι.** Hdt. *άνοιξα* IV 143, IX 118, and I 68, where all MSS. have *άνωξα*, *άνωξα* in Hippokr. V 144, Littré with some MSS., *υλιγο άνωξε*, cf. *άνωξα* Z 298, Ω 446. Hesychios cites a form *έφξεν* with which cf. *-έωξε* Hippokr. VI 568. With *άνώφρες*, quoted from an inscription by Hdt. I 187, cf. *άνώφρεν* Π 221. This is the imperfect. The second perfect is found in Hippokr. VII 558 *άνεφράσι*; *άικται* occurs in Hrd. 455. **οίκew.** *άικει*? Hippon. 47, see § 579 B, Hippokr. II 666, 684, III 24, 128, *άικεον* Hdt. I 57, *άικησα* II 154, IV 105; *άικηκας* Hrd. 42; *άικημαι* Hdt. VII 22, 122; *οίκέεται* Hdt. I 142, *οίκημένος* I 27, V 73, *άικητο* Hdt. I 193. *έφκεον* appears in Littré's edition of the letters of Hippocrates, IX 406, where *άικεον* is correct. Arrian has *άικει* 18₁₀. **οίκίξω.** *άικισα* Hdt. III 91, V 42; *άικισμαι* IV 12, *ένοικίσθη* I 68. Arrian has *συνάικισε* 15, *άικισμαι* 16, *άικισμένος* 12, 513, 101, 2210. **οικοδομέω.** *οικοδόμει* Hdt. I 186, *οικοδόμεον* VIII 71, *οικοδόμησε* II 127, *οικοδόμηται* I 181, *οικοδομήσατο* III 10. **οικοφθορέω.** *οικοφθόρησθε* Hdt. VIII 142; cf. 144, V 29, I 196. **οινοχοέω.** *άνοχοέαι* Anakr. 32. **οινώω.** *οινωμένοι* Hdt. V 18. **άράω¹** (**άρέω**). See § 582 end. *άρα* III 72 and often in Hdt., *κατάρα* VII 208, *έπάρα* I 48. Sometimes there is a variation between *άρα* and *έάρα*, e.g. I 11, 123, III 53, where the former form is to be adopted. Hippocrates' use of *έάρα* is undisputed (cf. II 708); *Vita Hom.* *έαρᾶτο* 5. *άρᾶμεν* is read by Stein when the MSS. have *άρέωμεν*, *άρᾶμεν*, *άρέομεν*, *έαρᾶμεν*. For *έαρᾶμεν* I 120 (v. l. *έορ-* in C) Lhardy conjectured *ένωρᾶμεν*. *άράτε* VII 8. In the third plural the form is *άρ-* not *έαρ-* (cf. v. l. V 91) whatever the termination (see under Contract verbs). In later Attic according to Photios *άρων* was used.

¹ Homer has no trace of *Forάω*. *f* disappeared before an *o* sound at an earlier period than it did before other vowels. Ahrens *Philol.* XXXV 50, L. Meyer, *K. Z.* XXIII 49). Cf. the early loss of *f* in *-faw* of the perfect participle.

Perfect. ὤρηκα Hrd. 410 and ὀρώρηκα 619, ἐώρακη Hippokr. V 720. In Doric we find ὠρακίαν C. D. I. 3340₆ (Epidaurus). ὀρτάζω (ἐορτάζω). ὄρταζον Hdt. IX 7. οὐρέω. οὐρει Hippokr. II 686, οὐρεον II 692, οὐρησα II 686, 696, V 354, οὐρήκει V 354, οὐρήθην V 716. This verb is placed in this list because of προσεοῦρον Demosth. 54, 4, ἐνεοῦρησεν in Eupolis (Koeh frag. 45), though the *ou* is probably not proethnic. ὠθέω¹. ὠθέετο Hdt. VI 86, ὄσα III 78, VII 167, ὠσάμην IX 25, ἀπωσμένος V 69, ἀπέωθησαν, a singular form, occurs in the MSS. of Hippokr. IX 242 (Littre ἀπεωσ-). Hippokr. has the noteworthy form πρώσας for προώσας VII 314. ὠνέομαι. ὠνέμην Hdt. I 69, III 139. A singular form is ὠνησάμενος Hippokr. IX 362.

That *η* may be the augment of verbs whose initial sound was *F* may be inferred from Skt. *ārar*, *āriśhṣat*, and Homeric *ἠείδης*² &c. *ἠείδης* is not the preterite of *ἔφειδ-*, *i. e.* *φειδ-* with a prosthetic vowel (*ἔειράμενος*) which was lengthened as the *ε* of *ἔρχομαι* was lengthened to *η* in *ἤρχόμην*. Other examples of *η* that are tolerably certain are *ἦκειν*, *ἦκασον*, *ἦκασα*, less certain is *ἠργαζόμην* which may have been formed from *ἔργαζομαι*, not from *φεργάζομαι*, *i. e.* it is only apparently identical with the old *ἠργαζόμην* from *ἠφεργ-*. The imperfect and aorist were the tenses where *η* appeared, not the perfect.

It has been widely held, since Wackernagel's³ discovery of the existence of *η* as an augment of *F* verbs, that the form *ἑώραων* was to be explained as resulting from *ἠλόραων*. From the point of view of Attic or Ionic, dialects which permit *metathesis quantitatis*, there is no difficulty in the way of such an explanation; the movement which in Ionic produced *η* from *ā* having ceased. In Doric however a shifting of *ηο* to *εω* (at least in verbal forms)⁴ is unknown, and yet we have *ἑώρη* on Epidaurian inscriptions, C. D. I. 3339₆₆, 3340₂₈. *ἑώρων* will therefore have to be explained as Attic *ἑώρταζον*⁵: instead of *ἑόραων*, *ἑώραων* was constructed, since the former form did not seem augmented at all⁶. In the pluperfect we find *ἑωράκη*, *-ειν*, but in the perfect *ἑώρακα* (such is the better form) as *ἑάλωκα*. The Homeric *ᾠίγνυτο*, *ᾠίξε*, for which Wackernagel⁷ proposed to substitute *ᾠοιγ-*, *ᾠοίξε*, are genuine forms from *δφίγνυμι* (*cf.*

¹ *ἑωθέουσι*, quoted by Gram. Paris. 675 = An. Bachm. II 364₂₉ as the Hero-doteian form of *ᾠθούσιν*, is due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for *εω*.

² An. Ox. II 374₃₁.

³ K. Z. XXVII 272. The idea was first suggested by Hartel *Hom. Stud.* I² 120, but later abandoned by its author. Wackernagel cites An. Ox. IV 179, where it is stated that some wrote *ἠργαζόμην*, *ἦθίζον*.

⁴ *ἑρεωσύναν* Kos 40 A 11 (Paton and Hicks) from *ἑρηφούσνα*; *cf.* *ἑρηῖ* 37₅₀, 42 B (*Πολιῖ* 38₁₂, 13, *Μαχανῖ* 38₁₄).

⁵ It is not probable that *ἑώρη* is a new formation from *ᾠρη*.

⁶ The rough breathing is due to the influence of *δράω* rather than to the lost spirant.

⁷ B. B. IV 304.

Aiolic *δείγην*). Hippokrates has *ᾠιξα*. Attic *ἀρέφξα* looks as if it was assimilated to *ἀρέφγα* from *φοίγνυμι* or it has a double augment.

582 A.] Varia.

1. *Augment before the Preposition* occurs in *μεμετιμένος* Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229; elsewhere the augment of this verb keeps its usual place, notwithstanding *ἐμετίετο* I 12 in *A¹ C¹* (*ἐμετείθη* I 114 in *d z*). See also below on 2. *κατέατο* is now written in III 144, VIII 73 against the augmented form of the MSS. *ἀμφιέεινυμι* augments the preposition only: *ἡμφιεσμένη* Hippokrat. 3. *ἡμφιέτθαι* Hippokrat. VI 76, VII 456. Hippokrat. has *ἐκάθενδον* V 252. *ἐμπολημένος* Hdt. I 1 may be noted here.

2. *Double Augment*. Anakreon used the form *ἐξυνήκεν* (146) according to the Et. M. 385₉, which states that *ἐσυνήκε* occurred in Alkaios. Hdt. has *ἠνέσχετο* V 48, VII 159, VIII 26, but *ἀνέσχοντο* V 89, VI 112, VII 139. Hippokrat. III 94 has *ἠνώχλεον*, V 702 *ἠνωχλήθην*, *ἠνίει* V 414, *ἠφίει* V 228 (*ἐφέκειον* IX 406 is incorrect). On *ἐπνηρωθῶθι*, see § 578, note. On *ἐάρων*, see § 582 end.

3. *Augment of some compound verbs*. *ᾠδοιπύρησε* Hippokrat. VI 276, cf. Hdt. VIII 129 *διοδοιπορήκεσαν*. *οἰκοδομέω* and *οἰκοφθορέω* are unaugmented in Hdt. *ἐδυστύχεε* Hdt. VIII 105, *ἐυδοκίμει* VII 227, *ἐυδοκίμησα* III 131, *ἐντομήθην* I 66, *ἐντύχησα* VII 233. *ἐπαλλάλογητο* Hdt. I 118 in the perfect without reduplication. Hdt. has *παρενόμησα* VII 238 not *παρηνόμησα*.

Reduplication.

583.] 1. On the absence of reduplication in *οἶκα*, *ἦλωκα*, cf. § 582, where the digammatized verbs are enumerated. On *ᾠρηκα* and *ᾠρώρηκα* see the same section. On the syllabic augment of the reduplicated pluperfect in Herodotos, see § 576, 1. The temporal augment does not appear in 'Attic' reduplicated forms. *ἐπαλλλόγητο* Hdt. I 118 is due to a desire to avoid a cumbersome form. Reduplication in the second aorist is chiefly Homeric¹. In Herodotos we find *ἦγαγον*, *ἐσπόμην*, *εἶπον*. Reduplication in the present presents no noteworthy features except in the case

¹ The grammarians often call Ionic such forms as *λελάχωσι*, *κέκλυθι*, *κεκάμω* (Aristarchos *κε κάμω*), *τετύκοντο*, *πεπαλῶν*. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 433 (also Doric), 461, Vat. 696, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365₂₄, Et. M. 86₁₇, Birnb. 677₁₀, An. Ox. I 36₃₃, An. Par. III. 183₃₁ (cf. 30₂₉), 343₂₈, Eust. 136₂₁, 157₁₂, 502₂₁, 1225₀₉, 1267₃₈, 1629₁₇, 1722₅₀, 1774₅₉, 1969₄₁, Diakonon on Hesiod *Asp.* 245 (*ἐμέμαρπον*). By a reverse process the absence of reduplication is called Ionic in *βλήμενος* Greg. Kor. 461, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365₃₅ (also *δέχθαι*), *τύχθαι* Drakon 160₂₁, cf. 156₄.

of the pseudo-Hippocratic *διδίσσομαι* VIII 66 (Littre with *C D K*). Here, however, *θ* has *δειδίσσῃται* (intransitive), whereas B 190 is transitive. Elsewhere both Hippokrates and Aretaios use *δεδίσσομαι* in the sense of 'feel afraid.'

From *αἰρέω* we find in Thasos 71_{5, 11} *ἀναιρημένος*, in l. 2, 3 - *-ραιρημένος*, which was read by Bergmann *ἀναι-*, by Blass *ἀνε-*. Neither of these forms occurs. The reading of Blass (*Ausspr.* 3 62) rests upon the view that *αι* could become *ε* in the fourth century; a change unattested for this period of Greek¹. Since Herodotos has *ἀραίρηκα*, *ἀραιρήκεε*, *ἀραίρημαι*, *ἀραιρήμηρ*, *ἀνοραιρημένος* has been read by Bechtel. If this restoration is correct, as seems probable, the perfect of *αἰρέω* was formed in Ionic in two different ways (1) *ἀραίρημαι*, a kind of perfect often used in Hdt. in other verbs, (2) *αἰρέρημαι* by inner reduplication, as in *ἠνέπαπον*, *ἠνύκακον*. In Samos 221₃₅ *ἡρημένος* shows that by about the year 322 B. C. in an official document the specifically Ionic reduplication had been abandoned.

2. So-called Attic reduplication¹.

Epic are *ἀλάλῃμαι*, *ἀγηγέμηρ*, *ἀλαλύκτημαι*, *ἀνήνοθεν*, *ἐδήδομαι*, *ἐρήρισται*, *ἐρήριπτο*, *ἐρήριπα*, *συνοκωχότε*, *ὀδάδυσται*, *ὀδαδα²*, *ὀράρεγμα* (*ἄρεγμα* Hippokr. I 520), *ὄρωρα²* (Theog. 909), and *ὀράρειν*, *ὀρώρομαι*.

ἀκήκοα Hdt. I 37, VIII 109, *ἀκηκόειν* II 52, VII 208 while Hippokr. VII 490 has the Attic *ἡκηκόειν*. In Herodas 5₄ occurs the interesting form *ἀκήκουκα³*. *ἀλήλεσμαι* Hdt. VII 23. *καταληλεσμένους* (?) Hippokr. VIII 456, where the MSS. have *-εληλα-*, *-εληλασ-*, and *-εληλεσ-* (so Littre). Aretaios 195 has *ἀληλεσμένη*. From *ἀραρίστω* Homer has *ἀρήρη*, *ἀρηρός*, *ἠρήρεα*; in Archil. 94 the MSS. have *ἠρήρεισθα* which Bergk thought fit to change to *-ησθα*. *ἀρηρομένος* Homer, Hdt. IV 97. *ἐγήγεμαι* Hippokr. IX 340 (ep.), cf. *ἐγγήγορα*, V 310, 694, Homer. *ἐηλάκειν* Hdt. V 90, *ἐηλάμαι* Homer, Tyrnt. 12₂₆, Hdt. I. 180, IX 9. *ἐηλάσμαι* Hippokr. VIII 290, 426; *ἠηλάμηρ* Homer, *ἐηλάμηρ* Hdt. VII 205. *ἐηλήλυθα* Hdt. VIII 68, Hippokr. II 266, *ἐηλύθει* Hdt. V 98, VIII 114 (epic *ἐηλύονθα*, *εἰηλύονθα*, *εἰηλύθει*). *ἐμημέκει* Hippokr. V 232. *ἐξηνειγμα* Hdt. VIII 37, IX 72. *ἐρήρεισμαι* Hdt. IX. 152. Hippokr. III 294, IV 220, 312, 152 (but *συνήρεικα* VI 372). In VIII 272 for *ξυνηρήρεισται* in *D*, *θ* has *συνεηρέδαται* (cf. Ψ 284). In VIII 270 *συνηρεισμένως* is attested by *θ* and the other MSS. Homer has also *ἠμήρειστο*, *ἐρηρέδατο*. Hippokr. VIII 292 has *ἐρηρέιεται* in *θ*. *ἐρήριγμα* Hippokr.

¹ In Attic the change occurred in the second century A. D.

² Ionic: Eust. 15²338.

³ This form recalls in a measure the Syrakusan inflection of the perfect as a present. Cf. also Knidian *τετιμάκει*.

VII 416 (ἔρειγμαί in *D*), VIII 506. οἰχῶκε, not ῥῆχηκε, was called Ionic by Dorotheos *apud* Schol. Ven. A on O 252, and this spelling was adopted by Apollonios. Aristonikos and Trypho (frag. 99) probably received παρῥῆχηκεν. Hdt. VIII 108 has οἰχῶκνίας, οἰχῶκότας IX 98, διοίχηνται IV 136 (διοίχονται?), οἰχῶκεε IV 128. The vulgate παρῥηχημένος is rightly rejected by Littré for παροιχόμενος in Hippokr. VI 16. The form with the 'Attic' reduplication but with ω for ρ also appears in οἰχῶκεν Herodas 237 and this, and not the form from the stem οἰχε, must be regarded as Ionic. ἀπολώλεκα Hdt. I 45 ἀπόλωλα Hom., Hdt. II 181 ἀπολώλειω Hom., Hdt. III 119 ὄπωπα Homer, Hdt. III 37, 63. Hippokr. IV 78, VIII 606, pluperf. Homer, Hdt. V 92, Arrian 150. ὀρώρυγμαί Hdt. III 60, IV 195, and so II 158 (not ὀρωρυγμαί), ὀρωρύγην Hdt. I 185 (not ὀρνεκτο), 186 (not ὀρώρυκτο). ὀρώρηκα § 582.

3. Mute followed by a Liquid.

βέβλαμμαι Hippokr. VIII 418, 494, 498 but ἐβλαμμένοις Ephesos, Dittenberger Syll. 344₈₄ (first century B. C.), γέγλυμμαι Hdt. II 106 etc., Hippokr. IV 386.

4. Other verbs beginning with a double Consonant.

κτάομαι: In an inscription from Mylasa 248 B 11 (360-61 B.C.) we find ἐκτῆσθαι¹, the form found Iliad I 402 and usually in the MSS. of Herodotus, whether a vowel or a consonant precedes. κέκτησθαι VII 29, ἐκτημένος II 173, 174, VII 27 (after a vowel) are to be rejected though occurring in all MSS.² κεκτημένος appears in Zeleia 113_{20,21} (shortly after 334 B.C.) but κατέκτηται in the same inscription l. 6 makes for the conclusion that the former form is an Attic interloper. In Sim. Am. 132 Bekker read ἐκτῆται for κέκτηται of the Schol. Σ 407 who quotes the verse. Aischylos has only one case of the Ionic form and that by metrical constraint (*Prometh.* 797). It was preferred by Plato when it followed upon a consonant (plup. ἐκεκτῆμην). The pluperfect in Hdt. is ἐκτῆμην II 108. κτίζω yields ἐκτισται Hippokr. IV 194.

ἐσμυρισμένος Archil. 30 (cf. Hesych. ἐσμυριζόμεναι) from σμυρίζω, whereas in Hdt. we have μεμυρισμένος from μυρίζω. The lyric poets have the ordinary forms in ἐσκιασμένος Sim. Am. 765, &c.

5. Verbs beginning with ρ.

There are in Ionic some noteworthy forms of these verbs which in Attic refuse to reduplicate. The reduplicated forms in Ionic

¹ An. Par. III 65₂₀ (Attic and Ionic), Gram. Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 36₂₉ καθαρῶς Ἴωνική.

² κεκτῆσθαι is however as old as Hesiod, *W. D.* 437.

represent a newer method of reduplication, since they have followed the analogy of verbs whose initial sound had not originally been preceded by a spirant.

ῥερυπωμένος in Hippokr. IV 374, VIII 140, 236, 368 is the same form that occurs in ζ 59; *ῥεραπισμένος* is quoted from Anakreon (166) by Choïrob. II 555₂₁, cf. Bekk. An. III 1287 (where the Pindaric *ῥερίφθαι* is compared), An. Ox. IV 185₁₇, 415₆, An. Par. IV 226₁₇. *ῥερυθμῶσθαι* was used, according to some, by Demokritos. Cf. *ῥυθμός* Demokr. 205 according to Stobaios (§ 358). In Hdt. IV 71 for *συνεραμμένην* of the editors (*A* *συνερα-*), *B* and *C* have *συρρερ-*. The *spiritus asper* in the above forms should doubtless be changed to the *lenis*.

6. Verbs beginning with λ.

λαμβάνω: Archil. (143) is reported by Lukian (*Pseudolog.* 1) to have said *τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνέληφας*, out of which Bergk made the dimeter *τέττιγα δ' εἴληφας πτεροῦ*. The form is interesting because Hdt. has *λελάβηκα* III 42¹, IV 79, VIII 122 (and in the mouth of an Ionian in Eupolis² according to Meineke II 570), *λέλαμμαι* III 117, IX 51. Hippokrates however has *εἴληφε* VIII 584, *εἴλημμένοι* VII 490, *ἀπειλημμένος* V 616 but on the same page *ἀπολελαμμένος*, and *ἀναλελάφθαι*³ III 308 (*vulgo* -λελάμφθαι). *λελήφαται* is called Ionic by An. Ox. I 268₂₆. *εἴληφα* Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298₅₂.

λαγχάνω yields *λελόγχασι* Hdt. VII 53 (not *εἴληχα*⁴) as in Homer. *λέγω collect* has *-λέλεγμαι* in Hdt. VII 26; cf. Arrian I 511. *λέγω say* has *λέλεγμαι* in Hdt. II 21, &c.

Personal Endings.

The following is a summary of the specially noteworthy endings of the Later Ionic. See also under the various tenses where fuller reference is made to the thematic and modal vowels.

584.] Endings of the Active.

1. First Person.

μι: Analogues of the Homeric *ἐθέλωμι, ἴδωμι, ἀγάγωμι, &c.* do not appear in the New Ionic.

¹ According to PRz and Bekk. Anecd.; other MSS. have the pluperfect, which Veitch adopts. *λελάβηκα* in Doric (Archimedes II 290 Heiberg) as well as *εἴλαφα*.

² Eupolis' (II 533) *ὠνήσατο* may occur in an Ionic proverb; cf. Hippokr. IX 362.

³ Cf. Archimedes' *λελάφθω*.

⁴ Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298₅₂.

α: The imperfect of εἰμί is ἔα < ἦα in Homer and Herodotos; of εἶμι, ἦα, of τίθημι, ἐτίθεα in Hdt. In the aorist we find, besides εἶπον, also εἶπα which is rare in Attic. The pluperfect has ε-α, an ending which shows the aoristic connexion of this tense.

2. Second Person.

-θα: This original perfect ending occurs in οἶσθα < οἶδ + θα and in ἠρήρεισθα (§ 619). ἦσθα in Theog. 1314 = ἔας in Hdt. is strictly a perfect, ἦσ an imperfect. The abandonment of the perfect of εἰμί brought with it the confusion between -s and -σθα; whence followed the creation of such forms as ἔχεισθα in Theog. 1316 (MSS. ἔχοισθα) and Sappho, εἶσθα Theog. 715. Cf. Homeric τίθησθα from τίθησ, εἶσθα, ἐθέλησθα, βάλουσθα.

ς has been added in εἶς *thou art* (Hdt. and Archilochos) to εἶ for primitive ἔσι. In Syrakusan ἔσοί was the regular form, which indeed may be read in all passages in Homer except ρ 388. On εἶ in Hdt. see § 705. Το οἶσθα, -s was also added, thus producing οἶσθας found in Herodas 2₅₅ and adopted by Zenodotos in his recension of the Homeric text (cf. Eust. 177_{3,27}). οἶσθας also appears in comedy, and was 'Hellenic' as well as οἶσθα according to Ailius Dionysios. εα-s in the pluperfect happens not to occur in Hdt.¹ but in the plural we find συνηδέατε. In the optative aorist Hdt. has -ε-ια-s (never -αις)². In the plural of the second aorist we find ο-ιη-τε not ο-ι-τε, e.g. δοίητε in Hdt. VII 135; so -αιητε not -αιτε. -οιηs except in Hom. σχοίηs (?), and in Aiolic, occurs only in εἶροίηs, Hippokr. I 590, where εὔροισ is a *v. l.* The pluperfect has -εας, not -εες, as the Et. M. 386₂₃ states.

3. Third Person.

σι < -τι in the singular, Ionic being an assibilating dialect. -ουσι < -οντι, -ωσι < -ωντι. The sporadic cases of -οισι and -ωισι in Chios are due to Aiolic influence. The instances of -ησι in the subjunctive are rare in the elegy (Theog. 139). -ησι never occurs in iambic poetry or in prose, though *ABC* have ἐλαύνησι Hdt. I 188. Theognis has elsewhere -η. On primitive -ει in the subjunctive, and on -ει < -ηι in Euboian Ionic, see § 239. In the perfect we find -ᾶσι, except in a few instances where the poetical -ᾷσι comes to light (§ 59.5) by imitation of Homer. In the pluperfect we find -εε in Hdt. with no case of -ει or -ειν as in Homer and in Attic. The inscriptions have -ει. In the plural -εσαν in Hdt. with no case of -εισαν. The imperative has -τω, -των,

¹ ἐτεθήπας ω 90 is an unmetrical variant for θηήσας.

² Cf. ποιήσεις Hippokr. VII 260 in θ against other MSS.

and *-ντων*. *ἔστων* occurs on inscriptions, *ἔστωσαν* is found in Hdt. I 147, and *-τωσαν* in Teos 158^{11, 25, 26}, a late document composed under Attic influence. In Attika by 300 B.C. *-τωσαν* had almost entirely displaced the older form.

In the present optative of *-εω* verbs we find *-εοιη* in Teos 156 A 10 and *-οιη* in line 4, elsewhere *-οι*, as in Hdt., with but few, if any, exceptions. Hippokrates has however many well-attested instances of *-οιη*. In *-αω* verbs Hdt. prefers the ending *-φη* (and *-φεν*). Both *ἔφησαν* and *ἔφεν* occur, and *παρεξίτοιεν* is found in IV 120, VII 103.

In the aorist Herodotos adopts *-ειε* (*-αι* twice only: II 100, III 156, and these are doubtful), and *-ειαν* (*-αιεν* only VI 101, VII 152 (?), VIII 35). In inscriptions we find *-ειαν*. In the second aorist we find *δοίεν* in Hdt. The perfect optative has *-οι* not *-οιη*. In the aorist passive optative we find both *-ειησαν* and *-ειεν*.

585.] Endings of the Middle.

1. First Person.

-μεσθα, in Homer, appears once in Theog. 671 (cf. 183, 888, 983, 1047, 1056, &c. *-μεθα*), Hrd. 321, never in Ionic prose.

2. Second Person.

-σαι preceded by the thematic *ε*, becomes either *-εαι* or *-η* in Ionic.

-η-σαι yields *-ηαι* and *-η* in the subjunctive, which also admits of *-εαι* for *-ηαι*, by retention of the short thematic vowel.

-α-σο becomes *-αο*; *-εσο* becomes *εο* or *ευ*.

In the imperative we have *-σο*, *-σθω*.

3. Third Person. The perfect and pluperfect endings are *-νται*, *-ντο*, and *-αται*, *-ατο*. The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο*¹ are not the exclusive property of the Ionic race, though retained by Ionic and Attic with greater tenacity than by other dialects. Two examples of the ancient form in *-αται* < *ηται* occur in Doric: Kretan *κιάται* and Herakleian *γεγραψάται*.

-ατο in the optative for *-ντο* is one of the best attested forms of Herodoteian Ionic. This ending is here more ancient than *-ντο*, since it is derived from *ητο*.

The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο* have in Herodotos been transferred from their home in the indicative perfect and pluperfect, after stems ending in a consonant, to the present and imperfect of *μι* verbs. On *δύνα-μαι*, *ἐπίστα-μαι*, whose *a* apparently passes into *ε* before the endings *-αται*, *-ατο*, see § 688, 1, note 2.

(a) Present. *προτιθέται* Hdt. I 133 (IV 26 in C), *ἀπιστέαται* II 113, *ὑπανιστέαται* II 80, *ἐξανιστέαται* V 61, *δυνέαται* II 142,

¹ See Abicht, *Philologus* XI 275 ff., and § 612.

IV 30, ἐπιστέαται¹ III 2, 103, IV 174. (For ἐκδιδόαται of *C* in II 47 read -οῦται.) These forms do not occur in Homer. In Ω verbs these forms are incorrect, e.g. ἀγέαται II 47, κηδέαται I 209 (both in *C*). -νται² is preserved in the following forms: ἐπίστανται Solon 49, δύνανται Hippokr. II 290, cf. ἀπόλλυνται III 254, V 624 *bis*, 680 *bis*, ῥήγνυνται III 200.

(*b*) *Imperfect*. -ατο, introduced from the pluperfect (cf. -αται in the present) in ἐπανιστέατο Hdt. IV 80, ἐδυνέατο VII 211, ἠπιστέατο II 53, where *a* apparently changes to ϵ ; and also in παρεπιθέατο I 119, ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58. The -ντο form may also occur in the imperfect, as witness ἀπεδεικνυντο VII 223, IX 40.

Improper are all such forms in Ω verbs (1) in imperfects: προαιδέατο I 61 with -εατο in all MSS. is nevertheless to be rejected³, as are all other such forms no matter how well they are supported by MS. evidence: as ἐβοῦλέατο I 4 (ἐβοούλοντο Plutarch), ἐναπειμίζεατο II 172 (in all MSS.), ἐγυέατο I 67 (*b d z*), ἀπεγραφέατο V 29 (in all MSS.), ὑπεδεκέατο IV 167 (*P R z*), ἐσινέατο VII 147 (in all MSS.), ἐμηχανέατο V 63 (in all MSS.). ὀρμέατο I 83 is regarded by Stein as pluperfect⁴. Bredow's (p. 330) ὀρμέατο is incorrect. (2) Second aorists: ἐγενέατο II 66 where Stein suggests ἐγεγενέατο, περιεγενέατο I 214 (*R* -εγεγοντο), ἀπικέατο often, ἐπυθέατο VII 172 (*P R z*). The inscriptions have -ντο invariably.

The imperfect of μ verbs, where -ατο was in place, was the source of this error, which seems to have been inserted by copyists into no other text than that of Herodotos. The forms in -εαται and -εατο in the imperfect and aorist of Ω verbs do not occur in the MSS. of the logographers or of Hippokrates⁵. The latter does not adopt, even in μ verbs, the ending -ατο; ἀπώλλυντο III 88, ἀνίσταντο II 608. The presence of the above-mentioned misshapen formations in the MSS. cannot be laid to

¹ ἐπίστηται II 243 (subj.) was read by Zenod. ἐπιστέαται. ἐπίσταται is the reading of *A L*. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, holds it to be indicative. Zenodotos' reading indicates the prevailing uncertainty as to the place of -εαται. Zenodotos is also reported to have read πεποιέαται (sing.) in Homer.

² Homer has -νται after *a* and *o* invariably.

³ No verb which has the short vowel in the future before *sigma*, and *sigma* in the perfect middle, has either -αται in the perfect or -ατο in the pluperfect. We must read προαιδέοντο. προαιδέατο would be a strange pluperfect (as Abicht takes it to be).

⁴ Stein reads ὀρμέατο here, and in every other passage with MS. authority.

⁵ The pseudo-Ionic movement did not affect in an equal degree all Ionic literature. While such forms as masc., neutr. τουτέων, αὐτέων were inserted into the texts of Hippokrates and Aretaios, these writers were spared from the irregular -εαται and -εατο. It is also noteworthy that Arrian's *Indikē* was spared the intrusion of such forms as ἐγενέατο.

the charge of the teachings of the grammarians, who make absolutely no mention of their occurrence.

1. *-νται* for *-νται* after vowels is supported only by the statement of Hierakleides Milesios (Cohn, p. 77), who cites as used by some Ionians the forms *πεποιέανται*, *γεγενέανται*.

2. *-ται* is not used in the singular despite the statement to the contrary of the Et. M. 367¹⁰, *οικέεται*, a poor variant in Hdt. I 151, &c., *κέεται* often in Lukian's *Syria dea*, *πεποιέεται* Zenodotos in Homer (above p. 480, footnote 1).

3. *-ατο* in the singular is also incorrect: *παρέατο κόρη* in Kallimachos cited by An. Ox. I 373²⁰, Et. M. 653²⁰. In Hdt. IX 100: *ὡς δ' ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἑλλησι*, Reiske proposed to insert *πάντα* or to read *-αστο*.

4. *-δαται* for *-ται* and *-δατο* for *-ατο* are indefensible in *κατακεχύδαται* Hdt. II 75 (*Prp. Rd*) and *ἔστελα* or *ἔσταλά-δατο* VII 90 in all MSS. (*Dobree ἔστάλατο*).

-σθων. In the imperative *-σθων* is often preceded by *ε* (present and 2nd aor.), never by *ο*. *ο-σθων* in early Attic inscriptional documents is even more frequent than *ε-σθων* (e. g. *εἰρυσκόσθων*). *-σθωσαν* in *χρήσθωσαν* Hippokr. VI 82 is suspicious.

586.] Endings of the Passive.

-θησαν, not *-θεν*, is the form adopted in iambic poetry and prose. The 3rd pl. *μῖάνθην* in Δ 146 is not to be rejected; cf. Kretan *διελέγην*, Delphic *ἀπελύθην*.

CONJUGATION.

Introductory Remarks.

587.] Many peculiarities of usage of the Ionic verb do not affect our estimate of the position of the dialect in respect of its interrelation with other idioms. Many details of verbal usage and even of formation belong more properly to a history of the Greek verb or to treatises dealing specifically with the diction of individual authors. Not wishing to trench upon the domain of the lexicographer, we have therefore in general excluded from the present discussion verbs of regular formation which occur in Ionic alone, though many points of interest are thus passed by, such as the appearance in Ionic prose of a large number of so-called epic and poetic verbs, the affinities of the dialect for the active in place of the middle and *vice versa*. Ionic forms not dissimilar to those in vogue in Attic have as a rule not been incorporated, chiefly because it may be assumed that the Ionic verb is inflected on the same general lines as the Attic verb. Sometimes, however, where Ionic and Attic are alike,

the forms in question are adduced provided their Aiolic or Doric equivalents are differently constructed. Forms of this character are treated under the special tenses in which they occur.

On *δύνω*, *δυνέω* and similar examples of the co-existence in later Ionic of such parallel forms, see under Contract Verbs. On *μι* verbs inflected as *ω* verbs, see § 691 ff. *ω* verbs inflected like *μι* verbs, and tenses of *ἵστημι*, *τίθημι* etc. other than present, imperfect, and second aorist, are mentioned under *μι* verbs.

588.] Variation between *θέλω* and *ἐθέλω*.

θέλω was regarded as Ionic by the grammarians¹, and it is the only form which appears in the inscriptional monuments of the dialect²: Thasos 72₁₆, Halikarn. 238₁₆, 33, Miletos 100₇. *θέλω* occurs in the iambographs in only two passages (Sim. Amorg. 7₁₃, Hipponax 22 B), and Anakreon employs it in catalectic iambic dimeter (92). Solon 37₁ (trim.) has *ἤθειλον*. In the elegists we find *θέλω* in Phokyl. 12, Solon 27₁₂. Homer adopts the fuller form with only one or two possible exceptions³, and this, too, is preferred by the elegy: Archil. 6₂, Tyrt. 12₄₀, Solon 4₂₈, 33₃ (imperfect; trochaics), in Theognis over twenty times, Bergk changing 139 (*Α Ο θέλησον*) and 919 (neither *Α* nor *Ο* has *ἐθέλη*). In 606 we find an imperfect *ἔθειλον* (Stob. *ἐθέλουσι*). Anakreon uses *ἐθέλω* in choriambics (21₇, 24₂). In Pindar, Mommsen (on Ol. II 97) can count a few instances of *θέλω* which he regards, in opposition to Boeckh, as certain: Ol. II 97, VIII 85, P. II 69, X 5, Isthm. VI 43, Nem. X 84. It is therefore improbable that tragedy, which uses only *θέλω* in dialogue, should have derived this form from Pindar. That its very rarity gave it a certain element of distinction adapted for the purpose of the tragic poets, is confirmed by the attitude of comedy towards the word. Here it is only in paratragedic passages and in the formulae *ἦν θεός θέλη*, *εἰ θεός θέλοι* that the shorter form finds a place. So in early Attic prose, which follows tragic usage to a certain extent. May we see the influence of Gorgias' theories upon Antiphon in his use of *θέλω*? When *θέλω* became the common form, *ἐθέλω* carried with it the distinction that *θέλω* had once enjoyed⁴. It is to be noted that *θέλω* is not, like *κείνος*, made by Aristophanes the mark of the *Ἴωνικὸς ἀνὴρ*.

Out of the confusion in the MSS. of Herodotos, Stein thinks to establish the principle that, while in the present both forms were employed, *ἐθέλω* was more common, but that *θέλω* was regularly used in such collocations as *μαθοῦσι* - - - *τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας* (I 78, cf. III 65, IV 131, V 131, VI 37, VII 8, 37, 101)⁵. In the imperfect and future *ἐθέλω* is certainly preferred,

¹ Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678₁₅ citing *τὸν θέλω = ὃν θέλω*. *θέλω* was also thought to be Alexandrian. See on *κείνος*, § 564.

² On Attic inscriptions *ἐθέλω* is found until 300 B. C. The shorter form appears after 250 B. C. The *Κοινή* adopted *θέλω* except in augmented forms.

³ Aristarchos could save *ἐθέλω* and his theory as to its universal adoption by Homer, only by having recourse to an outrageous synizesis A 277. Cf. also o 317, and A 554.

⁴ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* II 57. Contemporary preferences from the same point of view are discernible in the history of *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω* (not in Pindar).

⁵ VII 162 *τὸ ἐθέλειν λέγειν*, Stein must brand as a spurious addition. He has no objection to *τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν* II 13.

but in the aorist this is not so certain. At all events it will not do to follow Bredow in rooting *θέλω* out completely. Herakleitos adopts *ἐθέλω* in 65, 86, 91, *θέλω* in 104. Demokritos has only the former form: 53, 54, 109, (Demokrates), 144, 188 (*θέλει* in *A*), 236. *ἐθέλω* appears in Littré's Hippokratés I 570 (*θέλω A*), II 228 (*θέλω C*), 244, 424 (*A*), III 234, 242, VI 46 (*θέλω A*), 50 (*θέλω A C*), VI 252 twice (*θέλω* in *θ* once), VII 530, 542, 562, but in 498 Littré reads *θέλοισ* (*ἐθ-* in *C*), *ἤθελεν* III 90 (*ἔθελες D*). This looks as if *θέλω* had a better claim to a place in the text than that assigned it by Littré, and that it was forced out in *malice prepense*. *θέλω* is certain in VII 198, VIII 416. In Aretaios we find *ἐθέλω* 26 (*θέλω G II*), 107, 255, 256 twice.

589.] Variation between *γίγνομαι* and *γίνομαι*.

To § 196 may be added the fact that *γίνομαι* occurs as early as Pindar. *γίνομαι* of the Common dialect is the prevailing form in Arrian, while Hippokratés¹, Aretaios, Lukian's *Syria dea* and *Astrologia*, the *Vita Homeri* and the pseudo-Hippocratic letters have *γίγνομαι*. Eusebios Myndios accepts now *γίγνομαι*, now *γίνομαι*. The latter form should be banished from all classic Attic writers.

γίνομαι *begel* was used in Ionic prose only in *γεινάμενος* (Hdt.); cf. *ἐγείνατο* Sim. Am. 737.

590.] Varia.

References may here be made to the variation between *τρέπω* and *τράπω* (§ 128), *τέμνω* and *τάμνω* (§ 129), *καλινδέομαι*, *κυλίνδω*, and *κυλινδέω* (§ 132; Hippokratés has *κυλίω*, as well as *κυλινδέω*, Aretaios 302 *καλινδέομαι*), *εἴνυμαι* (§ 224, 10), *ροφέω* *ρύφέω* (§ 154, where Hippokr. II 306, 456, VII 60 might have been adduced in support of the former, V 370, 374 of the latter form). *σκάλλω* is Hippocratic II 426, but for *σκήλειε* Ψ 191, *σκείλειε* should probably be read. *σκεδάω* in Hdt. and Hippokr. is from a different root from *σκίδνημι* (Hdt., Hippokr., Herakleitos, Aretaios). The latter is connected with the root of *σχίζω*². *λάζομαι* occurs frequently in Hippokr. (VI 276, 330, VIII 88, 108, 242), who also uses *λάζομαι* (VII 110, VIII 42, 274). The latter is chiefly Attic. *τετρήνω* in *τετρήνεται* Hippokr. VII 498 is a doubtful form alongside of *τετραίνω* (Hdt., Hipponax, Aretaios). *C* and *ξ* have *τετραίνεται*. *δίζομαι*, not the poetic *δίζομαι*, is the correct form in Hdt., Demokritos and Lukian, *Syria dea*, § 22.

ACTIVE VOICE.

591.]

Indicative Present.

1. Verbs in *-ζω*. It is well-known that the Dorians, notably those of Sicily, evinced a fondness for verbs in *-αζω* parallel to those in *-αω*, e.g. *σιγάζω*, *γελάζω*, *ἀκροάζομαι*. Analogous cases from Ionic are rare: *ἀκροάζομαι* Hippokr. VII 70 (Littré); *πειράζω* ψ 114, *πειραζόμενος*, the vulgate reading Hippokr. VII 546 (Littré *πειρασαμένων*). *πειρητιζώ* is also epic M 257, O 615.

¹ In the treatises of the younger school of Hippokratés, *γίνομαι* is frequent, e.g. IV 120, VII 198, 332, 478, 542, VIII 94, 98, 408; also in I 574.

² See Moulton in *Class. Rev.* III 45.

Verbs in -ζω are frequent in Ionic. The following are examples of such as do not occur in classic Attic prose: ἀγλαίζω Hippokr. VIII 368, ἀκουάζω VII 94, ἀλυκτάζω Hdt. IX 70, ἀληθίζομαι III 72, ἀρμόζω Hippokr. I 580, II 368, but ἀρμόσσω III 558¹, ἀρμόσσαι Aretaios 214, ἀτρεμίζω Hdt., Hippokr. (rare in Attic) by the side of ἀτρεμέω, ἰακχάζω Hdt. VIII 65, μινθίζω Hippokr. VI 118 (A -εω) transitive, συνρίζω Hippokr. V 378, VII 190, φώζω VI 566, χατίζω VII 558.

Herodotos uses σφάζω. σφάττω did not come into use in Attic until ττ had supplanted σσ.

2. The presence of ἴκω in Ionic prose is open to suspicion. It is retained by Littré in Hippokrates III 238 (ἴκω *MA*), 242 (*sic MA*), V 224, but in VI 32, where the vulgate has ἀφίκει, A has ἀφήκει, B ἐφήκει. Here Littré reads ἐφήκει. Herodotos uses ἴκω only, with which ἴκω is connected in meaning but not in etymology². As regards the objection to ἴκω in Hippokrates based upon his adoption of a verb (not employed by Herodotos) which is poetical, it may be said that in Korinthian we find ἴρομεν, C. D. I. 3119¹, in the Xuthias inscription (Lakonian?) ποθίκες, Cauer 10, B 9, and in Delian ἴκων (*B. C. H.* II 579 ff.). ἀφικόμην occurs in many dialects.

3. χύω for χέω is doubtful in Aretaios 299, where *Par.* has χέον. ἀποχύσαντα from χύνω Hippokr. VIII 200 is not found in θ or in C, which have ἀποχέαι.

For some reason Eust. 154₁₅ (cf. 621₄₃, 718₆₀) regards as Doric δύνω for δύω, and θύνω for θύω. That the Dorians used δύνω for δύω not for δύομαι is, we believe, unvouched. So far as the form δύνω is concerned, it is frequent in Ionic, rare in Attic, prose; and Homer as well as Pindar has θύνω.

4. Examples of -ισκ added to roots ending in a vowel are χρητίσκομαι Hdt., κνίσκομαι Hdt. (κνίσκω Hippokr.), ῥνίσκομαι, perhaps, Archil. 142. Hdt. was probably the first to use ἀρέσκω, the only old verb in -εσκω.

592.]

Future.

1. **Liquid Verbs** were probably inflected in the dialect of the fifth century as follows:—

μενέω (-έω)	μενέομεν (-εῦμεν)
μενείς	μενείτε
μενεῖ	μενέουσι (-εῦσι)

¹ Hippokr. has λαπάσσω.

² The most recent discussion of the relation of the two verbs will be found in Johansson's *Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde*, p. 62 ff.

The adoption of the liquid future form in the active does not of course necessitate the appearance of the liquid stem in the middle forms. Thus Herodotos has κερδανέω, but κερδήσομαι (the only future middle form of this verb, and that not found in Attic).

The following examples may serve to illustrate the paradigms given above:—

A. ἐρέω¹ Hdt. II 38, IV 129, VI 43, IX 42, Hippokr. II 52, 58, VII 490, VII 550 (but ἐρώ VII 530)², Lukian *Syr. dea* 27, 36, cf. ἐρέω Archil. 79₂, 89₁, Πιρρονάξ 21 A, ἐρώ Theog. 1236: διομανέω Hdt. IV 47, σημαρέω I 75, 209, IV 127, VI 39, περαρέω Hippokr. VII 496, ἀποφανέω VII 542, 548, VIII 408, τεμέω IV 630 (the future of τέμνω is unusual).

B. In Hdt. we usually find -έεις, e.g. ἀπολέεις VIII 60 (ἀπολείς Theog. 36, 245), κερδανέεις I 35, ἀποβαλέεις I 71, διατετρανέεις III 12. ἐρείς occurs in all the MSS. VIII 100.

C. ἐρεί Mimn. 74, Theog. 22, 492, ὀλεῖ Tyrnt. 3, ἀπολεῖ Theog. 1104, πιαλεῖ is a conjecture of Bergk, Πιρρονάξ 21 B, κατανανεῖ Archil. 61 (or -έει?)³. In the MSS. of Herodotos the open forms prevail, e.g. ἀπολέει I 34, διαφθερέει V 51. Hippokrates has ἐρέει VII 478, but ὑγιανεῖ VI 662 (θ), πταρεῖ VIII 484. In Herakl. 26 Hippolytos has κρινεῖ (Bywater κρινέει), in Melissos 10 Simplicius has περανεῖ (Mullach -έει). From the pseudo-Ionists we note ἐκφανέει Lukian, *Syr. dea* 32, εὐφρανέει *Astr.* 29, προφανέει, ἐρέει Euseb. *Mynd.* 63. Compare -ιεῖ in -ίζω verbs with -έει in liquid verbs.

D. ἐρέομεν Hdt. IV 118, μερέομεν IV 119, VII 141, κερδανέομεν VIII 60.

E. ὑπομερέουσι Hdt. IV 4 (Attic -οῦσι *Cd*), VII 101, ἐρέουσι Hippokr. VII 440; ἀμννεῦσι Hdt. IX 6.

2. **Verbs in -ίζω.** From verbs in -ίζω of more than two syllables we find numerous instances of the forms devoid of the *sigma*, e.g. in Hdt. κατακοιτιεῖ IX 17, κομιεῖ II 121 (γ), νομιεῖμεν II 17 (not -οῦμεν, the Attic form which Stein has adopted from the MSS.); in Hippokr. ἀφανιεῖ VI 360, ἐρεθιεῖ IV 346, παρακαθιεῖ VII 608 (cf. Hdt. IV 190 κατίσουσι), φροντιεῖς Epist. IX 334 (φροντίζης *vulgo*). ἐμφανίσει, on an inscription from Priene (*Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 421₁₀), is Hellenistic.

The future in -ιέω has driven out the older form in -ίω (cf. δικάω). -έω, which was extremely common in liquid verbs, was substituted for the -ίω of -ίω.

¹ Cf. Tzetzes *Ex. II.* 118₉.

² The unique ἐρήσω may be correct VII 448.

³ Cf. Hephaist. p. 88. The active form of this verb does not occur in the best Attic prose; in fact the verb is poetic and Ionic.

3. 'Attic Futures.' διασκέδῃς Hdt. VIII 68 (β), cf. σκεδάσεις Theog. 883; ἀποδοκιμῆ I 199 may possibly be present, but is probably future: δικάω I 97 but δικαιοόμενοι I 96, as always in Attic. δοκιμῆ, δικάω are analogues of ὀλέσ(σ)ω: ὀλέω, &c. On ἐλάῃς, ἐλώσι, see under the next section.

4. Short stem vowels in the Future. In the first of the following lists are given only those cases (active and middle) from post-Homeric Ionic in which *sigma* was the final consonant of the stem. No verb with a dental stem is here included. In the second list are enumerated the analogues of the first class. See under the Aorist.

Sigmatic Stems. ἀρκέω Hippokr. IV 282; θλάω Hippokr. VII 276 (ἐνθλάσσει in θ); κορέσω Hdt. I 212, 214 (epic κορέω); πτώω Hippokr. IX 70, πτύσομαι II 396, VI 198, VIII 98, 100; σπάω Hdt. VI 236, Hippokr. VI 534 (σπάσομαι).

For φλάσει the reading adopted in Hippocrates by Kühn (III 358), we read with Littré the present φλά (III 218 L).

From analogy with the above verbs we find the following with short vowel before *sigma*, where the stem ending was originally vocalic.

Non-Sigmatic Stems. ἐπαινώ Sim. Am. 7¹¹², -ήσω Theog. 93, v.l. -εσσ-; but ἦννμαι Hippokr. II 334; ἐλαύνω: ἐλάσει Hippokr. VI 342, VII 348, 428, Hdt. I 207 (ἐλάῃς, ἐλώσι), V 52 (διεξελάῃς); ἐμέω Hippokr. VII 28, VIII 16 (ἐμέσω), II 184, VI 42 (ἐμέομαι, cf. ὀμέομαι &c.); [εἰρύνσει adopted by Ermerins in Hippokr. VI 198 (Littré) is not supported by θ]. καλέω Hdt. III 74 has καλέσειν, Bredow, Veitch, with R, other MSS. -λέειν, which is adopted by Stein and Holder. Where the participle occurs after πέμπω it may be present (cf. VII 15 and 152). καλώ in Attic is better than καλέσω, which in inscriptions does not appear till the second century. Cf. καλών δ 532. [μάχομαι yields μαχήσομαι Hdt. IV 125, 127 bis, VII 102 (Rv, -εσ- A B s z), 103 (A B P C R, -εσ- d z), 209 bis (-εσ- z), VIII 26; epic μαχέομαι, and μαχήσομαι as Solon 2, Attic μαχοῦμαι. See on the aorist]; ὕλλυμι Hdt. I 34, VI 91 bis, VIII 60, IX 18 (ὀλέω), VII 209, VIII 57, 69, IX 42 (ὀλέομαι). ὀλώ is called Ionic in Anecd. Par. IV 67¹¹; ὕζω Hippokr. VIII 424, 488 (Attic -ήσω); πονέω Hippokr. IV 512 (?); but πονήσω is certain in I 598, VIII 16, 30, without regard to the grammatical distinction that πονέσω expresses bodily pain; φθάνω Hippokr. VII 134 (φθᾶσω) may be mentioned on account of epic φθήσομαι; χαλάω Hippokr. II 36, V 436.

5. *Variā.* Hdt. and Hippokr. have both σχήσω and ἕξω. The former has not yet appeared on any Ionic or Attic inscription. Cf. § 607, 6. ἀνέχων in Archil. 82 may be noted as being the only case of this form of ἀνέχω in early Greek. For τίσοντες Hdt. III 14 we should write τείσοντες, cf. § 214. Hdt. has δόξω, e.g. VIII 80, and the poetical δοκήσω only once (IV 74). On δέξω, see § 142. Rare forms are ἀδήσω Hdt. V 39; ἐξαμαρτήσω Hippokr. II 420, δι- IX 264 (late); ἀποπατήσω Hippokr. VII 100; Foes and Ermerins read ἀπαντήσει for ἀπαντήση of the MSS. IV 264, though usually Hippokr. uses the future after ὕκωσ (ἀπαντήσω is otherwise late); κνήσει V 686 is doubtful, but εἶρήσω VII 448, probably correct. A future γνάσω may not be defended on

the score of the vulgate VIII 416 (read γνώση). θαυμάσω, VII 530, is unusual in Attic; so too the uncompounded χωρήσω in Hdt. and Hippokr. (χωρήσομαι is not found in Homer or Ionic prose). On ἐσάσει in Hippokr., see § 593, 2.

593.]

First Aorist.

1. Verbs in -αινω, -αιρω.

Verbs in -αινω form their aorists in -ηνα.

Examples are ἴσχυηνα Hdt. III 24, Hippokr. III 316 (-άναι Galen), ἐκέρδηνα Hdt. VIII 5 (ἐκέρδανεν in *R*), ἐκοίληνα II 73, to mention only those in which Attic regularly adopts -άνα from the analogy of the -ραινω class. σημαίνω yields ἐσήμηνα¹ in Ionic, and this is the proper form in Attic, though ἐσήμανα appears several times in Xenophon. ὑφαίνω yields ὕφηνα, not ὕφανα, which is the reading of *R d* in Hdt. II 122.

From -ιαινω we have ἐχλίηνα Hippokr. VII 388, but Attic χλιάνας VII 150, ἐμίηνα VI 112. From λε(ι)αίνω, ἐλείηνα Hippokr. VIII 360, ἐλέηνα Hdt. I 200, VIII 142. Verbs in -ραινω. From ξηραίνω we have ἐξήρηνα in Hdt. VII 109 (-ανε *R d*), Hippokr. V 476. The -άνα forms are, however, more usual: ἀνξηράνη² Φ 347 (thus Aristarchos, ἐξαυαίνη Aristoph.), ἐξήρανα Hdt. II 99 (in all MSS.), Hippokr. V 104, τετραίνω yields τετρήνας in Hipponax 56, Aretaios 131; δαίνω, ἔρρηνα in Hippokrates VI 128, III 486. The -άνα forms above mentioned, so far from representing (as J. Schmidt *K. Z.* XXVII 322 thinks) an original -ᾶνσα (in contradistinction to -ηνα from -ᾶνσα), are merely Atticisms. -ηνα is original in Ionic and the direct descendant of -ᾶνσα in all cases. In later times in Attic -άνα forced an entrance into verbs which did not have ε, ι, or ρ in the stem. This extension of -άνα is not so much a Dorism (as Curtius suggested), as due to the operations of analogy in Attic itself. The proper Ionic form is ἐκάθηρα, which is found in Hdt. I 41, 44, Hippokr. II 644, VI 212, VII 24, 242, VIII 304. The Attic by-form ἐκάθαρα appears in *A B* in Hdt. IV 26, where *R* is correct, in *R b d z* in I 45, and in Hippokr. II 418 (in all MSS.). The only example on inscriptions of ᾶ for η in these aorists is ἐκάθαρα C. I. A. II 1054, 8 (347 B. C.), Delos B. C. H. V 468 (third century), *ibid.* VI 23, line 185, 24, l. 194 (second century). Attic inscriptions of 329 B. C. have ἐκάθηρα.

2. Apparent variation between dental and guttural stems.

As early as Homer³ we encounter a confusion in -ζω verbs between these two classes of stems, which led to the adoption of σ in the future and aorist of such verbs as ἀνπιάζω (by analogy

¹ ἐσήμανα, Aldus in Hdt. III 106, *R* in IV 179. σημήν[αντι] C. I. A. III 30, 4 (first century B. C.) is the only occurrence in Attic inscriptions of the aorist.

² This is the only case of an aorist in -άνα in Homer. There are 69 cases of -ηνα. The Townley scholiast on Φ 347 says: θερμήνη μὲν φησιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ξηρήνη διὰ τὸ κακόφωνον. See Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 24 ff.

³ See Causer in *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft*, p. 129 ff.

with *δικάζω* or the like). In the Doric dialects the formations from guttural stems (*ε. γ. καθιξεί, συμπαιξοῦνται, ἤρμοξα*) gained the upper hand and almost entirely displaced those in *σ*. In post-Homeric Ionic there are a few examples of the displacement of the dental stems.

ἀράζω yields *ἥραξα* (*ε. γ. ἀραγή, ἀρακτήρη*) and *ἥρασα* in Homer. In Hdt. VIII 28, IX 60, we find *ἀράσομαι*, in II 156 *ε. γ.*, *ἥρασα* (in all fourteen times), I 1, 4, VII 191 *ἥράσθην*, *ἰμι ἥρασθημι* in II 90 (*ἀ. ποισθεῖς ἴδι*), VII 169 (*ἀρασθεῖσαν ἴ*), VIII 115 (*ἀραχθῆναι* all MSS.) There can be no doubt that the forms with *σ* are to be everywhere adopted. Attic, too, uniformly accepted *ἀράσω, -ομαι, ἥρασα, ἥρασθην*.

In the fourth book of the pseudo-Hippocratic tractate *περὶ νόσων*, and not elsewhere, we meet with the aorist forms *ἐσάσειεν* VII 550, 552, 554, 556, *ἐσάσαι* 558, and the futures *ἐσάσει* and *ἐσάσειν* 568. These, the vulgate, forms were generally adopted by Kühn, and derived by him and Foes from *σάσσω*. See Veitch, p. 582. For the single *σ* an analogy was, or might be, sought in *πλάσσω* IV 346, *ἐπλασα* Sim. Amorg. 721, Hdt. II 70; *ἐσάσειεν* cannot, however, come from *σάσσω* because of the augment; and if from *ἐσάσσω* (which does not occur elsewhere), we encounter the difficulty of an *ἐσ-* put for *ἐσσ-* in literary monuments, examples of which abbreviation we desiderate. The forms above mentioned must be separated from *σάσσω*:—(1) because that verb yields *ἔσαξα* in VIII 440, Hdt. I 194, III 7, &c. (2) because the meaning is inappropriate. Kühn, to be sure, translates *ἐσάσειεν* by *gravavit*, Littré, who displaces the vulgate for the strange form *ἐσάσσειεν*, &c., translates by *sentir* in all passages but one (VII 558 *répétition*).

ἀάσειεν, first suggested (but rejected) by Bredow, was adopted by Ermerins. The occurrence of Homeric words in the tractate *περὶ νόσων* is common enough (*ε. γ. χατίζω* 558, *ἐπαυρίσκω* 558, *ἀκικυς* 564), but it is difficult to see how *ἀάσειεν* could have been so corrupted. It is better to read *ἐσάσειεν* from *ἄνω*; *ε. γ. ἐσάσειεν* 552 where *EK* have *ἐσαίσουσι*. In 568 we must accept *ἐσαίει* for *ἐσάσει*, *ἐσαίειν* for *ἐσάσειν*. The original present is *αἴω*, and *ἄνω* is an aorist (Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 250). Hdt. IX 93 has *ἐπῆσε* (*ἐπῆσε ABC*).

ἐξωνείρωσε the vulgate in Hippokr. V 196, where *CDHIK* have *-ασε*, should be derived from *ἐξωνείρω*. Littré reads *-ωξε*. A guttural stem in the verbs in *-ωσσω* denoting a disease is rare; but Plato has *ὀνειρώξις*, Aristotle *ὀνειρωγμός*. Cf. *ἀμβλυώσσω* and *ἀμβλυωγμός*.

μύζω has in Homer the aorist *ἐπέμυξαν* Δ 20 = Θ 457. In Hippokr. V 206 the vulgate *ἔμυσεν* (*ἔμυσσεν HIK*) has been regarded as a case of the confusion of a *δ* with a guttural stem. But after *ὀκόττε εἴη, ἔμυζε* is clearly right. On the same page, further down, *J* has *ἔμυσσε*, *DG* *ἔμυζε*, where only the imperfect is correct.

For *ἐπύρεσε* from *πυρέσσω* have a fever, which Kühn adopts, Littré accepts *ἐπυρέτηνεν* V 150, and the imperf. *ἐπύρεσσε* V 216, 230. *σ* forms in aorist active and passive of *εἰλίσσω* have been discarded by Littré.

There are not a few cases where later Ionic refuses to permit the substitution of *σ*, which was adopted by the post-classical (not Doric) language, *ε. γ. στήριζω, ἐστήριξα, -άμην* in Hippokr.

ἀρμόζω has a dental stem, despite *ἀρμογή*.

Conversely we have the guttural where -σ- was in place. ἐπίεσα occurs in Hdt. IX 63, Hippokr. III 436, IV 386 etc., but in III 434 πιέξις is the vulgate reading (here C and other MSS. have πιέξις, whence Littré πιέξις); πεπίεσμαι Hippokr. II 270, V 196, VII 520, but πεπιέγμαι III 432 bis, 436, 450, 560; ἐπιέσθην VI 368, Hdt. IV 11 (not πιασθέντας), but ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, &c. Hippokr. used πίειξίς for πίεισις III 434, 560, IV 272.

Ktesias, *Pers.* 29, 59 has a form not Ionic in παίξασα. Hdt. has πέπαισται (cf. Eust. 1594₄₆). παίζονται Xenoph. *Symp.* 9, 2 is well put into the mouth of a Syrakusan.

ἐναρίζω forms its future and aorist in Homer in ξ: and in O. K. 1733 (ch.) we find ἐπενάριξον. ἠνάρισεν in Anakreon's (?) eleg. 100₄ as well as Hipponax' (42) ἀπηναρίσθη and κατηγορισμένας in *Aias* 26 point to a dental stem. ἐναρίζω, like πολεμίζω, is made from an ο stem, and both have adopted ξ by analogy to στίζω, &c.

αἰδάζω would seem to have a dental stem properly (cf. αἰδάω); yet we find ἠδαξάμην Hdt. II 57, V 51, and similar forms elsewhere. The verb seems to fall into the class of those in -ζω which express sustained sounds. βάζω *speak*, certainly is derived from the stem βακ-, whence ἐμβιβάζαντες Hipponax 53 (ἐμβιβάζω). ἀλθέζονται (*sic*) Aret. 157 is from ἀλθέσσω, ἀλθεσθῆναι Hippokr. IV 126 from ἄλομαι.

véναγμαi, Hippokr. VII 520, is probably derived from a guttural stem; cf. ἐναξα φ 122, Hdt. VII 36. véνασμαι (MSS. *Ekkles.* 840), if correct, has -σμαι by analogy. Dindorf has νεναγμέναi. σπαδίξας in Hdt. V 25 has the stem σπαδικ-.

3. Short stem vowels before the sigma of the aorist. The short vowel is properly in place only in those primitive or denominative verbs whose stem ended originally in σ, and whose aorist (and future) σσ has, partly even in Homer, suffered a reduction to a single σ. Thus ἔξεσα represents ἔξεσ-σα, ἠκεσάμην, ἠκεσ-σάμην. This aorist is an inheritance from proethnic times¹, and thus the property of all the dialects. The later Ionic like Attic uniformly adopted the forms with a single σ, which in Homer coexist with those in σσ.

It is a matter of extreme difficulty to decide in all cases

¹ The σσ aorist has been compared by Bezenberger in *B. B.* III 159 with the Skt. aorist in -sisham. The original inflection was in the singular -sesm, in the plural -ssyt. Sanskrit (cf. *ayāsisham*) extended the singular forms into the plural, while in Greek the plural gained the upper hand over the singular forms. See also Fick in *G. G. A.*, 1881, p. 1429, Mahlow *K. Z.* XXVI 584, Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 266, and in opposition Brugmann *M. U.* III 83, who assents to the view of Leskien in Curtius' *Studien* II 67. Another view is brought forward by Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 115. See also Curtius' *Verbum* II 394, Johansson *D. V. G.* 207, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 105.

whether or not a stem ended in *sigma*¹. Some of the verbs arranged below as non-sigmatic stems are classed by Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 842, with those whose sigmatic ending is beyond doubt. Thus ἀλέω, ἐμέω and καλέω are referred (though doubtfully) by Brugmann to the first class; so too σπορέω and εἰρύω.

By analogy with the verbs with stems in *sigma* (or in a dental mute), σσ(σ) effected an entrance into verbs with vocalic stems². Thus we have ἐκάλε-σσα by analogy with ἐτέλεσ-σα, and ἐκάλεσα = ἐτέλεσα, as we have ἐπέεσσι, φερόντεσσι with -εσσι borrowed from στήθεσ-σι, ἔπεισ-σι. Such forms as καλέ-σσαι, ὁμό-σσαι appear, so far as the literary monuments are concerned, chiefly in the Homeric poems and in the literature dependent upon Homeric diction. In the dialects they are confined entirely to that branch of the Aiolians which settled in Lesbos and the adjacent mainland; though no reason may readily be discovered for any such restriction. If it was possible for Aiolic, it was possible for all the dialects in a primitive period to have conformed the inflection of καλέω to that of τελέω.

It has been held by some scholars³ that originally all verbs with vocalic stems had -σσ, whether the vowel was long or short. This hypothesis would lead to the assumption that λῦσαι was formed from *λῦσσαι by a law operative in all the dialects in the earliest period of their existence, and that καλέσσαι became καλέσαι in earlier or later periods of the dialect life of the language. That is, that Aiolic and Homeric Greek still represent the primitive, the other dialects a later stage of development. Of these contentions the latter at least may be demonstrated to be erroneous. Dialects other than Aiolic, which uniformly retain σσ after a short vowel in verbs in dental or sigmatic stems, show no trace of σσ in vocalic stems, either in their earliest or their latest monuments. Where the preceding vowel was long, as in λῦσαι, the non-expulsion of σ is due to the analogy of *ἐλυσ-σ, *ἐλυστ, &c.

As in the case of sigmatic, so in that of vocalic stems, the later Ionic refuses to adopt the σσ of the Homeric dialect.

In the development of the inflection of vocalic stems on the lines of those ending in σ, we may observe that the -σσ (σ) readily found a place in such verbs as had a root or stem of two syllables, such as ὤλε-σα. Much more noteworthy are those cases in which -εσ-, not -ησ-, appears in verbs derived from nouns with o stems and those that form some of their tenses by the addition of ε to the stem. Many of the latter verbs present considerable difficulty, unless we throw them all into the class

¹ Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

² The cause of this transference by analogy has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Between ἐτέλεσ-σα and ἐκάλε-σσα there is not absolute equality; and ἐκάλεσσα, as is shown in the note, is not original. The analogy assumed cannot have been effective until ἐτέλεσσα was reduced to ἐτέλεσα.

³ Mahlow, *K. Z.* XXVI 585, Hoffmann, *G. C. A.*, 1889, p. 880.

represented by ὄλεσα; but in some cases it may easily be shown that the -εσ- forms are late, that is, formed on the lines of ἐτέλεσα (or in some cases on the analogy of verbs of like function) in the post-Homeric, but pre-Herodoteian period. Such occurrences as show earlier -ησ- for later -εσ- are noted in the two lists which are given below. Conversely we sometimes find in the later dialect the original, in the earlier the later form, *e. g.* Herodoteian ἐστέρησα, Homeric ἐστέρησα. Herodotos does not always show short vowel + σ where Homer has short vowel + σ or σσ.

The two lists contain only such examples of aorists (active and middle) with a short vowel before σ, as we have observed in post-Homeric Ionic literature. As far as was possible, there has been included no aorist which may be ascribed to a present, actually existing or supposed, in -ζω¹ or -θω. A δ stem, too, has σ, not the epic σσ, in the later dialect, *e. g.* ἐκόμισαν Hdt. V 98, ἐκομίσαντο Iasos 1057.

Sigmatic Stems. ἀκέομαι Hdt. IV 90, Hippokr. IV 368, VI 588; ἀρέσκω Hdt. III 63 (Homer -σ- and -σσ-, Theog. 762 ἀρεσσάμενοι); ἀρκέω Hdt. II 115; γελᾶω Hdt. VIII 114 (ἐγέλασσε Theog. 9); (ἀμφι)έννυμι Hippokr. VII 194; ἔραμαι: Archil. 30 ἠράσσατο (cf. ἠρήσατο Lukian, *Syria dea* 17, from ἐράω). Cf. § 372. In Homer we find ἠρασάμην and ἠράσάμην. ζέω Hdt. I 59, VII 13, Hippokr. VII 158, 354, VIII 434; ζώννυμι Hippokr. IV 122; κορέννυμι Theog. 1158, Solon 1373; κεράννυμι Hdt. V 124, VII 151, Hippokr. I 578, VII 348, 422 (cf. κρήσας VII 254, κέκρημαι I 600, II 270, Hdt. III 106, ἐκρήθην Hippokr. I 616, Hdt. IV 152); [το μαίομαι has been referred by some ἐσμασάμενος in Hippokr. IV 198; this would if correct be the only occurrence in prose (cf. Hom. ἐσμασάσατο)]. Since Erotian glossed the word with ἐμβαλῶν, and Galen has ἐμβαλόμενος, it is much more probable that it is derived from ἐσμάσσω. Cf. VIII 148 where the participle occurs a second time]; μύω Hippokr. V 234 (ἐμύσα); ξέω Hippokr. VII 276; [ποθέω: Hdt. IX 22 ἐπόθησαν as in Homer O 219, β 375, δ 748, but III 36 ἐπόθησε and ἐπιποθήσειν V 93, with which cf. ἐπόθησα, ποθήσω in Xenophon, &c.; ποθέσομαι, ἐπόθησα are also Attic. ποθεινός is probably not an analogical formation. ἀπόθεστος ρ 296 is ἀπό-θεστος not ἀ-πόθεστος]; πτώ Hippokr. IV 218, V 406, VI 184, VII 82 (ῥ); σπάω Hdt. III 29, Hippokr. VI 210, 212. Aretaios 103 has the strange form σπήσαι; τελέω Hippokr. III 420 (the rare middle); τρέω Tyrnt. 1114, Hdt. VII 231, a verb not often found in early prose; φλάω Hippokr. III 218, VII 158.

Non-Sigmatic Stems. αινέω Hdt. I 80, 90, V 113, Thasos 726. The form with η is morphologically and chronologically older. ἤνησα Homer, Theog. 969; ἀλέω Hippokr. VI 454, VII 170, 266 (Homer ἄλεσσα); ἀνώω: Hdt. I 91 ἤνυσε;

¹ Curtius was prone to the method of defending the aorists with short vowel which referred the forms in question to supposed presents in -ζω. Thus, because it was derived from *προκαλέζω, he regarded προκαλέσατο, H 218, as a more archaic form than προκαλίζετο Γ 19. So γελᾶω he derived from *γελάζω, ἐκλυσθῆναι from *ἐλκίζω. Apart from these errors, it is, in fact, oftentimes difficult to set aside with certainty the reference to a δ or θ stem.

ἠνύσατο, Hippokr. IX 420, is now abandoned in Hdt. I 91; δαλομαι Hdt. VIII 121, II 4, VII 121; ἐλαύνω Hdt. I 59, I 77. Sim. Am. 17 has ἠλσάμην which Veitch (p. 240, cf. p. 224) puts under the head of ἐλαύνω regarding it as a syncopated form. It rather belongs to ἔλσα A 413; cf. Ibykos 55; ἔλκύνω Hdt. I 179, II 65, VII 167 (not ἔλκῦσαι), Hippokr. VI 46, IV 106; ἐμέω Hdt. I 133, Hippokr. II 696, VII 12, 28, 60, 86, 100, 110, 112, 194, 288, &c. (many cases); ἐμέσθαι II 494, a rare form (ἐμέσται fut., Ermerins with A C; ὑπερήμησα occurs in VII 10, 30, 32 (rejected by Veitch); εἰρύω Hdt. I 141, II 38, 136, III 30, IV 10, VII 24, VIII 96, IX 96, Hippokr. VI 166, 172, 194, 198, VII 16 (εἰρύωσαι and ἐρύσωσαι on the same page are read by Littré. For the latter II has εἰρύσωσαι), VII 552, VIII 108. Hdt. IV 8 and Arrian, *Ind.* 38_o have εἰρυσάμενος. [Leskien, Curtius, and Brugmann regard the stem of ἐρύω as ἐρυσ-]; ἰλάσσομαι Hdt. I 67, VIII 112; καλέω Hdt. II 107, VI 67; κρεμάννυμι (late) Hdt. V 77, IX 120, Hippokr. IV 86 (IV 290 not κρεμάσθαι with Galen, but κρέμνται). This may be from the stem κρεμασ-. μάχομαι in the future has μαχήσομαι in Hdt. The aorist form is, however, ἐμαχεσάμην, e. g. I 18, 82 and in about ten other passages. διαμαχεσώμεθα IX 48 is the only example of the aor. subj.; μεθύσκω Hdt. I 106; ὕζω Hippokr. VIII 488 (Attic ᾤζισσα represents the original form); ὕλλυμι, Hdt. II 121 (β) where προσπολέσθην, not -έσει, is correct, III 36; ὕμνυμι Hdt. I 165, Zeleia II 310; πετάννυμι Hdt. III 146; πονέω Hippokr. V 696 (A D), VI 146 (-η- in θ), 164 (-η- in E other hand), 176 (-η- in θ), 184 (-η- vulgo), but ἐπόνησα II 322 (-ε- vulgo), VI 290; πονήσατο Sim. Am. 74; ἐπόνησα is morphologically and chronologically (Homer) older than ἐπόνεσα; στορέννυμι (late) Hdt. VIII 99, IX 69; τανύω Hdt. V 25, Hippokr. VIII 458 (rare in prose). The present ταννύω cannot be defended (see Veitch). φθάνω, cf. § 592, 4; χαλάω Hippokr. V 258, 390.

4. *Variā.* On ἔδεξα, see § 142, on ἔτεισα, § 214, where it might have been noted that the present in the inscription from Zeleia is ἐκτίνω (II 311, 21). With this variation between present and aorist, we may compare that in Kretan: τίνω, τίνομαι, but τεισεῖ, &c. τεινύτω occurs in *B. C. II.* IX 11. The Hippocratic διέρσαι is difficult of defence; see §§ 224, 6, and 382.

Aorists in -α. From καίω we have ἔκανσα Hdt. VIII 33 (ἐκασάμην I 202, VIII 19, a form found here only; cf. epic ἐκρήμην), Hippokr. VII 242, 424. The epic ἔκηνεν in Hippokr. V 216 (vulgo ἔκνευ) is noteworthy, both on account of its appearance in prose (in the sense of κατακαίει III 258), and because of the retention of the η. ἔκαα < ἔκηα occurs in an Attic prose inscription (C. I. A. I 324, A I 43, C II 13) of the year 408 B. C.¹; and is the Old Attic literary form (tragedy and in a chorus in Aristoph.). ἔκανσα appears in a later Attic inscription, and in Thukydides, Plato, &c. In connexion with the use of the first aorist in Ionic literary prose, it may be noted that ἐκάνην was adopted by Ionic (Hdt. II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330, VIII 200), but not by Attic.

χέω yields ἔχεα Hdt. VIII 57, Hippokr. VII 422. The epic ἔχευεν appears in Archil. 103₂ (epod.), which Fick wrongly attempted to displace by ἔχευσεν, a form that does not occur till the Anthology. ἔχευσα in Homer has long been abandoned (cf. *v. l.* H 86, Ψ 45): so too ἀποχύσας Hippokr. VIII 200. Hdt. and Hippokr. have ἐχεάμην, which is a rare form in early prose. Other -α aorists are ἤνεικα, on which see § 608, and εἴπα.

ἀ should be noted in the following: Attic ἐξεράσθης Hippokr. VII 96, from

¹ ἐγκέ[αντι], not ἐγκή[αντι], as G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 527, writes.

ἐξεράω *pour out*. In ἐγήρασα Hdt. II 146, VII 114, γεγήρακε Hdt. 6, we observe an $\bar{\alpha}$ which recurs in γηράσμεν Sim. Keos 85₉ (eleg.), for which Bergk regarded γηρησέμεν as the proper Ionic form. But *ρη* never appears in this verb. May we assume that the Ionic $\bar{\rho}\alpha$ is due to the influence of ἐγήρα in Hom. and Hdt. VI 72 and the $\rho\alpha$ of γήρας, γηράσκω? ἐγήρα is an imperfect in form rather than an aorist (=Skt. *ajātil*), though γηράω in the present is not attested before Xenophon. If an aorist we should expect *ἐγήρη (cf. ἔδρη). We may assume as the present γήριμι (γηράς P 197) which in the imperfect (ἐγήρα) was inflected as a contract-verb. ἐγήρα became an aorist because of the disappearance of γήριμι, and the general use of γηράσκω (Hom., Sim. Am. 786, Hdt.). In H 148, P 197, ξ 67, Hdt. II 146 ἐγήρα has the aoristic function. We are unable to observe the shade of difference in use between γηράω (γήρας) and γηράσκω (γήρασις) noted by Ammonios. On γηρείς, see § 636, 2.

It is generally believed that in παλήσειε VIII 21, Herodotos has preserved the only¹ occurrence of a verb παλέω = παλαίω. ἐκπαλήσασι Hippokr. III 552, ἐκπαλήση IV 240, which were formerly referred to this present, are, we believe, now regarded by most scholars as derived from an ἐκπαλέω < ἐκπαλής, which is to be connected with πάλ-λω. If παλήσειε is from παλέω, the latter must be held to be an 'Ionic' form, and placed in the same category as ὄρέω, τολμέω, &c. But nothing prevents us from deriving παλήσειε from παλάω and regarding the latter as the denominative of πάλη. παλαίω is not a denominative from πάλη, as Curtius, *Verbum* I 340, held, because of the retention of ξ as ι before ω . Whether Aiolic πάλαμι (Hdn. II 930₅) is anything more than the equivalent of παλάω may well be doubted. That this Aiolic form is the πάλαμι which is set up by some as the original form, which was changed to παλαίω from the analogy of *κναίμι, κναίω, is out of the question. The source of verbs in -αίω, some of which have parallels in -άω, e. g. χαλαίω, σταλαίω, is still under dispute. Cf. Johansson, *D. V. G.* 176, who maintains that παλαίω has followed the lines of development of such primitives as κναίω, ψαίω; and latterly, Solmsen in *K. Z.* XXIX 98, who thinks παλαίω is from *παλαίσ-ω, παλήσειε from παλήω. These two forms are, Solmsen contends, amplifications of the root *pal* by -αις and -η.

The first aorist ἀνέγνωσα is found only in Ionic prose, and only in the sense *persuaded*², e. g. Hdt. I 68, &c., Hippokr. IV 80. The present ἀναγινώσκω is also employed as the present of ἀνέγνωσα (cf. Hdt. VII 10 (θ)), but is not, like that aorist, confined to Ionic. ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, Hdt. VIII 110, occurs in the meaning *had been persuaded*, ἀναγνωσθεῖς = ἀναπεισθεῖς, IV 154.

συνάξαντες Hdt. VII 60, if from ἄγω, is the only example in the Ionic of Hdt. of the first aorist. The preferable reading is *συννάξαντες* from *συννάσσα*.

¹ Hesyehios has, looking to the passage in Hdt., παλήσειε διαφθαρήη; and also ἐπάλλησεν ἐφθάρη (where ἐπάλλησεν is to be read), πεπαληκέναι ἐκπεσειν (in Photios = ἐκπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα), πεπαλημέναι βεβλαμμέναι.

² Cf. Greg. Kor. § 95. The schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Villoison's *Anecd. Graec.* II 179 erroneously states that ἀνέγνων means *persuaded*, in Hdt. I 87, where ἀνέγνω is wrongly cited for ἀνέγνωσε. Bast quotes from the Et. Leiden. ἀνάγνωσις . . . παρὰ δὲ Θουκυδίδη ἢ ἀνάπεισις, καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸ ἀναπεῖθαι (!). Suidas' remark (s. v. ἀνάγνωσις): ἀναγινώσκειν παρὰ ῥήτορσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναπεῖθαι refers to Andokides. M. Schmidt refers the Hesyehian gloss ἀναγῶναι ἀναπεῖσαι to Hippokrates IV 80, where we read ἀναγῶσαι. Erotian and Galen have ἀναγῶναι μεταπεῖσαι, μεταδιδάξαι. Hesyehios has also ἀναγινώσκειν πεῖθαι.

Instances of aorists formed from a stem with the increment ϵ or otherwise noteworthy are:—*ἐφθίνησα* Hippokr. V 468, *ἐκέρδησα* Hdt. IV 152, *καθευδήσαι* Hippokr. VII 198, a verb rarely employed in prose. An unusual form in early Greek is *ἔζησα* Hippokr. II 112; *ῆσα*, Anakr. 148, is rare (Pollux III 98: *ῆδω Ἰωνικὸν καὶ τὸ ῆσε (ῥιγὸς ῆδε) σπάνιον μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν, Ἀνακρέων δ' αὐτὸ εἶρηκεν, Ἰων καὶ ποιητῆς ἀνὴρ*). From *ἀφάσσω* we have *ἤφασα* (*ἀφασον* Hdt. III 69). Littré's emendation *ἀφασσῆση*, Hippokr. VII 326, would imply a confusion with *ἀφάω* (or a verb *ἀφασσάω*). θ has *σαφάσση*, Vat. *ἑσαφῆσση*, whence Ermerins *ἑσαφάσση*.

594.] Second Aorist.

πῶμιω (§ 129) yields *ἔτεμον* in inscriptions, but Herodotos has *ἔταμον* II 162, IV 201, VII 132, &c. In III 69 the inscriptional form is well supported. Hippokrates has *ἔταμον*, e.g. VII 70, 152. *ᾠφλεε*, Hdt. VIII 26 (in *Rz*), is a false form, apparently due to a confusion between *ᾠφλεῖν* and *ᾠφλειν* which was a late present. Cf. Cobet, *Var. Lect.*, 129. *ἐνείχεε*, Hdt. I 118, it is vain to attempt to defend, though found in all MSS. Archil. 73 has *ἤμβλακον*. In Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides of Keos, and the tragic poets the form is *ἤμπλακον*. No present *ἀμπλακίσκω* is found, but in Doric we have *ἀμβλακίσκω*. From the aorist form as a point of departure, it was sought to extend the verb into other tenses, but the attempt was not successful. Bloomfield (*A. J. P.* VI 46) connects *ἀμβλακεῖν* with Skt. *mlecchati*, and suggests that the π of *ἤμπλακον* is due to association of the word by popular etymology with *πλέκω* or *πλάζω*.

ἔχαιον, poetic like *χαρδαίνω*, occasionally appears in Ionic prose. Hdt. has *ἔσπον*. On *ἔπεσον*, see § 607.

595.] Perfect.

On augment and reduplication, see §§ 578 ff., 583 ff.

1. Endings. *ᾶσι* is the regular termination of the third person plural in prose (e.g. *Ἰασος* 1055), and poetry, except Xenophanes' *πεφρήμασιν* and *μεμαθήκασι*¹, formations similar to Homeric *λελόγχασι* λ 304, *πεφύκασι* η 114, and like forms in Empedokles, Antimachos, and in the dialect of Phokis. This *-ᾶσι* is equivalent to Skt. *-āṣi* of reduplicating verbs, and has been forced into the perfect from its old and proper home in the present².

Assimilation of the perfect to the aorist ending (σ -*αν*) occurs in *παρέληφαν*, Smyrna, Ditt. *Syll.* 17138 (246–222 B. C.). The form is late, not specially Ionic. In late Lakonian we find *διατετέλεκαν* (Ditt. *Syll.* 2553).

2. The 'second' perfect, the older formation which preserves unaspirated a final κ , γ , π , β of the stem, appears in later Ionic as in other dialects.

¹ Cited by Hdn. II 1619; not in Bergk.

² Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 394, cf. Osthoff, *M. U.* I 100, Monro, *H. G.* § 7.

Examples of the unaspirated forms are *ἔηγα* (see § 582), *ἔοργα*, *ἔρρωγα*¹ (not in Homer, but in Archil. and Hippokr.), *κέκραγα* (with non-Ionic *ā* in Hippokr. VIII 66), *λέληκα* Sim. Amorg. 7₁₅, *πέπρηγα* *have fared* (*πέπρηχα* *have done* is also Ionic), *οἶκα* (see § 582), *πέφευγα*, *τέθηπα*, *τέτηκα*, *τέτριγα*. *ἀνέφωγα* is found only in a letter of Hippokr. (IX 394), where it has the rare active sense.

Other examples of the second perfect worthy of note for various reasons are *διέφθορα* = *am ruined* Hippokr. VIII 246, as in Homer, *δέδρομα* Sim. Amorg. 7₂₉, whereas both Hdt. and Hippokr. have the later *κ* form *δεδρόμηκα*, *λέληθα* Sim. Amorg. 7₉ and Hdt., but not in Homer, *ἐλήλυθα* = *epic ἐλ-* and *εἰλήλουθα*, *πέφηνα* (not *πέφαγκα*) rare in prose, *ἔρηρα* Hippokr. IX 366; *δέδιε* Hippokr. VIII 36, *δεδιέναι* V 414, *δεδιώς* VI 210 (rejected by Littré). *τέτροφα* is the perfect of *τρέφω* Hippokr. VI 380. *γέγονα*, not *γεγένημαι* (Hippokr. IX 382), is Herodotean. On *ἔωθα*, *εἴωθα*, see § 582. The absence of *γέγηθα* from Ionic prose is noteworthy, as this form occurs in the epic, in Attic prose and poetry, and in Doric. *γέγραφα*, in a late inscription from Priene (*British Museum Inscriptions*, III, 1, no. 4127) might have been mentioned under § 362.

3. The 'first,' or aspirated, perfect is foreign to the epic dialect, but appears in the later Ionic.

Forms worth special notice are *δια-* and *εμπέπλοχε* Hippokr. IX 190, and *εμπέπλεχε* 192 (*εμπέπλεκε* three MSS.). In the case of the forms with ablaut there are variants *-πλεχε*. Hdn. II 356₂₁ = Choirob. 548₁₃, calls *πέπλοχα*, &c. Attic, while *πέπλεχα* (-εξα Lentz), *πέπεμφα*, *βέβρεχα* are referred to the *Κοινή*. The scholiast on H 346 (*τετρηχυῖα*) says that *τέτρηχα* is the result of 'Ionic syncope' for *τετάραχα*. The later Ionic used *τετάραγμα* (Hdt., Hippokr.).

4. Whatever the origin of the *κ* perfect², the forms that served as models for the ever increasing spread of this formation must be sought in those perfects which are derived from stems in long vowels. Even in the case of vocalic stems, the only stems which in Homer have *κ* in this tense, the epic dialect does not invariably adopt the *κ* form. The following were inherited by the later dialect from Homer.

βέβηκα, *βέβληκα*, *βέβρωκα*, *δεδάηκα*, *δεδείπνηκα*, *δέδυκα*, *ἔστηκα*, *μέμυκα*, *πέφυκα*, *ῥῥωκα* or *οῖχωκα*, *τέθηκα*, *τετύχηκα* (certain only in *κ* SS; in P 748 -*χηώς* Herakl. Miles.). In Homer the *κ* forms are used in the singular number with but rare exceptions.

The perfect without *κ*, which in the participle of vocalic stems is more frequent in Homer than that with *κ*, was regarded by the ancient grammarians as a specific mark of the Ionic dialect. Homeric forms are noticed by Theognostos in An. Ox. II 151₃₂; Choirob. 829₁₁ (cf. Hdn. II 296₂₁ ff.); An. Ox. I 99₃₃, II 355₇, Schol. L on E 698, Et. M. 193₂₅, 501; Et. Gud. 106₁₃, 121₇, 318₁₉; Eust. 282₃₈, 443₂₉ (cf. 561₁₁, 595₂₁), 1700₄₈ (cf. 1714₁₉). The *ω* of *τεθνειώτος* was held to be Ionic, Eust. 1336₆₂. On *πεφυζώς*, see § 377, 4, note.

¹ Bekker's *ἔρρηγμα* Hdt. II 12, which suggests the Herakleian *ἔρρηγα*, is not to be defended.

² Cf. Johansson, *Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde*, for the fullest discussion of the subject.

From the analogy of the perfects with κ preceded by a long vowel, were formed those with κ after a short vowel, e.g. ἀπολώλεκα, ἐλήλακα, ἐμήμεκα, verbs whose future and aorist had σ preceded by a short vowel. In such forms as πῆπλῦκα, the point of departure was the perfect middle. Finally stems ending in a dental explosive (κεκόμικα) fell into line.

In the following note are given forms noteworthy for various reasons.

Hdt. uses a late formation λελάβηκε III 42, 65, &c., = Attic εἴληφα and εἴληφα < *σέσληφα. With λελάβηκε, cf. λελάβηκας Euseb. Mynd. 51, λάφεται Miletos 1001, κατελάβηθη Zeleia 1137. Hippokrates III 308 has ἀναλελάβηται according to the MSS. In the middle Hdt. has ἀπολελαμμένοι IX 51. On νένωκα Hdt. III 6, from νενόηκα, see § 296. ἄδηκα, Hippon. 100, is the only occurrence of this tense-form in literature. δεδοίκωσι is found in Hippokr. IV 166, δεδοικώς Hdt. I 107. On πεπλώκαμεν, see § 78, on εἶσχηκα, § 216. In Ionic prose we find ἀπέρηκα, -εῖρημαι, not ἀπηγόρευκα, -ευμαι. τέθηκα appears in composition with a preposition (Hippokrates). γεγήρακα is used by Hrd. 651 (see § 593, 4). On ὀρώρηκα and ἀκήκουκα in Hrd., see §§ 582, 583, 2.

596.] Pluperfect.

The first person ends in $-εα^1$ (ἔωθεα, ἤθεα Hdt.), the second would end in $-εας^2$ in the dialect of the fifth century, we venture to believe. κατειλήφεις³ Hippokr. IX 382 contains the later $-εις$. In the third person $-εε^4$ makes its appearance in about twenty-five verbs in Hdt., whose MSS. reject the form in $-ει^5$. Examples are ὀπώπεε, ἐτετεύχεε (cf. τετυχίκης Hippokr. III 434), ἀκηκόεε, ἐστήκεε ($-ει$ Hippokr. V 150).

In Hdt. VIII 79 for προακήκοε of all MSS. we read $-όει$ (cf. VII 208). Occasionally the close association in form between imperfect and pluperfect (cf. ἐπεινόθεε, ἐγέγωνε in Homer) caused such readings as ἐλήλυθε VIII 50 (all MSS.).

The termination $-εε$ reappears in Lukian's *Syr. Ilea* ἐγεγόνεε 4, 25, ἐπεπόνθεε 25, ἔωθεε 35, ἀπολελοίπευε 26, Euseb. ἀπεστήκεε 9. Hippokrates differs from Herodotos in that he adopts $-ει$, e.g. ἐμπειφύκει II 246, ἀφωρμήκει V 122, ἐεκράγει V 396 (with

¹ Cf. Apollon. Adv. 1917 (Schneider), Hdn. II 326₂₀ = Choïrob. 600₃₄ (cf. 564₆₇, 860₂₂), Hdn. II 835₂₃ = Choïrob. 866₂₁; An. Ox. IV 211₂₀, An. Par. III 326₂₃, IV 232₂₀, Et. Mag. 386₁₅, Et. Gud. 236₂₁, Eust. 50₂₇, 718₁₈, 1589₁₁, cf. 1946₆; but in 881₆₆ εἰρήκη and εἰστήκη are put down as Ionic. εἰστήκειν Hippokr. IX 352, is late.

² $-εε$ is fabricated from the later $-εις$ by Choïrob. 601₂₇ (cf. Et. Mag. 386₂₃), who was misled by $-εε$ for $-ει$.

³ Thus Littré and Ermerins. καταλελάβηκεις, which occurs in four MSS., recalls Hdt. λελάβηκεε III 42.

⁴ Cf. Hdn. II 193₂₃ = Choïrob. 560₇ (cf. 601₁₁); Et. Mag. 386₂₁.

⁵ Homeric $-ει$ (δδάδει, ὀρώρει) Eust. 152₃₁₃, who is there treating of the reduplication. Asios 4 has εἰστήκει. Homeric $-ειν$ (ἐστήκειν, βεβλήκειν) is referred to by Choïrob. 560₁.

Attic *ā*), *ἐγεγόνει* IX 382¹. The single example from the inscriptions² is of too late a date to render certain, what on the whole seems probable enough, that in the ordinary, inartistic speech of the fifth century *-εε* had yielded to *-ει*.

Plural forms are not at hand in the case of the first person³. *συνηδέατε* occurs in Hdt. IX 58. *-εσαν*⁴, not *-εισαν*, is Ionic. Thus Hdt. has *ἑώθεσαν*, *ἐγεγόνεσαν*, *ἠλώκεσαν*, Hippokr. *μεμαθήκεσαν* I 592, *προηριστήκεσαν* II 290, *ἐξεπεφύκεσαν* V 124 (Littre *-εισαν*).

597.] Subjunctive.

Present. *-ησι* appears in Theog. 139, *ἔθελησι* (Bergk with most MSS. *-η-*, but *A* has *-η-*), and in *ἐλαύνησι* Hdt. I 188, in such excellent MSS. as *A B C*. The form has no justification in prose.

Aorist. Traces in later Ionic of the original identity of the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative are given in § 239. The proper form of the aorist of *τίνω* is *ἔτεισα*, as is evident from *ἐκτείωσι* Zeleia 113₃₅ (cf. § 214), dating shortly after 334 B.C. An earlier and Attic example of *ἐκτείωσι* is found in C. I. A. II 14, A 8, 13 (before 378 B.C.). Hdt. has *ἐπιβέωμεν* VII 50.

Perfect. Hippocrates, IV 166, makes use of the rare form *δεδοίκωσι*. *δεδοικώς* is rare in prose (Hdt. I 107, Hippokr. II 76). Other examples of the simple (not periphrastic) form are *τετυχίκης* Hippokr. III 434, *βεβρώκη* VIII 350, *τεθήγη* VI 654 (conj.), *ἐξελήλυθη* VII 24, *ἐκπεπτώκη* IV 240, VIII 148.

ἀνώγωμεν Hdt. 3₃₁ may be noted because this verb is used in Ionic prose (Hdt. VIII 104 *ἀρώγη*). Hdt. 7₁₀₁ has a present *ἀνώγουσα*; cf. *ἀρώγει* Hdt. VII 104 (*ἀρωγε*?). In Hdt. III 81 the imperfect *ἄρωγε* is probably perfect. On *ἄρωγε* see Mekler *Beitr. z. Bild. d. gr. Verb.* p. 48. Danielsson *Nord. tidskr. f. filol.* VII 138, refers *ἀνώγω* to *ἀνάγω*.

598.] Optative.

1. An occurrence of the rare future optative is *ἦξει* Hdt. I 127 (*ἦξει Rd*).

2. The endings of the first aorist optative are *-εως*, *-ειε* (*-αι*?)⁵,

¹ These forms show that *ἐλελήθη*, the vulgate reading in III 418, is an error for *-ει*; cf. V 208. *ἐγεγόνει* appears in Menekrates, *ἑδεδίδει* Arctaios 81.

² *ἐπηγοράκει* Erythr. 206 A 17.

³ *-ειμεν* Choirob. 564₂₈.

⁴ Hdn. II 279₃ = Choirob. 606₁₁; An. Ox. IV 193₁₆, An. Par. IV 19₁₁, Et. Mag. 386₄₃.

⁵ *ρίψαι* II 100 may be read as an infinitive, *συμβουλευόσαι* III 156 is due to Stephanus. Both are adopted by Dindorf. *ρίψαι* is generally accepted by recent editors (Baehr *ρίψαι*).

-ειαρ, and -αιερ. Hdt. has ποιήσειαρ (cf. Teos 156 B 30), ὀρμήσειαρ, etc., with -ειαρ as in Homer. This ending is therefore not specifically Aiolic (cf. Hdn. II 823₁₀, &c.). διαφυλάξαιερ Hdt. VI 101, ἀποδέξαιερ VIII 35, συνενέκαιερ VII 152 (the only cases of -αιερ) contain an ending constructed from the model -οιερ.

3. In the second aorist we may note εὔροίης, adopted by Littré in Hippokr. I 590. Here there is the *v. l.* εὔροις which is adopted VIII 326; cf. Hrd. 6₇₃. Hdt. uses εἵποι not εἶπαι.

4. Herodotos does not use the perfect active optative form in -οιην. Cf. περιεληλύθοι, βεβρώκοι, πεποιήκοι, ἡλώκοι; in the plural -οιεν in πεποιήκοιεν. τεθναίην occurs in Mimn. 1₂, καθεστήκοι in Hippokr. IX 380. Hdt. has both εἰδέεισαν and εἰδέειεν, § 702.

599.] Imperative.

In Anacr. 75 we find κλῦθι, a form occurring in Homer and tragedy; πῶθι Hrd. 1₈₂. From εἶπον we have the second aorist form εἰπέ Hdt. V 111. προειπέτω Hippokr. IV 376, but κατειπάτω B. P. W. 1889, 1194, l. 7. Hrd. 3₂₆ has εἶπα. A pure perfect optative is ζυμμεμυκέτω Hippokr. IX 54.

Infinitive.

Some of the ancients held that the occurrence of -μεν in Homer was warrant of its Ionic character. Cf. An. Ox. I 131₃₂ ἐλκέμεν, 132₇ εὔρέμεν. So too the Aiolic -μεναι is called Ionic (and Doric) in An. Par. III 145₁₃. On the occurrences of these two forms in elegiac, not in iambic poetry, see § 700.

600.] Future.

1. Liquid Verbs. -έειν is the usual traditional reading in Herodotos and Hippokrates, though contraction had ensued in the fifth century. Hdt. has ἀμυνέειν VII 168, αἰσχυνέειν IX 53 (the active is rare in prose), Hippokr. ἀποφανέειν VII 530, ἐπικρυνέειν IV 630.

2. Verbs in -ίζω. After the close vowel ι, εε are merged into ει. καταγιείν Hdt. I 86, καταπλουτιείν VI 132, ἀτρεμιείν VIII 68 (β)¹, θεσπιείν VIII 135², μακαριείν IX 93.

3. Verbs in -άζω. From δικάζω we have the noteworthy ἀποδικῶν Hdt. I 97. In Attic the σ was never dropped in this verb, and Hdt. has δικασόμενοι I 96. The Ionians seem to have pursued a different course from the Attics in differentiating the

¹ Here PR have ἀτρεμιείν.

² Stein adopts θεσπιείν, the reading of L, by a strange inconsequence.

active and middle forms. Late writers contract the future middle. *κατασκευᾶν* appears in a late document from Olbia, C.I.G. 2058 B 29, 53. Hdt. has *διασκευᾶν* I 79 (*σκευάζω* is late).

601.] First Aorist.

Hdt. has *εἶπαι* and *εἶπεῖν*, the very rare *οἶσαι* in *ἀνοῖσαι* I 157, a correction of *ἀνώσαι* of the MSS. Cf. *ἄνοιστος* VI 66. In Homer we have *οἶσον*, in Arkadian *ἐποίση* (subj.).

602.] Second Aorist.

The infinitive in *-έειν*¹, while not unknown to the MSS. of the early Ionic prosaists and the pseudo-Ionists, occurs nowhere else in the monuments of Greek prose literature. It is certain that this form did not first appear in a prose text. Whether it came into existence in a pre-Herodoteian period of the history of the Homeric text (as seems probable), or whether it must be ascribed to a later date, cannot be definitely determined. At all events the *-έειν* forms in Homer represent a misunderstanding of the old *-έειν*. They were foisted upon the epic language by false transcription of EEN through the analogy of *φιλέειν* and congeners². That *-έειν* was substituted for EMEN, as has often been maintained, is not probable.

No Ionic inscription has any other form than *-εῖν*. In Theognis 426 one MS. has *ἰδέειν*, and in 1190 one (K) has *προφυγέειν*. The genuine forms are amply attested. In the elegiac poets we find everywhere else *-εῖν*, and no iambographic poet has *-έειν*. This holds good of some sixteen verbs occurring fifty-one times (elegy 43, iambs 8).

In Herodotos by far the greater number of second aorists end in *-εῖν*. In some cases, however, all the MSS. agree in the longer form³.

That these forms are due to the activity of pseudo-Ionizing grammarians and scribes, who held that the language of Hdt. was the language of Homer, is clear from the fact that Hdt. is never made guilty of an attempt to create an *ἐαθέειν*, an *εἰπέειν*,

¹ Et. M. 465₁₉ (cf. 224₅₁), Et. Gud. 270₃₂, An. Ox. I 216₃ refer *ἰδέειν*, *θανέειν* to the Ionians.

² It is but seldom that any aorist in *-έειν* is followed in Homer by a word beginning with a vowel. This makes against our assuming that *-έειν* is a genuine contamination of an aorist *-εεν* (*ε-φεν* or *ε-σεν*) and the present *-έειν* (cf. Rhodian *θέμειν* by contamination of *-μειν* and *-ειν*).

³ The following are only those verbs in which there is absolute consensus. *βαλέειν* II 111, III 12, 35 (*bis*), *συμ-* II 10, III 32, 160 (cf. IV 42), *ἀπο-* III 41 (cf. VIII 65), *ὑπερ-* VII 168; *έλέειν* I 36; *ἀποθανέειν* I 85, VII 229; *ἰδέειν* V 24; *παθέειν* II 141, VII 11 (cf. VI 12, VII 17); *πεσέειν* II 141, III 53, 81, V 86, *συμ-* III 120, *μετα-* V 61; *φαγέειν* II 141; *ἀποφυγέειν* I 91, *δια-* I 10, 204, VIII 88. In other passages the correct forms of each of these verbs occur, though not without the *v. l.* *-έειν*. All of these *-έειν* forms are Homeric, though the prepositions do not always agree.

or an ἀγαγέειν, forms which could not find admission into the hexameter save by a synizesis which had equalized them with the ordinary -εῖν. The occurrence of these (false) Homerisms in Hdt. is a signal instance of the effort to render poetical the diction of the historian. The 'sweetness' of the Ionic dialect was due, according to the rhetoricians, to its poetical nature (ὅ γὰρ τῆς αἰσῆς ποιητικῆ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδεῖα). Herodotos' ποικιλία became his perversion.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists there are to be found many occurrences of -έειν. The MSS., however, often pronounce against their correctness.

Herakleitos 6 has εἰπεῖν, 114 καταλιπεῖν; Demokr. 188 λαβεῖν (Stob.), 70 τυχεῖν (Stob.), but 135 ἀμαρτέειν, 201, κακοπαθείειν (both in Stob.); Diogen. 2 εἰπεῖν. In Hippokrates' Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις, ἐπίδ. τρίτον there are no traces of -έειν. In περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων, II 224 (cf. I 620), προκαταμαθεῖν occurs, but in II 290 ἀφελέειν is adopted by Littré, and I 624 κακοπαθείειν (-εῖν is however found in A in both places); in περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων, III 258, 260, ἀφελέειν is found without a variant. Elsewhere -εῖν is, we believe, in the genuine works, the only form. In the supposititious treatises, as well as in those that are genuine, we have often observed -έειν in Littré's text, e.g. IV 184. ἀγαγέειν was not foisted upon Hippokrates in IV 142, where χανέειν occurs. Aretaios has παθέειν 12, θιγέειν 126, ἰδέειν and ἰδεῖν 126, ξυμβαλέειν 241, Lukian's *Syr. ἡεα* παθέειν 25, Euseb. Mynd. ἀπελθεῖν 1, εὔρειν 13, 61, λαβεῖν 51, κατασχέειν 53.

603.] Perfect. On the ending -ραι in the perfect of θνήσκω, see § 700. τεθηλέναι occurs in Arrian, *Ind.* 404.

604.] Participle.

1. *Future.* In verbs derived from liquid stems, -εω-, -εο- are uncontracted, e.g. ἐρέων Hdt. VII 49, ἀγγελέοντα IV 14, ἀμυνέοντες IX 60. From -ίζω verbs we have ὀπωριεῦντες IV 172, 182. οἶσων is found in II 91.

2. *First Aorist.* Greg. K. § 72 says that εἶπας, not εἰπών, is the Ionic form. In Hdt. I 27 εἰπόντα is, however, correct (εἶποντα A²). εἶπας is very common (also in Euseb. Mynd. 1). νήσας, not νηήσας, Hdt. I 50, II 107 (νηέω is not later Ionic). On πρῶσας, see § 267, 4. Hippokr. VII 254 has κρήσας (θ κινῶς) as η 164 κρήσαι. Cf. ἐκρήθην.

3. *Second Aorist.* ἀποκλάς Anakr. 17 recalls Homeric οὐτάμενος, γηράς, and is formed as if the present were ἀπόκλημι.

4. *Perfect.* The grammarians¹ state that the Ionians had οι, not υι, in the feminine of the perfect participle. The only support for this view to be found in the monuments is the reading of θ in the following participles in Hippokrates: ἐωθοίης

¹ Hdn. II 368₂₁ = Choïrob. 832₂₅ (ανά = Bekk. An. III 1292₁₅).

VI 200, ἐωθόσαν 204 (-υι- *vulgo*, -ει- *K*)¹, τετοκοίη and τετοκοίαν VIII 10, προσπεπτωκοίαι VIII 312, with which cf. ἐκπεπτωκυία IV 80. Elsewhere we find only the -υι- forms, with perhaps a variant -ει-, e.g. ἀρηρῦαί IX 394, ἀρηρῦή IX 366 (-ει- *v.l.*), διεφθορῦή VIII 246.

Lobeck² held that the -οι- forms represent merely the confusion between υι, οι, and υ that prevailed in later times. This is not probable. Perhaps -υια was changed to -οια under the influence of -ως of the masculine. G. Meyer (*Gram.* p. 308) cites φιάλαι πεπονηκόται from a Delian inscription (*B. C. H.* VI 51, 207), where a much more audacious assault has been made by the masculine. In Lakonian we find βίδεοι (*i.e.* *Fίδεοι*) and βίδουοι, ἰδουίοι and ἰδουοι *overseer* (mentioned by Brugmann *Grundr.* II p. 412, 4).

On a late Oropian inscription ('Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, 3 ff.) we meet with διεργωγεία, ἀποκαταγεία. The -εία forms occur in inscriptions from Thera (ἐπιτετελεκεία, ἐστακεία, συναγαγοχεία), from Herakleia (ἐρρηγεία), and from Attika (γεγονεία). The Oropian forms may therefore be Attic. ἐργωγεία as well as Herakleian ἐρρηγεία retain the long vowel which is unoriginal in the feminine. We expect ἐρράγεια; cf. Homeric ἀρηρῶς, ἀραρῦα. In Hippocratic ἀρηρῦα the masculine form prevailed. The relation of the fem. -εία to the ordinary -υία is to be explained thus: the fem. nom. was -εία, the gen. -υιᾶς, whence -εία, -είας and -υία, -υίας. Cf. J. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 329 ff.

Later Ionic generally adopts the forms of the first in preference to those of the second perfect.

βεβρωκός is the only κ participial form in Homer which reappears in later Ionic (Hippokr. VI 268). The perfect and pluperfect active and middle of βιβρώσκω are well represented in Ionic. The following cases of the κ form in the post-Homeric dialect may be noticed. Homer has τεθνηκός, -ηῶτος and -ηότος (and Theog. 1205), -ηῶτι and -εῶτι, -ηῶτα and -ηότα, -ηῶταν, -ηῶτας and -ηότας; -ηύης, -ηύϊαν (not -κυίαν δ 734). In post-Homeric Ionic we find the κ form in τεθνηκυίαν Hippon. 29, cf. τεθνηκός Theog. 1230. The prose forms in use are τεθνεός Hdt. IX 120 (τεθνεός Theog. 1192), τεθνεῶτος V 68, τεθνεῶτα Hippokr. VIII 146, τεθνεός Hdt. I 112 (-εός in *B*), Hippokr. V 212, VII 350, VIII 220 (-ιδός in *θ*). Cf. ἐστηκυία and ἐστεός, § 701. Homer has βεβαός, -αῶτα, βεβῶσα, and -βεβανία. Hippokr. III 282 has ἐπιβεβῶτα [cf. Attic βεβός, διαβεβῶτας IV 184. The κ form appears in βεβηκός Archil. 581 (tetr.), βεβηκός 563 (tetr.). πεφυῶτας, -υία in Hom., πεφυκυή Hdt. II 56, -κυίας Hippokr. epist. 163. Homer has πεπτεῶτας and -εῶτ' from πίπτω. Hekat. 360, Hippokr. III 434 have πεπτωκός; but in Hippokr. VIII 146 we find in *θ* and four other MSS. πεπτηῶτα (Littre -ηῶτα) which recalls πεπτηῶτας in Apoll. Rhod. III 321. Is the form with -ηω- due to confusion with πτήσω? Attic has both πεπτωκός and πεπτῶς < ᾤ-φῶς, as it has τεθνηκός and τεθνεός.

¹ In VI 228 *θ* has ἐωθουη = υίη.

² *Pathol.* II 25, note 5. Lobeck compares ψοῖαι ψυῖαι and τρίττοια = τριπτήα. Cf. *δοιοῖν Choeph.* 944 (*M*).

Middle Voice.

605.] Indicative Present.

-*εαι*¹ < -*εσαι* remains uncontracted in *φαίρειαι* Archil. epod. 94, *χαρίζεται* 75₁₂ Troch., *ἔρχεται* Theog. 1374. In Anakr. 12 B, *διρέαι*, or *δίρεαι*, has been formed from *διρέεαι*. Contraction has set in in *προεκπύνη* (or -*ἔαι*) Sim. Amorg. 22 and in several forms in Anakreon:—*ἐπίωτρεφεται* 24, *πέτεται* 9, *βόσκειται* 755, *ταρταλίξει* 78 (if Love is addressed). *ἐπίστη* Theog. 1085 (cf. below) occurs at the end of the hexameter. Cf. *ἄρχη* I 102, *ἔλκη* σ 10, &c. *ἐρεύχη* 647 and *βούλει* (?) 56 appear in the Herodas papyrus.

In Homer, whenever -*η* occurs it is almost always followed by a vowel: hence we may read *ε'(αι)*. Most of the instances of *ἔαι* before a consonant occur in *η* and the *Odyssey*.

In the Ionic prose of Hdt. -*εαι* is preserved after a consonant and after diphthongs (e.g. *διακελεύεται* I 42, VIII 80, *βούλειαι* I 206, *βουλεύεται* VII 12, *συμ-* VII 235). After a vowel we find an unwarranted -*εαι*, as in *φοβέεται* I 39 even in good MSS., *δέεται* VII 161. *P* sometimes prefers the longer form, where the other MSS. adopt the form shortened by hyphaeresis, e.g. *προθυμέαι* I 206, *ἐπαινέαι* III 34, *εὐφρανέαι* IV 9, *φοβέαι* VII 52, &c. *R* has *διαίρειαι* VII 50 where Stein reads -*έαι*, as elsewhere. Lukian, *Syr. dea* 18, has *λίσσειαι*. -*ει* is not Herodoteian, at least in the present (see § 607); but *βούλει* appears in Hippokr. II 36, in Herodas 56, and Ion *ἐπιδ.* 1. In Hippokrates at least we doubt its correctness. In pseudo-Ionic literature this ending is more frequent. Cf. Hippokr. epist. 17₂₀. The grammarians of the Roman period regarded -*ει* as specifically Attic.

In verbs whose themes end in -*ᾶ*, Ionic has -*ε(σ)αι* for -*α(σ)αι*² (§ 688, 1, note 2). Thus Hdt. has *ἐπίσται* VII 104, 135. This -*εαι* is contracted in *ἐπίστη* Theog. 1085. In the Doric of Pindar we have *ἐπίστα* from -*ασαι*, e.g. Pyth. III 80, but *ἐπίστασαι* VIII 7 as usually in Attic. Aischylos however has *ἐπίστα* as well as *ἐπίστασαι*. *δύναμαι* yields *δύνασαι* in Homer, Pindar, and classic Attic prose, but *δύνα* in Attic poetry (see Porson on *Hek.* 253). The Doric form is also *δύνα*. Ionic would be *δύναι*,

¹ -*εαι* is called Ionic in Hom. *κέλειαι*:—An. Ox. I 215₁₈, 242₂₃, An. Par. III 326. Tzetz. *Ex.* II. 117₇, Et. M. 302₂, Et. Gud. 270₂₂, 313₂₂; *μέμφεται* Et. Gud. 387₂₂. An. Ox. I 270₂. The ancients thought *κέλε ται* yielded *κέλειαι*.

² -*εαι* from -*αι* is Ionic according to Hdn. II 840₂=Choirob. 879₂ if we accept Lentz' reading. *Ἰωνικῶς* is wrongly said of *δύνααι*, *ἐπίστααι* in Choirob. cf. Hdn. II 298₁₇=Choirob. 673₁₂ for the Ionic loss of the *σ*). Cf. also An. Ox. IV 186₁₁, Eust. 969₂₁. The scholium Hesiod *W. D.* quoted by Gaisford p. 266 is corrupt.

a form that has been contracted in *δύνη*, *Anakreonteia* 29₁₁. *δύνασαι* Hippokr. IX 342 is Attic.

Varia. It may be noted, in view of the objections raised to the occurrence of *καθέζομαι* in early authors, that Hippokr. VIII 392, which is cited by Veitch in support of its early existence, is not supported by *θ*; and in VII 348 for *καθεζέσθω*, *θ* has *καθίσθω*.

On *-αται*, *-εαται*, see § 585.

606.] Imperfect.

Hdt. has *εο* < *εσο*, e.g. *ἐνετέλλεο* I 117, *ἐπηγγέλεο* VII 39; Lukian *V. A.* 5 *ἐφαντάζεο*. On *ἠπιστέατο* Hdt. II 53, &c., and *-ατο*, *-εατο* generally, see § 585. Whether *ἀπάγχεο*, Archil. 67, is an imperfect is uncertain. *-εω* seems not to occur in Hdt. (*ἠέξεω* Kallimachos' Hymn to Zeus 55).

We do not recall a case of *-ω* in the second person in the later dialect. *ἐκρέμω*¹ occurs O 21. In Attic we find *ἠπίστασο* and *-ω* (the latter in prose). *ἠδύρασο* occurs Hippokr. IX 344 = Attic *ἐδύνω*.

The non-Attic *ἠρχόμην* appears in Hippokr. V 426, IX 328 (uncompounded). *ἀνηρχόμην* is found V 402, *ὑπεξ*- V 414. Hippokr. also used the subjunctive VII 598, *ἐξ*- VIII 508, the infinitive VIII 546, IX 418, *ἀπ*- VIII 42, the participle *διεξ*- II 138 (in a genuine treatise). Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrynicus*, p. 103 ff.

607.] Future.

1. First Person Singular. *-εῦμαι* is the ending in *-ίζω* verbs: *ἐναγωνιεύμαι* Hdt. III 83, *ὀριεῦμαι* Hippokr. VI 4, IX 264.

2. The termination of the second person singular.

(a) *-εαι*². The lyric poets generally preserve the form *-εαι*. Thus in Archil. 79₂ *τέρψεαι*, Ananios 1₃ *ἀφίξεαι*, Theog. 35 *μαθήσεαι* and in several other forms (100, 884, 991, 1161 cf. Stobaios, 1285, 1299, 1333). Of the prose writers Herodotos has *ᾄψεαι* I 155 (and so MSS. *Androm.* 1225), *ἀπαιρήσεαι* I 71 (see § 633), *ἀπίξεαι* II 29 (a rare future in prose: for Aldus' *ἴξεαι* in the same chapter, *ἠξεις* is read), *πλεύσεαι* II 29, *παραμείψεαι* V 52, *λάμψεαι* I 199, and in all other forms. Demokritos 20₂₅ has *διώσεαι*.

Lukian has *ἀπίξεαι* *Syr. dea* 25, *μεμνήσεαι* 30, *ἐνασκήσεαι* *V. A.* 3, *εἴσεαι* 4, 5, *γνώσεαι* 4, *ματαβήσεαι* 5, *ᾄψεαι* 6; Euseb. Mynd. has *ἔσεαι* 63, *καταθήσεαι* 51, cf. *ρομισθήσεαι* 52, Aret. 30 *ᾄψεαι*.

In liquid verbs, *-έαι* not *-έεαι* is correct, e.g. *εὐφρανέαι* Hdt.

¹ Hdn. II 317₂₁ = Choirob. 88₃₁ (cf. Et. Mag. 324₁₁) calls *ἐκρέμω* Attic, *ἐκρέμασο* Ionic because of the loss of *σ*; cf. An. Ox. I 171₅, IV 213₂₂, 379₁.

² *-εαι* is called Ionic Et. Mag. 237₁₅, Et. Gud. 128₁₃ (*γνώσεαι*), Et. Mag. 381₂₁ (*ἔσεαι*), An. Par. III 335₃₄ (*ιλάσσεαι*).

IV 9 (-εαι *Pz* only), ἀποθανέαι IV 163 (-εαι *Pz* only), ἀπολαμπρυνέαι I 41 (-εαι no authority).

(3). -η. Theognis has γνώση 65 and πωτήση 238, in each case followed by a consonant. With γνώση, cf. B 367 γνώσεαι δ¹ and 365 γνώση ἔπειθ'. Hrd. 2₃₉ has πλώση, 6₆₁ γνώση, 8₁ κείση.

Χαριῆ should be read in Hdt. I 90, κομιῆ in II 121 (γ); cf. VII 49. Dindorf's -ιέαι, Bredow's and Stein's -ιέι are impossible: the former because of the mass of vowels (cf. -έαι from -έαι in liquid verbs), the latter because -ηι does not become -ει in Eastern Ionic. Hippokr. has γνώση VII 340.

(γ) When contracted -εαι becomes -η in Ionic. -ει is possible in Euboian Ionic, but not elsewhere. We have therefore no hesitation in branding as spurious ἐξευρήσει Herakl. 7. In Hippokr. VIII 342 θ has ὄψη: hence we read ὄψη, not ὄψει with Littré, as there is no need of assuming a retention of the later Attic ὄψει. ὄψει Ὀδυσσεῦ μ 101 is an error, as it is in Ψ 620, where *AD* have ὄψη ἐν; in both passages ὄψε' may be read. -ει in Hrd. 1₁, 5₂₃, 7₉₁ is an Atticism.

3. -είται is the correct termination of the third person of liquid verbs and those derived from a present in -ίζω. This ending is not generally preserved in the MSS., where it has been supplanted by -έται.

(α) -είται occurs as follows: ἀναεμείται Hdt. I 173 (*A B*), μαρείται I 109 (all MSS., the fut. middle is very rare); σημανείται Hippokr. II 228, θανείται (not ἀπο-) VIII 70 (*C θ*), 98, ἀμβλυνείται IV 464, ἀναχανείται VIII 498 (for ἀναχάνηται), τεκμαρείται VI 24; φανείται Demokr. 135 (*sic* Stob.; cf. 6). Solon 4₁, Theog. 867 have ὀλείται. ἀνδραποδιείται Hdt. VI 17, καθαρείται Hippokr. VII 24, 330, 338, 508, διορείται IV 102. On πεσείται Hdt. VII 163 (*R*); -έται all MSS. in VII 168), V 92 (*β*, oracle), and on προσπεσείται Hippokr. VIII 34, see below.

(β) -έται is found in ἀποθανέται Hdt. IV 190, διαφθερέεται VIII 108 (note that -φθερήσεται is not used); σημανέεται Hippokr. VII 276.

4. Plural. -εύμεθα in κομιεύμεθα Hdt. VIII 62 (hence νομοδμεν II 17 is wrong), ἀμννεύμεθα VIII 143 (-εο- Abicht), φανεύμεθα Hippokr. IX 424. χαριείσθε Hdt. IV 98. φανέονται Hdt. III 35, διαφθερέονται IX 42, ἐξανδραποδιεύνται VI 9.

5. *Doric Future.* Ionic, like Attic of the best period (cf. Rutherford's *Phrynichus*, p. 91), usually rejects the 'Doric' forms. Thus Hdt. has πλεύσομαι II 29, III 135, φεύσομαι I 207, πεύσομαι IX 58, Hippokr. παραπνεύσομαι

¹ Barnes read γνώσεαι εἰ with asyndeton. In N 818 we find ἀρήση Δίε, in I 102 ἀρχη (subj.) at the verse end. These two cases of -η and γνώσεαι above are the only occurrences in the Iliad of the closed forms. -η in the future always occurs before vowels, so that we may read -ε'.

VIII 284, βένσομαι VI 440, 442, VII 224, 556, VIII 100, a form found in Theog. 448. (In VIII 596 the active βένσει is probably corrupt). In Homer we find ἐσσεῖται and πεσόνται, πεσέεσθαι. πεσεῖται occurs in Attic and in Hdt. VII 168, Hippokr. VIII 34; but ἐσσεῖται is rejected by both Attic and Ionic. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXX 313) in setting up a new theory of the genesis of these two forms, regards the 'Doric' future as alien from Ionic speech. It is, however, improbable that ἐσσεῖται should be a contamination of ἐσσεται and *εἶται, and that πετόμαι should have passed into περόμαι by assibilation of τ before a vowel not *iota*. στερησεῖται in Olbia, Dittenberger *Syll.* 354₁₁, 17, is no doubt a contamination of στερήσεται and σπερέται, but is a poor support for the above explanation of ἐσσεῖται.

The derivation of πεσοῦμαι from *πετόμαι does not carry with it that of ἔπεσον from *ἔπετσον. An *ἔπετσον would have yielded an *ἔπεσσον, which would have been preserved in Homer: but of such a form there is no trace. From *πετόμαι the epic forms with σσ were necessarily limited; in fact Homer has only πεσόνται and πεσέεσθαι where the single σ was inevitable. We must assume that ἔπεσον was substituted for ἔπετον, which is attested as Doric and Aiolic, at a time when *πεσσομαι had given way to πετόμαι. As in Sappho 42 ἐμπεσών has been installed in the place of the earlier and genuine τ form, so in Homer ἔπεσον has usurped the place of the regular ἔπετον. Cf. Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 170.

The appearance of πιούμαι in Hippokr. VII 196 is not more surprising than its occurrence in Aristotle. It is a form used by late writers that has crept into Xenoph. *Symp.* 4, 7, but disapproved by Athen. X 446 E, Phryn. p. 91 (R.). Homer N 493 and Theognis 962 have πίομαι, Ion 210 πίομαι. On ἐμπίομαι Theog. 1129 (present), see M. Schmidt, *R. M.* XXII 186. Pindar, *Ol.* VI 86 has the present πίομαι < *πίομαι. Cf. τίω, τίω. πίομαι is a subjunctive used as a future.

6. *Varia.* In Miletos 100₁₋₂ we find λάψεται, whereas Hdt. has λάμφομαι I 199, IX 108. The former of these forms is built on the model of ἔλαβον (cf. θορόμαι ἔθορον, καμέομαι ἔκαμον), the latter on that of λαμβάνω. With λάμφομαι, cf. συμπεριενεγχεῖς C. I. G. 2058 A 32, 79 B 70 (Olbia), and see § 130. A contamination of the Attic λήφομαι (which appears in Hippokr. VII 490, VIII 16, 34) and λάμφομαι is λήμφομαι C. I. G. 4244₆, 4247₂₀, 4249₉, 4253₁₅ (Lykia), and in the N. T. See §§ 619, 634, 4. Hdt. has λάξομαι VII 144 with the α of the present: *λάγξομαι would have been parallel to λάμφομαι.

ἐξάζονται Samos 221₁₉₋₂₀ recalls ἄξεσθαι Hdt. VII 8. The inscriptions have brought us as yet no example of ἦξα or of ἦξάμην. Hippokr. VI 504 has παρασχῆσονται. ἔξομαι is Homeric but not later Ionic; cf. § 592, 5. On μαχῆσομαι, see § 592, 4.

608.] First Aorist.

1. -ao remains open in the MSS. of Hdt. in ἐξεργάσαιο (16 times), κατεχρήσαιο, ἐμιμήσαιο, and in numerous other forms; in only one instance does contraction appear: ἐποιήσω VIII 102. The open -ao < -ασφο is noteworthy because medial ασφο became ω as early as the sixth century¹ (§ 277). Xenoph. 5₁ has ἦραο,

¹ Homeric -ao is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 211₁₁, An. Par. III 30₄₅, 35₆₂₇ (ἦσαο); An. Par. III 138₂₇, 248₈ (ἐλύσαιο); cf. An. Par. III 85₁₆.

but Archil. epod. 94₁ has ἐφράσω (in the seventh century it was not permitted to resolve the arsis), and ἐδέξω 101 at the end of an *Archiloehium iambicon curtum*. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has εἰργάσασα, Hippokr. IX 365 ἐμέμφω (epist.).

2. Relation between the stems *ἐνεικ-* and *ἐνεγκ-* of the first and second aorist. These stems are not etymologically akin, that of the former being derived from the preposition *ἐν* + *εἰκ* which is connected with *ἴκο* or with Lith. *sėkiu*, reach with the hand. See § 214, 2. *ἐν-εγκ* is reduplicated (cf. Skt. *ānāṅga*). *ἐνεικ-* was soon regarded as uncompounded, conjoined with *ἐνεγκ-* as an aorist of *φέρω*, and in modern times explained as a development of *ἐνεγκ-* (Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, I 122). In Ionic poetry and prose (with the exception of the medical writers) *ἐνεικ-* gained the upper hand. It appears as early as Homer and is found in Pindar, but in the former author the second aorist is exceedingly rare, and its forms referred to a present *ἐνείκω*. In Ionic inscriptions we find ἐν[Ε]ΙΚάντων Chios 174 B 4. *ἐνεικ-* also appears in the Attic stone records after 370 B. C., but disappears after 322 B. C. A peculiar form from the weak stem *ικ* (cf. *ἵκταρ*) is the aorist passive ἐξενιχθῆι Keos 42₂₁, for which ἐξενεχθῆι has been substituted by Beechel on the ground that the stone is not perfectly intact. With the Koian form we may compare Boiotian *ἐνευχθείει* C. D. I. 488₁₅₀, Aiolic *ἐσένικαι* 304 B 39, *ἦνικαν* Mytilene, *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, p. 41, and other forms in Kalympa, *B. C. II.* X 242 (cf. p. 143), Troizen, C. D. I. 3364, Epidaurus 3339₁₁₀. *συμπεριενευχθείς* Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, A 32, 79, B 70 recalls Delphic *-ενεγχθῆι* (see Curtius in *Berichte der süchs. Gesell.* 1864, 228), and the presence of the nasal in such forms as *λάμψομαι*. The inscriptional Attic *ἦνεργκα*, *-ον* are mixtures of the two forms. Cf. *ἦνείκαντο* in Hesychios and Boiot. *ἦνεργξα* Hdn. II 374₂₁ (and εἴνιξαν). In the post-Homeric Ionic poetry we observe *ἐνεικον* Anakr. 62₃, *ἐνεικαν* Tyrt. 4₁, *ἐνεγκε* Herodas 7_{17, 51}, *ἐνεγκεῖν* 1₃₃ as usually in Attic, where the first aorist *ἐνέγκαι*¹ is rarely employed. Herodotos has *ἦνεικε* II 146, III 155, *-αν* III 30, IX 70, *ἐνείκει* VI 61, *συνενείκαιεν* VII 152, *ἐνείκαι* I 32, *ἐνείκας* II 23, IV 64; *ἦνείκατο* V 47, *ἦνείκαντο* I 57, II 180, VII 152, *ἐνείκωνται* IV 67, *ἀνενεικάμενος* I 86, *ἐνείκασθαι* II 23, VI 103; *ἐξενηνεργμένος* VIII 37, IX 72, as if from *ἐνείκεται* *Scutum Herc.* 440. In the aorist passive Hdt. has *ἦνείχθη*, a form which is not confined to Ionic (Epidaurian *ἐξενιχθείς* C. D. I. 3339₁₁₃). In two cases all the MSS. of Hdt. unite in presenting the form in *-εχθείς* (VII 220, 232). Hippokrates has only *ἐνεγκ-*, e. g. *ἦνεγκεν* III 88, V 426, *ἦνεγκαν* II 606, V 388 (*-ον* Erm.), *ἐνέγκοι* II 294, *ἐνέγκοιεν* II 296, *-ενέγκαι* VI 210, VII 340, *-ενεγκεῖν* V 214, VIII 68, *ἐπανενέγκαντες* V 588, *ἐσνευγκῶν* II 36; *ἐνέγκηται* I 592, IV 640, *ἐνέγκωνται* I 582, *προσενέγκασθαι* IV 640, *ἐσνευγκάμενος* IV 640; *-ενέχθη* V 516, 602, 652, 722, IX 186, 356 epist. Lukian has *ἐνεικ-*, *Syr. dea* 16, 22, 25, 27, 48, 49, 58 (*Δ V -εχθέντα*), *κατηνέχθη* *Astr.* 15, Eusebios § 5 *ἐνεχθείη*; Euseb. Mynd. *κατενεχθέντας* 63, *διενεχθείς* 1; Abydenos 5 *ἐνέγκασθαι*, *Vita Hom.* *ἐνεγκ-* 12, 13, 15, *ἀπηνέχθη* 34; Aretaios 108, 112 *ἠνέχθη*, 173 *ξυῆνεγκε*. The usage of the medical writers is sharply differentiated from that of Hdt. and his imitators.

3. *Varia*. *ἀγορεύσασθαι* Hdt. IX 26 may be noticed because of Cobet's onslaught on this tense in classic authors (*Var. Lect.* 36 ff.). *ἐπαύρασθαι* Hippokr. IV 632, *ἐπανράμεθα* IX 424 (epist.) are occurrences of the unusual

¹ Attic inscriptions have only *ἐνεγκεῖν*.

first aorist; ἀπειράμην Hdt. I 59, V 56, is not classic Attic. ἐμνησάμην Lukian *Astr.* 6, 21 is the only occurrence of this tense in prose, ἐμνησάμην Hdt. VII 39, *Syr. dea* 39 is rare in prose. ὑπονησαμένη Hippokr. IX 192 (ὑπονεμ- MSS.) is to be referred to νέομαι (though this verb occurs only once in Attic prose) rather than to νέω *swim* or νέω *hear up*. νέω would scarcely yield (the un-Attic) ἐνεμνησάμην in Ionic. ὄσφραντο Hdt. I 80 (Stein) where ὄσφροντο might be expected. Other forms, such as εἶλατο, διείλαντο are certainly to be rejected, and we incline to the view that ὄσφραντο is not genuine, though the Ionians not infrequently adopt aorists that were not in good odour in Attika. ρυφήσασθαι Hippokr. V 386 occurs here only (see § 154). Of the recent German editors of Herodotos, Abicht alone does not challenge the correctness of the derivation from ἄγω of the forms ἐσάξαντο V 34, προσεσάξαντο I 190, VIII 20. They are to be referred to σάσσω. διαφεύξασθαι appears only in Hippokr. IX 400; ἐφρασάμην and φράζομαι are often found in Ionic, though not in Attic, prose. ἐχεάμην Hdt. VII 43 is rare in prose. ὠνησάμενος Hippokr. IX 362 recalls the fact that Meineke regarded ὠνήσατο in Eupolis II 533, the only occurrence in classic Attic, as savouring of Ionic origin. In Attic inscriptions of the Roman period ὠνησάμην is used for ἐπριάμην.

609.] Second Aorist.

In the second person we find -εο¹ and -ευ. (1) -εο in Hdt. εἶρεο I 32, ἐγένεο I 35, ἠγάγεο IX 111, ἐπύκρεο VII 9, &c. (2) -ευ in ἀπίκην I 124, εἴλεν III 52, 119, ἐτράπευ VII 39. The presence of the latter form makes up for the non-diphthongal character of -εο. Attic -ου appears in ἐγένου Theog. 454, 1273, ἀντελάβου 1362. In the later parts of Theognis -ου is doubtless original.

On -εατο incorrectly transferred to the aorist, see § 585.

Ionic does not support a second aorist, active or middle, of ἀγγέλλω; cf. Hdt. IV 153, III 142, VII 37. Noteworthy forms in prose are ἄρμενος Hippokr. III 420, ὀνήσθαι IX 392 (ὀνήσθαι C and Ermerins, the only example of the perfect).

610.] Perfect.

After stems ending in a vowel the original ending -νται may remain in Ionic; after stems ending in a consonant -νται becomes -αται, with or without aspiration of a preceding tenuis. In Homeric and later Ionic the latter ending has been transferred in the perfect to stems ending in vowels. -αται has even found a lodgment in the present of -μι verbs (§ 585, 3) in the later dialect; a noteworthy mark of difference between the older and the later language.

In only one inscription do we find the third plural in a form not Attic: εἴρηται (εἰρήηται?) in Oropos 18₁₇ (between 411-402 or 387-377 B.C.), a form contracted from εἴρη(< εἴρη) + αται. Compare the form in Hippokrates adduced below. γεγέγηνηται

¹ ἔπλεο is called Ionic in An. Par. III 354₃₁.

occurs twice: Samos 221₅ (shortly after 322 B.C., an inscription strongly marked by Ionic spellings) and Iasos 105₂ (end of the fourth century, with some traces of Attic).

611.] The Lyric Poets like Homer have *-νται* and *-αται*, which they have transferred to stems ending in a vowel. (1) *-ιπται* in the elegy occurs in *πάρκεινται* Xenoph. 1₃, *ἐπίκεινται* Theog. 421. (2) *-αται* in elegiac and iambic poems is found in *τετράφαται* Theog. 42, *κείαται* Mimn. 11₆, *κείαται* Archil. 169. (3) *-εαται*. In Anakreon 81 *ἐκκεκωφέαται* and in Hipponax 62 *κεκικέαται*, the long vowel of the perfect stem has been shortened before *-αται* to *ε*, and this *ε*, together with *α*, forms a single syllable. This shortening of the long stem vowel in the lyric poets and in prose constitutes a mark of division between the older Ionic of Homer and the later language. Homer has *βεβλήαται*¹, *-ατο*, *κεκλήαται*¹, *πεποτήαται*. The beginnings of the later usage appear in Homeric *ἕαται*, *ἕατο*.

Now if by the time of Anakreon and Hipponax *-η-αται* had not only become *-ε-αται* but even *-εαται* (to say nothing of Homer's *ἕαται*), it is impossible to regard as correct the form *πεπλήαται* which is reported as having been used by Sim. Amorg. (31 A). The Et. M. 367₄₀, which quotes the word, takes it to be singular number, not only on account of the subject (*ξύλα*), but also because of the confusion in the minds of the grammarians between the singular and plural forms in the perfect. See § 613, note at end. *πεπλήαται* has long ago been corrected to *πεπλέαται*, the *η* of the Et. M. being due to recollection of like Homeric forms. Cf. § 281, 3, note.

612.] In Ionic prose we find *-νται* and *-αται*, not merely after consonantal, but also after vocalic stems.

Herodotos has *-αται*, e.g. in the following cases:—

(1) After consonants (usually with aspiration of gutturals² and labials, but not of dentals): *ἀναμεμίχαται*, *ἀποδοδέχαται*, *τετράφαται*, *κεχωριῶαται*, *ἀγωνιῶαται*, *ἔσκευάδαται*, *ἐφθάραται*. (2) After *υ*: *κατακεχύαται* (p. 481), *ἐνιδρύαται*; cf. *εἰρύαται* § 265. (3) After *ε < η* in *verba pura*, and, by analogy, in the perfect of *κείμαι*: *ἡγέαται*, *οἰκέαται*, *ἐκτέαται*, *ὄρμέαται*, *εἰρέαται*, *κεκλέαται*, *ἐπικέαται*, *κατέαται*, &c. (cf. *ἕαται* Γ 134). The latter form is in reality derived from a consonant stem (*ἦσ-νται*). In *ἀναπεπτέαται* *α* has apparently been dissimilated to *ε*.

Herodotos has also *-νται*, e.g. *δέδονται* VII 134, *ἐκδεδαριέννται* VIII 73 in *P* (adopted by Stein; Dindorf *ἐκδεδαριῶαται*).

¹ These forms, and *ἦαται*, are adduced by the Gram. Vat. 694, who does not mention the *-εαται* formation.

² Except *ἀπικάται* (*ἀπικάτο*); see below.

In other Ionic prosaists we find *-νται* very frequently. The following cases of *-αται* occur. Πεκταίος μεμετρέαται (§ 613, 2, footnote). Demokr. 204 μεμερέαται. Πιρροκρ. διακεκόφαται III 212 (*v. l.* *-μένοι εισί*), περιβεβλέαται IX 80 (by anacoluthon; Littré would adopt the singular, with which *-εαται* was sometimes confounded by the grammarians), κεκρύφαται VII 382, VIII 342, τετεχνέαται I 628 (not in *A*), γεγράφαται VII 178, εἰδίδαται II 298 *bis*, each time supported by *A*, but ill-advisedly rejected by Littré who adopted εἰδισμένοι εισί, εἰρέαται II 226 (εἴρηται *A*), but εἴρηται 278 (εἴρηται in *II*), IX 170. κέονται is frequent, *e.g.*, II 18, 22, 24, 48; ἐστεφάνωνται II 72. Lukian has περικέαται *Astr.* 3 and κέαται often for κείται, the subject being singular, μεμμέαται *Astr.* 6, ἀποδεδάχαται *Syr. dec.* 10, 42, Aretaios γεγράφαται 331, &c., Euseb. Mynd. ἐκτέαται 2, 34, προκέαται 63, τετιμέαται 59 (rejected by Mullah), ἀπεστερέαται conj. 23.

The only verb in Hdt., compounded of a preposition ending in a vowel and a verbal theme beginning in a vowel and ending in a guttural, that admitted of *-αται* in the perfect, is ἀπικνέομαι. The isolated absence of aspiration in ἀπικάται and ἀπικάτο is to be explained as due to the desire to avoid ἀπίχαται, ἀπίχατο, which had been too different from the aspirated ἀφ-. In compounds the Ionians did not always adopt *psilosis*. Cf. p. 326 and §§ 406, 407.

In Thukydidēs especially (but only in the verbs τάσσω, τρέφω, φθείρω) and also in Plato (*Rep.* VII 533 B) and Xenophon (*Anab.* IV 8, 5) we find these so-called Ionic forms. That they were not confined to the literary dialect is evident from ἀναγεγράφαται (and ἐτετάχατο) upon Attic inscriptions prior to 410 B.C., after which date the periphrastic form obtains sole mastery. Thukydidēs indeed has both forms, sometimes in close conjunction (διετετάχατο and τεταγμένοι ἦσαν in IV 31). In Aiolic and Boiotian also *-αται* occurs in the perfect. In late non-Ionic authors it appears very rarely, *e.g.* νενομίδαται Dio Cass. 51, 23.

613.] Testimony of the Grammarians.

The grammarians quote as Ionic the following forms in (1) *-αται*, (2) *-εαται*, (3) *-ηαται*, and even (4) *-εανται*. Most are taken from Homer, others do not usually rest upon actual observation. Some are mere figments:—

(1) *-αται*: ἀγηγέραται Hdn. II 2248 (*An. Ox.* I 396₁₀, cf. *Et. M.* 91₃); ἀκηχέδαται Hdn. II 384₂₁ (*Et. M.* 48₃), *An. Ox.* I 74₁, *Eust.* 1570₁; γεγράφαται Greg. Kor. § 74; δεδέαται *Eust.* 1837₁₅; δε- and δεδέχαται *Eust.* 1568₂₃, *Et. M.* 252₁₇, 599₂₇, *An. Ox.* I 108₅ (cf. I 300₁₂), *An. Par.* III 162₁, Hdn. II 2257 = *An. Ox.* I 300₁₂; ἔαται Hdn. II 497₁, *Et. M.* 295₁, 308₁, *Et. Gud.* 155₅₁, *Eust.* 234₁₆, 1885₁₈, *An. Ox.* I 126₃₄, I 142₂₆, I 255₃₀, *An. Par.* IV 19₁₅ (ἔαται); εἰδήδαται Hdn. II 299₁₅ = *Et. M.* 316₂₅; εἶαται Hdn. II 497₁, *Et. Gud.* 156₁₃, *Eust.* 1885₁₉, 1895₁₆, *An. Ox.* I 127₂, *An. Par.* IV 19₁₅; εἰρήαται Hdn. II 224₁₈, 503₇, *Et. M.* 378₁₃, *An. Ox.* I 152₁₃, 396₂₃, *An. Par.* III 342₂₃; ἐρειρέδαται *An. Ox.* II 198₃₃ (Choirob.); ἐρηρέδαται *Eust.* 1301₁, 1895₁₁₋₂₁ (*An. Ox.* I 396₅ Ἄττικῶς because of the augment), Choirob. 698₁; ἐρράδαται Hdn. II 224₃ (*An. Ox.* I

396₃, Et. M. 377₁₁, An. Ox. IV 197₂₈, Choirob. 698₃, Eust. 1895₁₅; ἔρράται An. Ox. I 396₃; ἔρράται Et. M. 378₁₁, An. Par. IV 70₉; ἔρχαται Eust. 1301₉, 1071₆₃; ἔσπάραται Et. M. 91₃, Eust. 234₁₂; Eust. 1301₃; ἔσπάραται Hdn. II 224₉ (An. Ox. I 396₁₁), Diakonos on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 1301₃; ἡλεύθαται (!) Greg. Kor. § 74; ἡχάδαται Hdn. II 348₂₂ (Et. M. 48₉), An. Ox. I 74₂; κέαται Et. M. 295₄, 308₂, Eust. 1043₃₈, 1837₁₅, An. Ox. I 142₂₈, IV 198₃, Choirob. 697₁₆, 698₂₅, Et. Gud. 155₃₁; κέαται Et. Gud. 155₃₁, An. Ox. I 142₂₉, Et. M. 295₁, 308₃; κικάραται Choirob. 698₁₇; κέκλαται Hdn. II 224₁₉ (cf. An. Ox. I 396₁₉, Et. M. 500₁₁), Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655, An. Par. IV 70₁₀, An. Ox. I 224₂₈, cf. 226₅; κέκλιναται(?) Hdn. II 224₉, cf. An. Ox. I 396₁₃; κέκρυσάαται Choirob. 698₂₃, -ααται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57₁₂; λελάχαται Choirob. 697₃₁, Greg. Kor. § 74; λελέχαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57₁₂, Eust. 234₁₂; λελήφαται An. Ox. I 268₂₆; νερέαται Hdn. II 225₈=An. Ox. I 300₆, Et. M. 599₂₆; νενήφαται Choirob. 697₃₀; νενήφαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57₁₂; νενόαται An. Ox. I 287₂₈; νενούχαται Choirob. 697₃₁; πεπέλααται An. Ox. I 396₇; πεφράδαται Eust. 1301₇, An. Ox. I 74₂, IV 197₂₇, Theod. 57₁₁, Choirob. 697₃₃, Greg. Kor. § 74; τετάχαται Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; τετεύχαται An. Ox. I 395₃₁, 411₁₅; τετίλααται Choirob. 698₁₈; τετράφαται Hdn. II 223₁₇ (An. Ox. I 395₂₈), Joh. Gr. 242, Et. M. 366₇, An. Ox. I 127₁₅, Meerm. 655; τετύφαται Choirob. 696₂₉, Theod. 57₁₀, Max. Plan. in *Anecd. Bachm.* II 531, Diakonos on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 234₁₂, 1301₃; ώνομάδαται Eust. 1301₉; ώρέχαται An. Ox. I 451₁₅, Schol. Ven. A on A 26. (2) -εαται: βεβλέαται Hdn. II 225₁₄ (An. Ox. I 288₅); βεβοάαται Greg. Kor. § 74; βεβολέαται An. Ox. IV 197₃₃, Choirob. 698₂₆; εیرهάαται Eust. 234₁₅ (not specifically called Ionic); έκκεκωφέαται Hdn. II 225₁₄ (An. Ox. I 288₄); κέκινέαται Hdn. II 225₁₃ (An. Ox. I 288₂), An. Par. IV 70₂; κέκλέαται Eust. 1895₁₅; μεμετρέαται Hdn. II 225₉=An. Ox. I 287₂₈; μεμνέαται An. Par. IV 191₅; νενοάαται Hdn. II 253₃ (Et. M. 601₂₁), Choirob. 697₁₄, 698₂₃, An. Ox. I 287₂₈, IV 197₃₂, Eust. 1885₁₈, 1895₁₅; πεποιέαται Hdn. II 224₁₇ (Et. M. 500₁₅), Choirob. 698₂₁, An. Ox. I 287₂₉, 197₃₂, Eust. 1885₅₃, Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57₁₇; πεποτέαται Et. M. 662₂₁; περιβεβλέαται An. Ox. I 288₅; ύμνέαται Eust. 234₁₆. (3) -ηαται: πεπλήαται Et. M. 367₁₀; πεποθήαται Et. M. 662₂₀, An. Ox. I 97₃, Eust. 234₁₆. (4) -εανται (?): Hyper-Ionic πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται are quoted from the *Ναξιακά* of Philetas or Kallinos by Herakleides Milesios in Eust. 1885₅₂. For Philetas read Philteas.

The grammarians derived the plural directly from the singular forms. To their doubt as to what was the singular, what the plural, may be ascribed such forms as κέκλέαται for κέκληται in late Ionic monuments (pseudo-Hippocratic letters). Perhaps such collocations as ταύτα . . . εیرهάαται Hippokr. VII 484, and ταύτα . . . εیرهται VII 496, 556, Hrd. 281, aided the confusion.

614.] Perfects with σ before -μαι².

In the following are collected from post-Homeric Ionic writers, first those instances of perfects and pluperfects of verbs whose

¹ μεμετρέαται is here referred to Hekataios, though the passage quoted is found in Hdt. IV 86. Evidently two citations have been fused. In Et. M. 578₁₁ the passage is ascribed to Hipponax, who is quoted in Hdn. as having used κέκινέαται. Another instance of confusion between Herodotos and Hekataios is Hek. 135, where a citation from Hdt. and from Hek. have been fused. Nothing is thereby proved as to the spuriousness of the *Periegesis* of Hekataios.

² See Lobeck on *Aias* 704, Bredow p. 341 ff., Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

stems ended originally in *-s*, and in which *-σμαι* (though itself due to analogy) is relatively more primitive than in the verbs of the second class. Original *-σμαι* could not remain in the dialects: where it is apparently retained it is due to the influence of those forms before which the *sigma* could not disappear (*-σται*). Secondly, those verbs whose stems did not end in a sibilant, but which have borrowed *-σμαι* from the first class. Not all the examples in these two classes are certain, (1) because of the difficulty of determining the etymology, and (2) because of the existence of by-forms in *-ζω* or *-θω*, which might have carried *sigma* into the third person.

But few examples of *-ζω* verbs have been admitted, and such verbs as *πίμπλημι*, *πίμπρημι* have been excluded because of *πλήθω*, *πρήθω* which are both as early as Homer. Here the *θ* is adventitious in other stems than the present. It is noteworthy that Herodotos and Hippokrates avoid using *πέπλησμαι* and *πέπρησμαι*, though both have *ἐπλήσθην* and *ἐπρήσθην*. Stems ending in dentals are not here enumerated as they are easily recognized, e.g. *πέπυσμαι* with *-σμαι* borrowed from *πέπυσται*, *δέδασμαι* from *√δατ*, not from *δασ-*. Ionic sometimes fails to adopt the adventitious *σ* where Attic has it. Cf. *νεημέτην χοῖρον* Hrd. 415 with *Clouds* 1203 *νεησημένοι* (*νενασ-*?)

1. Sigmatic Stems.

βύνέω (cf. *διαβύναται* Hdt. II 96), Hdt. VI 125 (pluperf.), Hippokr. VIII 12. *έννυμι* Hippoxax 3, Hippokr. VII 456. In Homer we find *έμαι*, *έται*, and *έστο*. *ζέω* Hippokr. V 324. *ζώννυμι* Hdt. II 85 (P), VII 69 (in *Rz*, not adopted by Stein). *ξέω* Hippokr. VII 430. *πίσσω* Hippokr. I 600, VI 536, VIII 102. *σβέννυμι* Hippokr. VII 274. *τελέω* Hdt. VII 118. *χρίω* Hippokr. III 430, but *κέχρημαι* Hdt. IV 189 (*-σμ- A. Eust.*), 195. *χρῶζω* Hippokr. V 390 (or is the *σ* due to the dental?).

Perhaps the stems of the following verbs once ended in *s*: *οἶμαι*: *ώϊσμη*[*v*] Hrd. 816. *πρίω* Hippokr. III 242. *σπάω* Hdt. I 59, Hippokr. VI 178. *φλεύω*: *περιπεφλευσμένους* Hdt. V 77.

2. *-σμαι* is due to analogy in *άλέω* Hdt. VII 23; *γιννώσκω* Hdt. VIII 110, Hippokr. II 344; [*δέω* has *δέδεμαι*, but *δεδεσμένος* appears in the vulgate of Hippokr. IV 220, where Littré with ample MS. support reads *έπιδεδεμένος*; cf. IV 266, 268, 302]. [*έλαώνω*: *έλλασμαι* Hippokr. VIII 290, 426 is a form neither Attic nor Herodoteian on *ήλάσθην* in Hdt. see under the Aorist passive]. *έλλασμαι* does not occur again until Pausanias. The stem may be regarded as *έλαδ-*; if so the *σ* is regular]. *έλκύω* Hdt. IX 98 (*έλκυσμένος*), Hippokr. VIII 484 (*έιλκυσμένος*), V 178 (pluperf.). *καύω* Hippokr. VII 242, but elsewhere *κέκαυται* II 54, V 424, VI 174, 192, 330, 442, VII 242 (and *έκαύθην*, *καυθήσομαι*). *κελεύω* Hdt. VIII 93 (pluperf.). *κλάω* Hippokr. III 420. *κλείω* Hippokr. V 528 has *κεκλεισμένον* (some MSS. *-μιενον*), *κεκλήμι* is the correct form in Hdt. II 121 β (*-ειμ- A B C*, *-εισμ- P R d z*), III 117 (*-ειμ- C*, *-ηισμ- P*, *-ηισμ- R*), VII 129 (*-ειμ- C*, *-ημ- A B d*, *-ησμ- P corr.*, *-ηϊσμ- R q z*). The Aorist passive always has *σ*. *ξύω* Hippokr. VIII 372 (cf. *ξυστός* Hdt.) *σκεδάω* Hdt. IV 14, Hippokr. VI 152. *φλάω* Hippokr. III 202, 232. *χῶω* Hdt. II 138, VIII 144; see Schulz K. Z.

XXIX 265. *χρᾶω* Hdt. II 147, 151, III 64, IV 164 (-ημ- CR⁵, VII 141, 220. The variant -ημαι is very frequent. *χρᾶομαι* has *κέχηρημαι* Hdt. I 42. *ψαίνω* Hippokr. VII 556.

3. Perfects in -σμαι from verbs in -νω; which have also -μμαι <-νμαι in other dialects. Here too -σμαι is analogical. The aorist passive has -νθην. *θηλάινω* Hippokr. II 60, VI 202. *κοιλαίνω* Hippokr. IX 216 (cf. *έκοιλάνθην* V 420). *λεπτύνω* Hippokr. II 26, IV 510, VI 174 (*έλεπτύνθην* IV 548). *λυμαίνω* Hdt. IX 112. *ξηραίνω* Hippokr. VI 172, 322, 586, 588, Hdt. I 186, VII 109 (*έξηράνθην* Hdt. I 75, Hippokr. V 228, VI 174). *σημαίνω* Hdt. II 39. *ύφαίνω* Hdt. III 47 (*ύφάνθην* I 203). In connection with these verbs we may notice *άπήμβλυνται* Hrd. I 4.

615.] Varia.

μέμνecαι and *μέμνηcαι* (Φ 442) are called Ionic by Choirob. 673₁₁. *μέμνη* O 18 has been regarded as contracted from *μέμνευαι* from *μέμνομαι* because -ηαι <-ησαι is usually retained in Homer. But for *μέμνη* we may read *μέμνη'*.

Hdt. has both *δέδογμαι* and *δεκόκημαι*, the latter form only once (VII 16 γ). The form *κατακεκραμμένον*, Hippokr. III 490, has now given way to the present *κρεμάμενον*. *κεκόρημαι*, not *κεκόρεσμαι*, is the Ionic perfect of *κορέννυμι*. In Attic we find the latter form. *Peace* 1285 is an epic parody. *λαμβάνω* yields *λέλαμμαι* Hdt. IX 51, but *αναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 308 according to the MSS. (the vulgate has here *-λάμφθαι*). Cf. § 130. The form *τεθηλημένος* Hippokr. VI 654 was displaced by Littré. *véναγμαι*, not *véνασμαι*, Hippokr. VII 520. From *δαφ-ιω* we have *δεδαυμένος* Sim. Amorg. 30, the only certain occurrence. The perfect of *άλίζω* is also confined to Ionic. On *έκτρημαι*, see §§ 583, 4.

616.] Pluperfect.

-ατο is the ending in Hdt., though -ντο occurs, e.g. *έπέπαντο* I 83, *κατέστρωντο* VIII 53. We find -ατο

(1) after consonants (generally with aspiration): *έτετάχατο* and in compounds of *τάσσω* (*διά, παρά, πρὸς*), *είλίχατο*, *κατεστράφατο*, *ειεφθάρατο*, *έσκευιδάτο*, *άπικάτο* (without aspiration, § 612, note). For *έσταλάδατο* or *έστελ-* VII 89, which was constructed on the analogy of *έλληλάδατο*, we accept Dobree's *έστάλατο*.

(2) after *v*: *ιδρύατο*.

(3) after *ε*, with shortening of *η* to *ε* in -εω verbs: *έκεκοσμέατο*, *περιεβεβλέατο*, *έδεδέατο*, *όρμέατο* (not *ώρμέατο*), *έμεμνέατο*, *άναραιρέατο*, *έτετιμέατο*, *πεπειρέατο*, *κατέατο* (cf. *έαι'* H 414, i.e. *ήσιτο*), and by analogy in *έκέατο*: *άπεκεκλέατο*, or *άποκεκλέατο*, in IX 50 has now given way to *άπεκεκλήατο*. It is to be noticed that Homer, in contradistinction to Herodotos, always uses -ντο after *ε* (present and aorist) and either -ηατο or -ηντο in the pluperfect.

The Homeric -ηατο appears in the MSS. of Hdt. in *περιεβεβλήατο* VI 24 in *A B C d*, *περιεβαλέατο* *τέλιγι*, whence we restore *-εβεβλέατο*. Here *βεβλήατο* ≡ 28 was the cause of the mistake.

διεφθαρίατο Hdt. VIII 90 in all MSS. except *P*, which has *-φθειρέατο*, should be changed to *διεφθάρατο* (plup.).

In other Ionic prosaists these forms are very rare. Eusebios, § 8, has *προσεκατάετο*. -ντο is adopted, e.g. in *κατέκειντο* Hippokr. II 660, *ἐγεγένηντο* V 184.

With the occurrence of -αται, -ατο in Hdt. and the lyric poets, compare the Homeric usage throughout: (1) after consonants and ι these forms are necessary, (2) after ν, η, and ω they are possible, but (3) not after α¹, ε², and ο. The lyric poets and Hippocrates, if his text has not been Atticized in this regard, stand nearer to Homer than to Herodotos in the admission of the forms with ν.

Testimony of the grammarians. The following forms in -ατο, -εατο, and -ηατο are called Ionic in grammatical treatises:—(1) -ατο: *ἀγγέρατο* Et. M. 912, An. Ox. I 396₁₀; *δειδέχατο* Eust. 234₁₃, 436₂₂, 782₅₅; *ἔατο* Hdn. II 92₁₅ (Schol. Ven. A on O 10), An. Ox. I 174₁₆ (*ἔατο ποιητικώς*, *ἔατο Ἰακῶς* as An. Par. IV 19₁₄ where the smooth breathing is found), 256₂; *εἰλίχατο* Eust. 234₁₃; *ἐρράδατο* An. Par. III 261₉, *ἔσεσάχατο* Eust. 234₁₂; *ἐσπάρατο* Et. M. 927; *ἐφθίατο* An. Ox. I 124₃₁, An. Par. III 343₁₈, *τετεύχατο* An. Ox. I 411₁₇, *τετύφατο* Theod. 5S₁₁, Choroib. 697₂, 701₁₀. (2) -εατο: *ἀκαχέατο* Et. M. 46₁₁, cf. An. Ox. I 97₅; *δεδμέατο* Et. M. 252₃₅, Et. Gud. 135₅; *εἰλίχατο* Eust. 234₁₀; *ἐκτέατο* Eust. 234₁₇; *ξυνεδεδέατο* Et. M. 252₃₄, Et. Gud. 416₁₈, cf. 160₈. (3) -ηατο: *δεδημάτο* Et. M. 252₃₁, Et. Gud. 135₅, An. Ox. I 96₃₁, 112₃₂ (cf. Schol. Ven. A. on Γ 183, I 3); *ἐβεβολήατο* Et. M. 193₅₁, An. Par. III 47₁₁, *βεβολήατο* An. Ox. I 94₁₂, cf. 96₂₇.

617.] Varia.

ἠρήρεισθαι Archil. ep. 94₃ is the MS. reading of the second person, which we adopt with the change to -θα, the original perfect ending. We should expect either *ἠρηρέασθα* or at least *ἠρήρησθα* (cf. *ἦδησθα* τ 93 and in the drama) which Bergk accepts. If the εἰ be correct, it is due to the desire to bring the form into line with *ἠρήρειστο*. A direct interchange of εἰ and η is out of the question.

On *ἔωρτο* see § 289, 1; on *ἐνένωτο* § 296.

Subjunctive.

618.] Present.

I. From Herodotos we are able to discover traces of a double inflection of *δύναμαι*.

(a) Forms similar to those of the Ω conjugation: *δύν-η-ται* VI 125 (cf. *κρέμνεται* Hippokr. IV 290), *δυν-ώ-μεθα* VII 143, *δύν-ω-νται* IX 11 as Samos 221₂₅ (cf. *κέρωνται* Δ 260). In *δύν-*

¹ When -αται would follow α in Herodotos, we have ε-αται.

² With the apparent exceptions *ἔαται*, *ἔατο*. Homer has even *ἦντο* as well as *ἦατο*. The former is due to the analogy of *ἦμεθα*, &c. < *ἦσμεθα.

η-ται the long modal vowel of the subjunctive, instead of appearing after the final vowel of the stem (*δύνᾱ-ται* Thasos 72₅), actually takes its place. *δύνηται* (cf. *ἐπί-στ-η-ται* from *ἐπί-στᾱ-ται*, and Skt. *da-dh-ā-tāi* from indic. *dā-dhā-ti*) is constructed as if the present were *δύνομαι*, a form which, we may incidentally remark, chances to have been used in a very late period of the language (*Paragr. du Louvre* 39₁₀, 161 B.C.) and in Modern Greek. With *δυνώμεθα* cf. *μαρνώμεσθα* in Hesiod, *μαρνώμεθα* in the Odyssey. A different formation is represented by Kretan *δυνάμαι*¹ and the Hipponaktian *ρήγνυται* 19₄ (cf. *ρήγνυται* Hesiod, *ζώννυται* Homer). Here a subj. like Messenian *προτίθηντι* seems to have been the model, or we have a very old formation by vowel lengthening in the subjunctive.

If Kretan *δυνάμαι* represents the primitive type of this inflection, the Ionic form would have been *δύνημαι*, which became *δύνομαι* through influence of *λύηται*, *λύωμαι*. This may be possible, even though *δυνάμαι* does not contain a pre-Hellenic contraction of *a + o*, as Osthoff held, *M. U.* II 116. *ρήγνυται* is certainly an analogical formation.

(b) *δύναμαι* actually passes into the Ω inflection in *δυνεώμεθα* Hdt. IV 97 (*A B C*, *δυνώμεθα R*), *δυνέωνται* VII 163 (*R*), which forms are not mere blunders made through recollection of *σνῆσται*². Cf. Thessalian *σνᾶεται* or *σνᾶηται* (as Delphic *πρώηται*) *B. B.* XIV 301. So too in the case of *ἐπίσταμαι*: for *ἐπίστωνται* we have *ἐπιστέωνται* III 134 and in the decree in Demosth. *De Corona* § 91. *δυνέωνται* has another parallel in *βουλέωνται* Teos (*Mith.* XVI 292, l. 19), *βούλομαι* and *δύναμαι* going hand in hand in post-Homeric. Cf. *βουλήσομαι*, *δυνήσομαι*, *ἐβουλήθην*, *ἐδυνήθην*. The *εω* of *δυνέωνται* is perhaps reduced from *ηω* as that in *θέωσι*, *ἀπιέωσι*, *ἐπιζέωμεν* in Hdt. (Cf. *μεμνέωμεθα*, § 620.)

δύνομαι with this accent is well attested (Herodian II 557: on Z 229 *δύνηαι*) but *δυνῶμαι*, as if the result of a contraction of *δυνέωμαι*, found a defender in Tyrannio, who accented the Homeric form *δυνῆαι*. Hdt. has *δύνη*.

In Π 243 is *ἐπιστάεται* (cf. *δυνάεται*) correct? The editors adopt *ἐπίστηται* *CDGH*, which is rightly taken to be subjunctive. Zenodotos' *ἐπιστάεται* may point to a confusion with the singular (cf. §§ 611, 613) of the indicative, which Meyer, § 485, thinks is the proper mood; but, as Leaf has suggested, *ἐπιστάεται* and *ἐπίσταται* (*A L*) hint that the original reading was *ἐπιστάεται*.

2. -η is the termination in the second person of the subjunctive present and aorist in the prose documents. *βούλη* Thasos 68, as in *Πηλοκρ.* VII 120 and Hdt., who has also *πέιθη*, *ούνη*, *συνέχη*

¹ Subj. *δύναται* Hdt. IX 11 in one MS., VII 163 in Aldus are mere errors.

² *μενέωσι* Hdt. IV 97 in *R* (Arct. 251) is an example of the 'pleonastic' *εω* which was regarded as a mint-mark of Ionic.

(thus, and not *-εαι* V 23 with *C P d r*, or *-ηαι*¹ with Aldus). Herodas 6₃₈ has *πεύθη. πείνηαι* occurs in Theog. 929 at the verse end. *βύσσει* Theog. 1307, *πείσει* Solon 20, are probably imitations of the epic usage, though in the fifth century *-εαι* was still used for *-ηαι* in the aorist subjunctive active (§ 239).

619.] Aorist.

Mimn. 3 in *παραμείρεται* retains the short modal vowel (cf. § 239). *ποιήσωμαι*, Hippocras 43, is a post-Homeric form. Homer has no instance of *-σωμαι*.

παραλήψηται Hippocr. VI 326 is a conjecture merely, and *ελαψάμην* finds no support in Hdt. *δυνήσωνται* Sim. Amorg. 1₁₇ is a rare form and perhaps incorrect, as is *ύπελεύσηται* Hippocr. II 494 (*-ελεύσεται*). For *δήξεται* Hippocr. VII 330, 336, *θ* has *δήξεται*. *ξυμβήσηται* Hippocr. IX 28 is an interesting form. *διαμαχεσώμεθα* Hdt. IX 48 (*-σόμεθα Rz*) is the only example of this aorist subjunctive in early Greek.

620.] Perfect.

μεμνέμεθα has the support of all the MSS. in Hdt. VII 47, where *μεμνώμεθα* of Aldus and Eust. 767₃₇, who quotes the passage, is adopted by recent editors. But *-εώμεθα* is not an impossible form in Hdt. *μεμνώμαι, μεμνήται, κεκτῆται, κεκτῆσθε* in Attic point to contraction, and *-εώμεθα* may represent *-ηώμεθα* or *-ηόμεθα*. That Homer has *μεμνώμεθα* ξ 168 renders, it is true, the appearance of the earlier form in Hdt. somewhat surprising; unless we assume that the epic form is derived from *μέμνομαι*. *μέμνομαι* has indeed been conjectured by Scaliger in Archil. 9₂, but is not certainly attested before Xenophon, who has *μέμνοιο*, *Anab.* I 7, 5 (MSS.). But as Homer has *μεμνέωτο* Ψ 361², we hold it preferable to adopt *μεμνέώμεθα* in ξ 168, and to reject Abicht's derivation of the Herodoteian form from *μέμνομαι*. See §§ 615, 626. Cf. also *χρεώμενος* Ψ 834 from *χρηόμενος*. In Hdt. I 96 *C P z* have *μνέωμενος* for *μνώμενος* of the other MSS. and the editors.

Hippocr. VI 212 has both *βέβρωται* and *βεβρωμένος ἦ* (cf. *ξυγκεκαυμένη ἦ* VII 242), VII 24 *ἦλκωται* (*έλκ- E I J K*), *ἦλκωμένον ἦ* VIII 262. *προσαρήρεται* is called Ionic for *-ηται* by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 429 (431). Cf. Eust. 1869₂₄. It is the only example of the short modal vowel in the perfect. Vat. 2 has *προσαρήσεται* as a correction of *-αρήρηται*.

¹ *-ηαι* is called Ionic because it is Homeric: An. Ox. I 215₁₁, 296₂₁, An. Par. III 315₃₁, 341₅. *ἴδηαι* is found in all MSS. but one in Hdt. IV 9.

² *μεμνήτο* Bekker: cf. *μεμνήμην* Ω 745.

Optative.

621.] Present.

-οιατο¹ for -οιντο occurs in δεχοίατο Sim. Am. 7¹⁰⁷, δυναίατο, συναπιστάιατο, γυνοίατο, λυπείατο, μηχανάφατο in Hdt., τραποίατο Arrian 21¹², διαδεχοίατο Euseb. Mynd. 38, έλεγχοίατο 29; Hippokr. II 280 has βλάπτουτο.

622.] First Aorist.

-αιατο² for -αιντο occurs in Hdt. γευσαίατο, δεξαίατο, ανακτησαίατο; κομίσαιντο Samos 221¹¹.

623.] Second Aorist.

-οιατο³ for -οιντο occurs in πιθοίατο Sim. Am. 1²², γενοίατο Hdt., Hippokr. II 666, VIII 94 *bis* (but γένοιτο Theog. 736 in *A*). έλοιάτο, άπικοιάτο, ύπερβαλοίατο &c. in Hdt., πυθοίατο Hippokr. II 224 (vulgate).

Imperative.

624.] Present.

Herodotos has both -εο⁴ and -εν from ε-σο, *e.g.* (1) -εο in προσδέκεο III 62, αναπαύεο V 19, πείθεο VIII 62, επιφαίνεο VIII 143, &c., προσκέπτεο Demokr. 172, (2) -εν in άγευ VII 38, άνέχευ I 206, V 19, τέρπευ II 78 (Greg. Korinth. § 60).

The poets have -εν in ενάθεν (ανά δ' έχεν?) Archil. tetr. 66₂, αλέξεν 66₂, χαρίζεν 75₂; δικάζεν Demodok. 6 (tetr.); βουλεύεο Theog. 71, έρχεν 220 (*A*, other MSS. έρχου), εντρέπευ 400, πέλευ (and έφρέπου) 1073; πληκτίζεν Hrd. 5₂₁, σκέπτειν 7₉₂. Cf. appendix.

Attic -ου appears in Theognis in several passages: εύχου 129, 171, έφρέπου 217, 1073, γίνου 217 (so Demokr. 174), τρίβου 465, βουλεύου 633, σπείθου 980 (*A*, -ειν Bergk), άχθου 1032 (*v.l.* άχθει &c.). The -ου form, which in no case is to be regarded as due to Megarian influence, may be adopted in those portions of the poet which are demonstrably late.

Hdt. has επίστασο (not -αο) VII 29, 39, 209 in marked contrast to Attic prose (which admits, however, the uncompounded

¹ Ionic according to Et. M. 507₃₉, Et. Gud. 318₂₅, An. Ox. I 109₁₃, 244₁₀, Gram. Vat. 694.

² Et. M. 325₁₃, 507₃₉, Et. Gud. 318₂₁, An. Ox. I 244₁₀.

³ Et. M. 258₂₁, 507₃₈, 48, Et. Gud. 139₂₀, 318₂₅, An. Ox. I 244₁₀, An. Par. III 343₂₄, IV 71₂₆; πλώιατο An. Ox. I 148₂₂ (Ionic, Doric, and Aiolie!).

⁴ An. Ox. I 161₁, on έρχεν Z 280, quotes as Ionic έρχέο (έρχεο); ζέο An. Ox. I 215₂₃, Et. Gud. 273₂₅ (-εν Doric); βύεο Et. Gud. 494₁₁.

ῖστασο). In Attic poetry only is there freedom to use either ἐπίστασο or ἐπίστω. For Attic χρῶ we have χρέω in Hdt. I 155 (except in *A B*); cf. § 687, 2. In Hdt. and the inscriptions we find only -σθων (μαχέσθων, χρίσθων Hdt., ἐρεχέσθων Zeleia 11 3₂₂), but Hippokr. VI 82 has the later χρήσθωσται (*A*). κτενέσθων in Hdt. VII 10 (*θ*) may be noted because of its use as a passive.

625.] Aorist.

γενοῦ Archil. 75₂ (tetr.) is an Atticism for γενέω or γενεῦ. Hdt. has -εῦ¹ in πύθεν III 68, βάλεῦ VII 51, VIII 68 (*γ*) as Theog. 1050. On the accent, see Chandler § 783. δικασάσθων Thasos 72₁₅, Ηε]λέσθων Chalkidian Ionic, 13₃.

626.] Perfect.

μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, Hrd. 4₈₀, might be derived from μέμνομαι (cf. μέμβλεται Φ 516 and § 620), since from μέμνημαι we might expect μέμνησο in Ionic = Doric μέμνασο (Epicharmos, Pindar). It is not likely that *ā*-σο has become εο in μέμνεο. μέμνεο also occurs in the Anthol. Pal. and in Orph. Lith. 603. Cf. Attic κάθου and κάθησο. πεπρήσθω Halikarn. 238₃₅.

Infinitive.

627.] Future.

In the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. usually have -έεσθαι, e. g. ἀπολέεσθαι I 38, 112, φανέεσθαι I 60, ὑποκρινέεσθαι I 164 and by conj. in V 49. In VIII 101 all MSS. agree in ἀποκρινεῖσθαι. The future of ἀποκρίνομαι is certainly rare, if correct, in Ionic. Furthermore in ἐπιτελέεσθαι VI 140. Hippokr. has ἀπολέεσθαι VII 218, but -εῖσθαι IX 320, and θανέεσθαι VIII 356 (as Sim. K. 85₉).

In -ίζω verbs we find -εῖσθαι: χαριέεσθαι Hdt. I 158, III 39, ἀνασκοιοπιεῖσθαι II 132, IV 43, ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι VII 176. (Dindorf's -ιέεσθαι is wrong). Theog. 47 has ἀτρεμείεσθαι (MSS. ἀτρεμέεσθαι).

τιθήεσθαι Hippokr. IX 424 is a unique form (from τιθέω).

628.] Aorist.

ἀποίσασθαι Hippokr. (epist.) IX 418; μνήσασθαι Hdt. VII 39, *Syr. dea* 39, does not occur in Attic prose or in comedy.

¹ -εο in Homer is Ionic: An. Ox. I 322₂₈, Et. Gud. 436₂₃ (ἔρσεο), An. Par. III 138₁₄ (περίσχεο).

*Participle.*629.] **Future.**

ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι adopted by Stein in Hdt. I 66 is incorrect. Cf. ἐξανδραποδιεύνται VI 9, ἐπισιτιεύμενοι IX 50, ἀνταγωνιζόμενος V 109. In Arrian 24₂ Dübner's ἀπομαχούμενοι is non-Ionic. δικάζόμενοι Hdt. I 96 should be noted because of δικάω I 97.

630.] **Aorist.**

εἰπάμενοι Hdt. I 66 has borrowed its εἰ from the indicative (εἶσαθ' Theog. 12). The epic form is ἔσσ- (π 443), which recurs in Anakreon (?) epigr. 111₃ (καθέσαστο).

631.] **Perfect.**

On ἀναιρημένος and ἀναιρημένος, see § 583. ἀπολελαμμένοι Hdt. IX 51, διαλελαμμένος III 117 deserve notice because of παραλελόγηκε III 42 and ἀναλελάφθαι Hippokr. III 308 (-άμφθαι *vulgo*). See also λάμφομαι § 607, 6, and cf. § 130. ἐβλαμμένοι occurs on a very late Ephesian inscription, Ditt. *Syll.* 344₈₆. Hippokrates VIII 418, 494, 498 uses βέβλαμμαι. νεοσσευμένα Hdt. I 159 has awakened suspicion because of νεοσσός II 68, νεοσσιέων III 111. Portus' conjecture νεοσσ- is adopted by Dindorf. See § 287, 2, note, and cf. Modern Greek *νοσσός*, *νοσσίς*. Aldus and *d* have *νοσσιέων* in III 111.

632.] **Future Perfect.**

βεβλάψεται Hippokr. II 256. γεγράφεται Hippokr. II 304, 330, 676, III 70, IV 104, 108, 114, 174, 252, Aretaios 280. In IV 80 for γεγραφόμενος, the only example, except διαπεπολησόμενον Thuk. VII 25, of the participle of the reduplicated future occurring in a classical author, we may read *γραφόμενος* with *J.* γράψομαι is a *v.l.* II 304, 676. Galen regarded as genuine the treatise *περί ἔρθρων*, in which γεγραφόμενος appears. δεηλώσονται Hippokr. IV 190. εἰρήσεται Hdt. II 35, IV 16, 82, VI 86 (δ), Hippokr. I 596, II 250, IV 142. Hippokrates has the following noteworthy forms: εἰρησομένοισιν IV 238 in many MSS. (*εἰρημένοισιν vulgo*), εἰρησομένων III 516 (*ῥηθησομένων* in many MSS.), εἰρήσεσθαι VIII 28 (omitted by several MSS.; εἰρήσθαι θ). In Attic we find εἰρήσεται, but the participle and infinitive are not used. These unusual forms in Hippokrates are hardly due to a confusion with the forms of εἰρήσομαι *ask* (ἐπειρησόμενος Hdt. I 67, 174, IV 161, VI 52). ἐρηρέσεται Hippokr. VIII 292 (θ). κεκλήσομαι Archil. 24, Theog. 1203 (?), and perhaps in Euseb. Mynd. 47. κεκρίψεται Hippokr. VIII 86 (θ), not κρίψεται as passive, 98. λελέξεται Aretaios 280. ἀναμεμίξεται Hippokr. VII 498 (μίξεται C, ξ). μεμηήσεσθε *bear in mind*, Hdt. VIII 62, cf. *Syria dea* 27, 30. πεπαύσεται Hippokr. VI 238 (not in θ, IX 14, -ονται 52. πεποιήσεται Hippokr. VIII 46, 92 (C, θ). ἔμπηρήσεται Hdt. VI 9 *ABPm* and Stein; other MSS. ἔμπηρήσεται. *τετιμωρήσεται* Hdt. IX 78, all recent editors following Süvern (MSS. *τετιμώρησαι*).

*Passive.*633.] **Future Passive.**

1. Examples of the future passive formed from the aorist passive stem are rare in early Greek. In Homer there is no future passive built from the first aorist stem, and only one (*μυγήσεσθαι*) from that of the second aorist. In the Attic dialect, when there exists a future 'middle,' from intransitive aorists in *-θην* or *-ην* (so-called aorist passives) a future 'passive' may be formed, which differs essentially from the future 'middle,' not in its voice relations (though the one tense may be intransitive, the other transitive), but in its tense meaning. The future passive is aoristic (ingressive, complexive, &c.), the future middle is durative. That is to say, the signification of the stem as an instrument to denote the character of the action is carried from aorist and present respectively into the two futures. It is not a matter of great consequence in Attic whether both the future 'passive' and the future 'middle' are attested in the monuments. See Blass' *Denkmäler der Griechischen Sprache* in *R. M.* XLVII 269 ff. In Attic the passive forms are used much more extensively than in Herodotos. Ionic has so few instances to show of the coexistence of both future passive and future middle, that it is impossible to subject the dialect to the test that yields important results in Attic. The future middle in Ionic did duty for the former; indeed, the language did not seek to mark passiveness as a thing distinct from reflexiveness.

In Herodotos occur the following instances of the future passive from the first aorist stem:—*αἰρεθήσονται* II 13 (in all MSS., aoristic) gives support to *ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι* V 35 (aoristic); the reading of *Δ B vs r*, where *C P z* have *-ήσεσθαι*. *ἀπαιρήσει* in I 71, *ἀπαιρησόμενος* in IX 82 are middle, as may be the case in Attic, though Euripides used *ἀφαιρήσομαι* and Lysias *αἰρήσομαι* as passives. The natural interpretation of the two future middles in Hdt. is that they are aoristic. *ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι* is adopted by Stein in VI 11 on the authority of *Δ B* etc. Here I would read *ἐλασσώσεσθαι* with *B² P v z* (*ἐλασσώσθαι R*, *ἐλάσσωσθαι s*). The action is aoristic. *συγκεκτηθήσεσθαι* VI 29 (*-τήσεσθαι* Krüger), aoristic. *συλλυπηθησόμενοι* VI 39 (*-πησόμενοι* Cobet) *join in an expression of sympathy*. In Attic, which uses *λυπηθήσομαι* as the passive, *λυπηθήσομαι* does not appear before Aristotle. *μνησθήσομαι* will mention VI 19, *ἐπιμνησθήσομαι* II 3 (*ἐπιμνήσομαι* van Herwerden). Cf. *ἐπιμνήσομαι* I 5, 177, II 101, Lukian *Syr. dia* 36, *ἀναμνήσομαι* Hippokr. II 650, V 98, *μνήσει* Theog. 100 (epic). *μνήσομαι* is so rare in Attic prose that its correctness has been disputed.

2. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian we have noticed the following cases of the future passive from the first aorist passive stem.

αἰωρέω III 468, IV 294, 382, 390; ἀλείφω in καταλειφθήσεται IX 320; ἀνδραποδεῖω Arrian *Ind.* 28_c (ἀνδραποδισθησομένην); δίδωμι VII 386 (δίδωμαι is of course active); δέω III 444; εἶρω II 362 (ῥηθήσεται) and as *v. l.* in many MSS., III 516 (Littre εἰρητομένην), *epist.* 27₁₁; εἰρίσκω I 572, III 436; καθαρίζω VIII 330; καίω VII 422 (the future middle appears in *C*, VI 302—the only occurrence in early prose); κειώω Aretaios 204 (κειώσομαι in Empedokles is passive); κινέω VII 332, VIII 484 (passive or reflexive; cf. κινήσεται VII 90); κρατέω III 482; λύω VIII 484 (cf. καταλύσονται Hdt. IX 11 *come to terms*); ὁμολογέω VI 6 (a doubtful instance because *A* has ὁμολογήσεται); ὀξύνω II 426; ὀρθόω in κατορθώσεται III 446 (perhaps passive); πνέω Aretaios 200; σώζω II 112; ψύχω II 424; ὑγιάζω VIII 34 (in *C*); ὠφελέω VII 256 (Attic generally prefers the middle form).

Of these examples only ῥηθήσεται and σωθησομένους occur in the genuine writings of Hippokrates (cf. § 1). Future passives from both of these verbs occur in Attic, but not in Herodotos; and σώσομαι was never used as a passive. From the above it is evident that the genuine Hippokrates is as little fond of this formation as Herodotos.

3. From the second aorist passive stem are formed, *e.g.* ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι Hdt. II 120, Hippokr. VII 174, 234 as in Attic prose (in tragedy and comedy -χθήσομαι); γραφησόμενος Hippokr. II 278; ῥηθήσεται VI 42; ἀποτακησόμεναι VI 110, according to the vulgate reading adopted by Ermerins (τηξόμεναι *A*, Littre). [τήξεται, transitive, is now abandoned, VII 478.] It is noteworthy that Hippokrates has ἐτήχθην, not ἐτάκην; φανήσομαι Hdt. IV 97, VIII 108 etc., five times as frequent as φανοῦμαι; σαπήσομαι Hippokr. IX 6; φθαρήσομαι Hippokr. I 598; καταρραγήσομαι V 732.

In an Hellenistic inscription from Smyrna in Dittenberger's *Sylogē* 171₂₆, from 246–226 B. C. we find διαλεγήσονται. Cf. [δια]λεγείς Lampsakos, *l. l.* 200₇₁. διαλεγήσομαι does not seem to occur elsewhere (συλληγησόμενος in Aischines). Attic inscriptions have διελέχθην, never διελέγην. The latter form first appears in Aristotle.

4. Ordinarily the future middle supplies the place of the future passive, passive and middle not being differentiated. Of the following instances a few may be reflexive, and in others the pure passive force is doubtful.

ἀγόρεω in παρηγορήσομαι Hippokr. V 478, Aretaios 341; αγωνίζω Hdt. III 83; ἀθέλγω Aretaios 108 (cf. ἀθέλγεται passive in Hippokr. V 478); αἰρέω in ἀπαιρήσεται a reading in Hdt. V 35 (but see above under 1); ἀμβλύνω Hippokr. IV 64; ἀνδραποδεῖω Hdt. VI 9, 17 (I 66 is not passive; cf. above under 2); ἀνασκολαπίζω Hdt. III 132, IV 43; βιάω Hippokr. VIII 280; ἔπω in περιέψομαι

Hdt. II 115, VII 149; ζημιόω Hdt. VII 39; θυμιόω Hippokr. VIII 272 (passive?); θύω Hdt. VII 197 (?); Ύημι Hdt. V 35 (μετήσσεσθαι); λνέω Hippokr. VI 318 (?), middle VIII 112, 258; καθαίρω Hippokr. VII 24, 330, VIII 338 (middle VII 54); κινέω Hippokr. VII 90 (reflexive?; see above under 2); κλονέω Hippokr. VII 474 (reflexive or passive); λέγω, say, Aretaios 304; λείπω Hdt. VII 8 (α), 48, IX 56 (passive?); νομίζω Hippokr. VI 352; ξηραίνω Hippokr. VI 236; ομοιάω Hdt. VII 158 (shall be like); ομολογέω (see above under 2); δρίζω Hippokr. IV 102 (active in VI 4, IX 264); πήγγνυμι Hippokr. II 36 (shall freeze or be frozen), the only occurrence of πήξομαι in early Greek; εμπίμπρωμι Hdt. VI 9 (ἐμπεπρήσεται A B Pm and Stein); αποπληρώω Hippokr. VIII 12; ποιέω Hippokr. IX 238 (middle Hdt. VIII 4); πολιορκέω Hdt. V 34, VIII 49, IX 58, 97; σημαίνω Hippokr. VII 276 (?), middle II 228; τανύω Archil. 31; τελέω Hdt. VI 140; τρέφω Hippokr. VII 482, 518; ύω Hdt. II 14; φέρω Hdt. VIII 49, 76, Hippokr. VII 580 (οίσομαι is also middle as in Hdt. VI 100, 132).

634.] First Aorist.

1. The endings of First and Second Aorist.

The third plural always ends in prose in *-θησαν* (*-σαν* second aorist) not in *-θευ* (*-ευ*). The occurrence of the latter (primitive) form in Homer led to its being called Ionic by the grammarians, though they more frequently refer it to Aiolic and Doric¹.

2. *εω* remains open in the subjunctive, e. g. ἀπαρεθέω Hdt. III 65, ἐσσωθέωμεν IV 97, ἡλιωθέωσι Hippokr. II 18, μνέωσι VIII 62. Out of line are ἀποδεχθῶ Hdt. I 124, ἐπιμνησθῶ II 3, συμπειχθῶσι Hippokr. VI 292, ξηρανθῶσι VI 280 etc. *πειρηθῶ* Theog. 506, or *-εω*, was a necessity.

εη is always contracted², e. g. μνησθῆς Hdt. VII 159, διδαχθῆς Theog. 565, τερφθῆς 594, ἀσηθῆς 989; ἐξενειχθῆ Hdt. II 90, ἐξενειχθῆ Keos 43²¹, διαρρθῆ 43¹⁷, ἀδικηθεῖ Oropos 18¹⁴ (§ 239), φανῆ Zeleia 113²⁰, μεθυσθῆ Herakl. 73, συμμυγῆ 36, ἀπαλλαχθῆ Diog. Apoll. 5, ἀναταραχθῆ Hippokr. III 42, πεισθῆ Solon 133⁷, τερφθῆ Theog. 379; μνησθῆτε Hdt. I 36, πεισθῆτε Hdt. 75².

In the optative Hdt. has ἀπαρεθείσαν I 70, ὀφθείσαν VIII 24 (cf. εἰδείσαν III 61) with the ingression of *η* from the singular. The shorter form appears in ἀλισθέειν I 63.

3. ἡρπασθην is the form to be adopted in Hdt., though *-χθην* is supported by good MS. evidence in II 90 (*-σθείς Rd*), VII 169 (*-σθείσαν R*), VIII 115 (all MSS.). The form with *-σθην* occurs I 1, 4, VII 191; and in the future and aorist active *σ* is correct. Hippokr. II 34 has ἀρπασθῆ. Cf. § 593, 2.

πιέζω varies between ἐπιέσθην Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. VI 368, Solon 133⁷, and ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, VI 292. In Hippokr. V 430 occurs συμπιασθῆναι, which is a surprising form

¹ An. Ox. I 9¹⁰ refers it to Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic; An. Par. III 343²³ to Ionic and Doric; An. Ox. I 429² to Doric or Aiolic; as also An. Par. III 323³², 363³⁷. πέλασθεν M 420, φόβηθεν Π 290 are called Ionic by Schol. Ven. A, rather on account of the omitted augment.

² Bekker's δεηθήρ Hdt. IV 154 is an error.

because Hippokrates does not make use of the Doric *πιάζω*. Cf. *πιεσθῆ* VI 368 and § 136. Littré refers the form to *συμπιάνω*, but it may have forced its way in from late Greek. *πιάνω* yields *ἐπιάνθη* VII 242, not *ἐπιάσθη*.

4. In Zeleia No. 1137, one of the latest inscriptions to preserve the character of the dialect (it dates after 334 B.C.), we read *κατελάφθη*, a form which agrees in its construction with *λελάβηκε* Hdt. IV 79, *ἀναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 108. Hdt. has *ἀπολελαμμένοι* IX 51, *ἐλάμφθησαν* IX 119, *λαμφθεῖσαι* VI 92; Hippokr. *ἐλήφθη* V 112. The forms devoid of the *μ* do not render impossible *λάμφομαι* or *ἐλάμφθη*, which contain the nasal of the present stem. See §§ 130, 615.

5. Despite *ἐπρώθη* Hippokr. VI 146 etc., we find in the vulgate *πτρωθῶσι* V 698 for which we must read *πρωθῶσι*. *ξινεξερευθεῖη* Hippokr. II 176, adopted by Littré, is noteworthy because of the retention of the diphthong. Two MSS. have *-ερυθεῖ*. For Attic *ἐτύχθη* we find in Hippokr. IX 242 *ἐτεύχθη*. *κατηναλώθη* Hippokr. V 122, 126 is an unusual form. *ἐξεράθεις* Hippokr. VIII 262 has the *ā* commented on in § 593, 4. On *ἤρθην*, *ἀέρθη*, see § 305 and appendix. On the aorist passive of *φέρω* (*ἠνείχθη*), see § 608, 2. *ἔσυσθῆ* Hippokr. VII 502 cannot be correct though preserved in all MSS. (*ἐκυσθῆ*?). Aretaios 56 *ἔσυσθη* is the only certain occurrence of the simple verb in prose. *εἰρέθη*, the regular form in Ionic (Hdt. IV 77, 156, VI 15 etc.), is from **ἐφερέθη*, *ἐρρήθη*, the strict Attic form, from **ἐφρήθη*. Ionic and Attic *εἶρηκα*, *εἶρημαι* are from **φεφέρηκα*, **φεφέρημαι*. In Hippokrates we meet with the mixed form *ἐρρέθη*. *e.g.* V 166, where *λ* has *προερρήθη*. *ἐρρέθη* also appears in the MSS. of Plato, &c., but is rarely adopted by the editors of the classic authors. In the indicative only we find the *ε*; in the other moods *η*, *e.g.* *ρήθεις*, *ρήθηναι*. *αἰνέω* also refuses (as in Attic) to lengthen the stem vowel in this tense: *αἰνηθείς* Hdt. V 102, with which cf. *ἐπήνηται* Hippokr. II 334. A difficult form from *εὐνάω* would be *ξινευνεθῆ* adopted by Kühn in Hippokr. VIII 338. *θ* has however *-ηθῆ*. Some rare forms are *κλονηθείς* Hippokr. VII 532 (only in Ionic prose), *ἐσκέφθη* Hippokr. VI 18, *περιέφθη* Hdt. VI 15, VIII 27.

6. An interesting case of the survival of the use of the aorist 'passive' in the transitive sense occurs in Archil. 12:

εἰ κείνου κεφαλὴν καὶ χαρίεντα μέλεα | Ἰφαιστος καθαρῶσις ἐν εἵμασι ἀμφεπονῆθη.

With which we may compare an inscription from Korkyra, C. D. I. 3188:

Ἰραξιμένης ὁ αὐτῶι γ[αία]ς ἀπὸ πατρίους ἐνθῶν | σὺν δάμωι τὸδε σᾶμα καστιγνήτοιου πονῆθη.

πονήθη may be taken as a representative of the original indifference of the *θη* forms towards the transitive-active use, on the one hand, and, on the other, the intransitive meaning, out of which grew the passive. Originally ἐπονήθη was no more passive than ἐρρύην. In Attic ἐπονήθη became intransitive; but in Plutarch, *Perikles* 4, 1, διαπονηθῆναι is 'middle.' We rarely find in Ionic examples of the aorist passive used, now as a passive, now as a middle; e.g. ἐπενούθη, which is active in Hdt. III 122, VI 115, Hippokr. VI 612 (προνοηθείς), passive in Hippokr. IV 184. Occasionally Attic and Ionic vary in this respect.

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1. Aorist passives with σ.

The following list follows the lines laid down in the consideration of the perfect middle or passive :

(1) Sigmatic Stems.

αἰδομαι Hdt. VII 141, IX 7; ἄλθομαι Hippokr. IV 126 (τὸ ἄλθος Et. M., Hesychios); ἀχθομαι Hdt. II 103; ἐράω, ἔραμαι Hdt. I 8, II 131; ζέω Arctaios 213; κορέννυμι (late present) Homer, Theog. 1249, but κεκόρημαι Hom., Theog. 751, Hdt. III 80, Peace 1285 (epic parody). Attic κεκόρησαι in Xenophon; κρούω Hippokr. III 148; λεύω Hdt. I 167, Hippokr. IX 412; σβέννυμι Hdt. I 87, Hippokr. II 446; σείω (?) Hdt. VI 98; τελέω Hdt. IV 79. Perhaps from sigmatic stems are κναίω Hippokr. VIII 132, 262; πρίω Archil. 122, Hippokr. V 214, 226 (πρίζω occurs first in Plato, *Theag.* 124 B); σπάω Hdt. VI 134, Hippokr. VII 172.

(2) -σθην by analogy occurs in ἄγαμαι Solon 333; ἀρύω Hippokr. VII 524, 526; βιάω Hippokr. VIII 96 (Hdt. ἐβιήθην VII 83); βοάω Hdt. VI 131, VIII 124 (ἐβώσθην), but βεβωμένα III 39; γιγνώσκω Hdt. IV 42, 154; δύναμαι Hdt. II 19, 140, VII 106 (-ηθ- in *z*), Hippokr. IV 214, where most of the MSS. have *δυνηθείη* or the like; ἔδω Hippokr. VI 558 *vulgo*; [ἐλαύνω yields ἡλάσθη according to the better tradition. The best support for the other form, which is that in use among the Attics, is Hdt. VII 165 where all MSS. have ἡλάθη. In IV 145 ἡλάθην *bis* is attested by *ABdz* in the first case, *A d Bcorr.* *z* in the second, in V 42 by *Pr*, in V 97 by all but *ACP*, in VII 6 by all except *C*. The testimony in favour of ἡλάθην is weakest in I 168, 173, III 46, 51, 54, IV 4. ἡλάσθην is to be adopted against Veitch. It is best to regard the stem as *ελαδ-*, cf. *ἐλληλάδατο η 86*]; ἔλκω Hdt. I 140, Hippokr. V 152; ἔλνω Archil. 103; ἐρύω (εἰρύω) Hippokr. V 234 (ἐρυσθ-), III 26, VI 194, VIII 84 (εἰρυσθ-); θλάω Hippokr. VI 406; [καλέω. ἐκλήθην Archil. 783, Hdt. I 173, Hippokr. II 344 etc., render προσεκαλέσθη the vulgate reading in Hippokr. V 330 extremely suspicious. Littré adopts προσεκαλεύθη on the authority of four MSS.]; κελεύω Hdt. VII 9 (*a*); κλάω Hippokr. VII 516; κλείω (κληίω) always with *σ*; κρεμάννυμι Hdt. VII 26, 194, IX 122; μεθύω Herakl. 73, Hdt. II 121 (*δ*), Hippokr. VI 636; μιμνήσκω Hdt. II 3 (μνησθήσομαι VI 19; see § 632); ὕνομαι Hdt. II 136; παύω Hdt. I 130, V 94, VI 66. Of these occurrences I 130 offers the best support for ἐπαύθην (*A corr.* *R dz*); elsewhere *d* has the -θη form; πιαίνω Hippokr. V. 430 (?) but -νθην VII 242; πτύω Hippokr. VI 194, 198; σκεδάω Hdt. V 102; σπορέννυμι (a late form) Hippokr. I 618; σχάω Hippokr. VI 428

(but perhaps from *σχάζω* which is Hippocratic); *ῥω* Hdt. III 10; *φλάω* Hippokr. III 200, 218, 220, VI 306, 402; *χόω* Hdt. II 11, 137; *χράομαι* Hdt. VII 144, IX 120 (but *κέχρημαι* I 42); *χράω* Hdt. VI 19, VII 178, IX 94.

2. Aorist passives of verbs in *-νω*. See § 614, 3.

A. Verbs in *-αίνω*, which form their perfects in *-σμαι*, have *-νθην*. *ύγιαίνω* shows the regular *ύγιάνθην* in Hippokr. V 174, VIII 410; *ύγιασθην* in V 678, VI 8 (*ter* in Littré)¹ is from *ύγιαζώ*.

B. Verbs in *-ύνω*. *αίσχύνω*, *ιθύνω* have *-νθην*. *ιδρύω* (*ιδρύνω*) has *ιδρύθην* in Hdt. I 172, II 44 (*-νθ-* in *C Pz*), I 18, IV 203 (*-νθ-* in *Apr.*, *B*), and Hippokr. V 150 (*-νθ-* in *C D*), VIII 314 (*-νθ-* in *υλγο*, *-θ-* in *C, θ*). Littré adopts *ιδρύνθην* in III 144, 146 (*-θ-* in *FGHIK*), 556, IV 118 (*-θ-* in *C* and seven other MSS.), V 652 (*-θ-* in *AD*). I would reject the *-νθ-* forms. Epic is *ιδρύνθησαν* Γ 78, Η 56; cf. *ήρτύνθην*.

C. Verbs in *-ίνω*. In Archilochos 34 *έκκλίνθησαν* is Toup's conjecture for *έκκλήθησαν*. In Homer we find both *έκκλήθην* and *έκκλίνθην*, in Ionic prose only *έκκλήθην*. Homer has also the pair *έκρίνθην* and *έκρίθην* (B 815), later Ionic only the latter. Archilochos, it may be noted, has *άποκριθείς* in frag. 893. In *έλάμφθην* Hdt. VI 92, IX 119 we meet with the nasal intruded from the present as in the Homeric *έκκλίνθην*, *έκρίνθην*.

D. Schneidewin's *κατεκτάνθη*, Hippocrax 132, is wide of the mark. *έκτάνθην*, if correct, occurs only in late authors.

636.] Second Aorist.

I. Coexistence of First and Second Aorists. The following instances in the New Ionic may serve to illustrate the two forms²:—

*άλλάχθην*³ Hdt. I 170, II 2 (*-γ-* in *C*), *ήλλάγγην* Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. V 152, V 4, 65, VIII 18, Diog. Apoll. 5. 206.

έθάφθην Hdt. II 81, VII 228. *έτάφην* Hdt. III 10, 55, IX 85. In II 81 *R d* have *ταφήναι*, which is due to the well-known substitution in later times of the light for the heavy form.

έκαύθην Hdt. I 19, IV 69, VI 101, *έκάην* Hdt. I 51, II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 146, 208; cf. *νεοκαύ-* Hippokr. V 214, VI 330. *τοίς* Smyrna, D. S. 17148 (late).

¹ In two of the three cases there is authority for *-νθην*.

² See Valckenaer on *Phoin.* 972 (D), Veitch p. 50, Headlam on *Editing Aeschylus*, p. 104.

³ *ήγγέλην* is poorly supported (*R d*) in Hdt. II 121 (δ). *R* has *άγγελο* in VII 37.

ἐκλίθην Hdt. I 211, Hippokr. II 682, III 40, 94, 140, 146, VIII 312. On ἐκλίνθην, see 635, 2, C.	ἐκλίνην Hippokr. V 444, the only place (v.l. -ίθην), Hdt. IX 16 Dindorf and Herwerden, κλῖναι Stein.
ἐμίχθην Hdt. I 199, IV 9, Hippokr. VII 534.	ἐμίγην Hdt. II 131, VIII 38, Hippokr. VII 180, VIII 62.
ἐρρήχθην (?) Hippokr. VII 242.	ἐρράγην Hdt. II 173, Hippokr. III 214, V 424, VII 20, 534, VIII 68.
ἐστράφθην Hdt. I 130 (-φισαν CRDZ).	ἐστράφην Hdt. III 129, Solon 376, Hippokr. V 426, VII 514, 534.
συνελέχθην Hdt. I 97 and often (rare in Attic).	συνελέγην Hdt. VII 173, IX 27, 29, 32 (rare in Ionic).
ἐσφάχθην Hdt. V 5 (not in Attic prose).	ἐσφάγην Hdt. IV 62.
ἐτρίφθην Hippokr. V 206, VIII 380.	ἐτρίβην Hdt. VII 120.
ἐφάνθην Hippokr. VIII 50.	ἐφάνην Hdt. I 36, and often (perhaps also I 165 for ἀναφήναι intrans.), Hippokr. II 658, V 186.

2. In the following list of those examples of second aorist passives which we have observed in the post-Homeric Ionists, we have pointed out those cases which are Homeric in order to show the growth of this tense in the later dialect. Homer has twenty-two or twenty-three examples of the second aorist passive forms, most of which do not recur in Ionic prose: and this number is about one-sixth as large as that of the first aorist passive. Of the forms here included some belong only to late Ionic writers. On the forms in -η- which coexist with those in -θη-, see above under 1.

ἔγνωνμι, see § 582; ἀλλάσσω above; βάπτω Hippokr. V 664; βλέπτω Hom., Hippokr. V 418, 460; βρέχω Hippokr. VIII 200; γηρεῖς in γηρέντος Xenophanes 8, from γήρημι. Hdn. II 266₉ cites γηρεῖς ἐν οἰκίουσιν from an unknown source; otherwise there is no further trace of γήρημι. The form γηρεῖς is remarkable not only on account of the long vowel (cf. however γηραλέος by the side of γεραῖός), but because of the existence of a γήρᾱμι whence comes γηράς P 197. Pairs such as γήρᾱμι and γήρημι are strange. On this verb cf. Lobeck on Buttman II 138, Brugmann, *M. U.* I 76, III 87. It does not suffice to say that γηρεῖς is constructed like θεῖς or βυεῖς. We need definite analogues. I do not find κινυεῖς given as a parallel to κινράς in Buttman II 13, but we have πιμπλάς (Plato) and ἐμπιπλεῖς (Hippokr.). It is unlikely that Xenophanes should have employed an Aiolic form (γήρημι from γηρέω); γράφω Hdt. IV 91; δάκνω Aretaios 134; *δάω Hom., Lukian *Syria dea* 1; δέρω Hdt. VII 26; δύω? (for διεκδύναι in Hippokr. VI 374, Veitch suggests that διεκδύναι is to be read). Cf. ἐφύην, ἐρρύην; θάπτω above; καίω above; κείρω

Hdt. IV 127; κλίνω above; κόπτω Hdt. VIII 92; λανθάνω (?), Hippokr. VII 532, διελήθησαν τυίρω (διελελήθησαν Veitch) for which Littré adopts διεβλήθησαν from CE; -λέγω above; μαίρω Hdt. III 30 &c., Hippokr. III 140, V 186; μίγνυμι above; πείρω Hdt. IV 94; πήγνυμι Hom., Hippokr. V 222, VI 194 (Hom., has also πήχθειν); πλέκω Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. IX 194; πλήσσω: ἐπλήγγην Hom., Hdt. V 120, ἐξεπλάγγην Hdt. I 119; πνίγω Hippokr. VII 150; πτύσσω Hippokr. VII 284; πτύω Hippokr. V 106; ῥάπτω Hippokr. III 524; ῥέω Hom., Hdt. VIII 138, Hippokr. II 658, V 114; ῥήγνυμι above; σήπω Hom., Hdt. III 66, VI 136, Hippokr. VII 190; σκάπτω Hdt. VI 72; στέλλω Hdt. IV 159, V 126; στρέφω above; σφάζω above; σφάλλω Hdt. IV 140, VII 168; τήκω Hippokr. III 330; τρέφω Hom., Hdt. III 111 &c.; τρίβω above; φαίνω above; φθείρω Hdt. VII 10 (ε), Hippokr. VIII 66; φλίβω Hippokr. VI 292 (here C has ἐκθλιβῆ); φράσσω Aretaios 13; φρύγω Hippokr. VI 414; φύρω Aretaios 241; φύω (?), Hippokr. VI 182 (in θ), VII 514 (now rejected in III 286 by Littré). Cobet and Nauck brand ἐφύην as a product of the decline; χαίρω Hom., Hdt. VIII 101.

Contract Verbs.

Forms of μ verbs inflected like Contract Verbs will be found § 691 ff.

637.] 1. Denominative verbs formed by the addition of $-\iota\sigma-$, $-\iota\epsilon-$ to the nominal stem lost their $-\iota-$ in the primitive period of the language¹. The vowels thus brought into contact are treated as follows in Ionic.

(1) $-a\omega$ verbs.

$a + \epsilon = \bar{a}$	$a + o = \omega$
$a + \eta = \bar{a}$	$a + \omega = \omega$
$a + \eta = \bar{a}$	$a + oi = \bar{a}$
$a + \epsilon i = \bar{a}$	$a + ou$ (spurious) = ω

The inscriptions and the lyric poets without exception adopt this scheme of contraction. The prose writers follow it in the main. The differences consist (1) in the contraction of $a + \epsilon$ to η chiefly in Hippokrates², (2) in the contraction of $a + o$, $a + \omega$,

¹ Between vowels ι was retained only when it was preceded by υ ($\upsilon\iota$).

² Only one example occurs in the MSS. of *Hdt.* ($\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ IV 75, where $A^2 R$ have $-i\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$). In *Demokritos Phys.* 1, Sextus Empiricus has $\delta\rho\eta\nu$, but in *Melissos* 17 Simplicius has $\delta\rho\bar{\alpha}\nu$ (Mullach $\delta\rho\eta\nu$). In *Hippokrates* (but chiefly in the supposititious treatises) there are numerous examples according to Littré. Good MSS. often have the correct forms: $\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\eta\nu$ VIII 342 ($-\bar{a}\nu$ in θ); $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ VI 606 ($-\bar{a}$ in θ); $\alpha\nu\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ IX 384 ($-i\bar{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ VI 388); $\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\nu$ II 478 ($-\bar{a}\nu$ in Λ), VII 220 (θ); $\alpha\sigma\eta$ (?) VII 252, $\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ IX 384, but $\alpha\sigma\bar{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ VI 388, VIII 78; $\beta\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ VIII 328 (C , *vulgo*, $-i\bar{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ Littré), 560 bis; $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta$ IX 336 ($-\bar{a}$ CD , and $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ 338), $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu$ 338 ($-\bar{a}\nu$ CD). Cf. also *v.l.* 322, 356, 360 &c. It would be possible to refer $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu$ to $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\omega$, since $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}\omega$ occurs in Doric ($C. D. I.$ 3339³⁵⁵, 123);

$a + ou$ in some twenty verbs to ϵo , $\epsilon \omega$, ϵou in the *Parisinus* (*P*) of Hdt., and to $\epsilon \omega$ in the *Florentinus* (*C*). See on these points § 688, where the instances of $-\epsilon \omega$ for $-a\omega$ verbs are collected. Examples of the 'distracted' verbs are suspicious in Hdt. Stein adopts $\eta \gamma o\rho\acute{o}\omega\nu\tau o$ VI 11 ($-\acute{\omega}\nu\tau o$ *AB*¹), $\kappa o\mu\acute{o}\omega\sigma\iota$ IV 191 ($-\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$ *K*).

(2) $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs.

Lyric poets and inscriptions agree with Herodotos and Hippokrates in their treatment of dissimilar vowels in contact, but differ from them in respect of the contraction of like vowels. In the lyric poets and inscriptions we find:—

$\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon\iota$	$\epsilon + o = \epsilon o, \epsilon \upsilon$
$\epsilon + \eta = \eta$	$\epsilon + \omega = \epsilon \omega, \epsilon \omega$
$\epsilon + \epsilon\iota = \epsilon\iota$ ($\epsilon\epsilon\iota$)	$\epsilon + o\iota = \epsilon o\iota, o\iota$
	$\epsilon + ou = \epsilon ou, \epsilon \upsilon$.

Thus the inflection of $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ was the following, as early as the seventh century, in all respects except perhaps $-\epsilon\upsilon-$ for $-\epsilon o-$ in the poets; certainly by the time of Herodotos.

$\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$ VIII 340; $\xi\eta\nu$ VII 296 ($\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *H*), VIII 204 (*C*, $\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *vulgo*), but $\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ VIII 184, 232; $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\nu$ VIII 366 ($\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota\nu$ θ , &c., $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ is late, if correct at all); on $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\eta\tau o$, see § 685; $\acute{\upsilon}\rho o\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\nu$ VII 332, 342, $\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$ VII 320, 342, VIII 318 ($-a-$ in θ ; $\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ III 294, IV 608, IX 312 (cf. $\iota\eta\tau o$ *Syr. Dou* 20, $\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ III 278 ($-a-$ in *C*), VI 386 ($-a-$ in θ), VII 28, 252 *bis*, Aret. 302, Arrian I 512, but $\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ Hippokr. VI 316, IX 328, $\iota\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu o\varsigma$ Pherekyd. 76; [$\kappa\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ III 490 does not belong here because of Attic $\kappa\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$]; $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\nu$ VII 204, 236, but $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ VII 190; $\mu\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\eta$ III 244 (so Littré) is wrong as regards the 'distracted' η ; $\delta\delta\upsilon\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ II 424 ($-a-$ in *A*), but $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ VII 70, $-\acute{\alpha}\tau o$ V 206. Cf. $\delta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ IV 166; $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\nu$ II 442 ($-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *A*) VI 146 (θ , $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *vulgo*), VII 244 ($-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in θ), $\acute{\alpha}\nu o\rho\eta\nu$ VII 178, $\sigma\upsilon\nu o\rho\eta\nu$ II 440 ($-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ *A*), $\acute{\upsilon}\rho o\rho\eta\nu$ Aret. 312, &c., $\rho\rho o\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ IX 366; $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ II 178 ($-a-$ two MSS.); $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\nu$ VII 322 *bis*, 420, 422, VIII 138, 280 ($-\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in θ), 340, but $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$ VII 26, $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ VI 516, $-\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$ VII 322, VIII 340 ($-a-$ in θ); $\phi\upsilon\rho\eta\nu$ VIII 198. In *Herodas* we find $\lambda\omega\beta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ III 3 (but cf. $\lambda\omega\beta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\iota$ 369); $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}$ 283, $\theta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ 344, perhaps $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\mu\pi o\lambda\eta[\nu]$ 765, and $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\eta$ 617; $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\varsigma$ 427, 35, 56, 58 and 267 (corrected from $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$); $\delta\rho$ 350, 427; $\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\tau'$ 268, 722, but $\acute{\delta}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 666. Most of these forms have η in place of $\acute{\alpha}$ after ι and ρ , that is to say, they owe their origin to a belief (held in part even by Buttmann, *Gramm.* § 105, 12) that $\acute{\alpha} + \epsilon$ in Ionic became η after ι and ρ . [It is noteworthy that some of the η incorrect forms occur in close proximity to futures or aorists where η is in place. Cf. $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\nu$, $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ VII 422, $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\eta\nu$, $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ VIII 340, $\acute{\upsilon}\rho o\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\nu$, $-\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ VII 370. Cf. § 272, 3. $\mu\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\eta\nu$ (see L. S. s. v.) is a corruption of $-\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$, not an Ionism.] $\rho\eta$ was Ionic too in the verb, e. g. in $\delta\rho\eta\nu$. The examples with η not after ι or ρ , are more difficult. To refer them to primitive $-\eta\omega$ verbs is especially hazardous because they occur only in late works and even there the best MS. tradition is often against their correctness. We prefer to ascribe them in general to the grammarians whose hyper-Ionisms advanced to the point of resembling Dorisms. In the case of Herodas the possibility of η being a Doric contraction must not be overlooked. Only a thorough investigation of the question can disclose how many, if any, of the forms in question are to be regarded as having stems in $\eta = \acute{\alpha}$, parallel to those in $\acute{\alpha}$.

<i>Indic.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Imperf.</i>
φιλέω (-έω)	φιλέω (-έω)	ἐφίλειον (-έον, -ευν)
φιλείς	φιλήϊς	ἐφίλεις
φιλεῖ	φιλήϊ	ἐφίλει
φιλόμεν (-έομεν, -εῦμεν)	φιλέομεν (-έω-)	ἐφιλόμεν (-έομεν, -εῦμεν)
φιλεῖτε	φιλήϊτε	ἐφιλεῖτε
φιλέουσι (-εῦσι)	φιλέωσι (-έω-)	ἐφίλειον (-έον, -ευν)

A noteworthy difference between Herodotos and Hippokrates is the avoidance by the former of the forms of the optative in *-οιην*, and their frequent use by the latter. The infinitive is *φιλεῖν*, the participle *φιλέων*, *-έονσα* (*-εῦσα*), *-έον* (*-εῦν*), *φιλέοντος* (*-εῦντος*), *-εούσης* (*-εύσης*), *-έοντος* (*-εῦντος*).

In the MSS. of the prose writers *εε*, *ει* are generally retained (especially after consonants) and *ει* is very frequent.

It is certain that the Ionic of the fifth century contracted $\epsilon + \epsilon$, $\epsilon + \eta$, $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$. Unless we admit that Herodotos and Hippokrates consciously adopted a system of inflection antiquated in their time, we are forced to the conclusion that the introduction of open *εε*, *ειη*, *εει* in the texts of the early prose writers is due to the *μεταγραφάμενοι*. The cause of their error was the belief that the New Ionic did not contract ϵ with a following vowel. Meeting with *εω* in Ionic where Attic had *ω*, the grammarians opined that the difference between the two dialects consisted solely in the possession by the former of a 'pleonastic' ϵ^1 . Again they observed that *εω*, even if contracted in Ionic, did not lose its ϵ as it did in Attic, and that ϵ was often preserved before *α*. Furthermore, though *εφε* may become *ει*, *εφη* is actually uncontracted in *-εφεω* verbs. Thus unable to distinguish Ionic from Attic, and New Ionic from Old Ionic, and possessed of the belief that Herodotos was a species of prose Homer, it is not surprising that the grammarians or copyists were led to change *δοκεῖ* to *δοκέει*² and reinstate the ϵ everywhere before a following vowel (§ 108). The inflection thus seemed to them to gain in coherence and to approximate more closely to that of Homer who was the main source of their knowledge of the dialect.

The MSS. of the other prosaists anterior to the pseudo-Ionists have fared better than those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. In the pseudo-Ionists the open forms may claim a species of genuineness (§ 107).

The contraction of *εο* and *εοῦ*. Dindorf³ was an adherent of

¹ Cf. *χρέωμαι* from *χρῶμαι* in Eust. on Ψ 834. From this source of error may have sprung some of the hyper-Ionic verbs in *-εω*. See under 3.

² The citation by Greg. Kor. (§ 14) of *δοκέει* and *λαλέειν* is inapposite. Both forms occur in a pseudo-Anakreontic fragment (no. 62).

³ Hdt. *Praefatio* p. xxix.

the view that, while the ordinary speech of the Ionians may have preferred the closed to the open forms, in their literature some verbs were written with *εο*, others with *ευ*, and still others indifferently, and that certainty in so elusive a matter was to be despaired of. Bredow appears to have been of the same opinion. Abicht¹ first sought to bring order into a chaos which he conceived as foreign to the language of Herodotus. In those verbs² in which *ε* was preceded by a vowel, *εο* and *εου*, he contended, became *ευ*; in those in which *ε* followed a consonant *εο* and *εου* were retained. The former contention has some support, the latter may readily be disproved. Thus in verbs ending in a consonant we find *-εου*, but also *-εουμ-*, *-εουτ-*. Stein refuses to adopt the innumerable changes necessary to the carrying out of Abicht's theory, and prefers to edit that form which he thinks the MSS. in each case show to have existed in the archetype. Spreer³ is an adherent of Abicht so far as the five verbs mentioned in note 2 are concerned, but joins issue with him in respect of that part of his theory which demands *εο* after a consonant. In the case of *ἀγινέω*, *αἰνέω*, *αἰτέω*, *δοκέω*, *σιτέομαι*, *φρονέω* and *χωρέω* he thinks Hdt. adopted *εο*. His attempt at differentiating between various portions of the text as regards the preference of the scribes for one or the other writing leads to no important results. We present below⁴ a table, taken from Spreer's treatise, of verbs employed by Hdt. at least five times in present and imperfect, in order to show the affinities of the MSS. for *εο* or *ευ*, *εου* or *ευ*.

The views of the scholars above mentioned are all vitiated by the fact that they assume a radical difference between *εο* and *ευ*, *i. e.* that *εο* is a dissyllable, *ευ* a diphthong. While it may seem

¹ *Quaest. de dial. Herod. spec. primum*, 1859, *Uebersicht des herod. Dialekts*, p. 39.

² *θῆομαι*, *διανοέομαι*, *ἀγροέω* always avoid *εο*, *νοέω* has *νοεῦντες* VIII 3, *διανοεῦνται* IX 54, but *ἐπενόειον* V 65, *νοέουσι* III 81, *νοέουσα* VIII 101. *ποιέω* has about 243 *ευ* forms to 41 in *εο*, and *ευ* is much preferred to *εου*.

³ *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*.

⁴

	εο	ευ	εου	ευ		εο	ευ	εου	ευ
ἀγινέω	13				οἰκέω	73	1	36	
αἰνέω	11		5		ὁμολογέω	8		9	
αἰρέω	24	1	7		πολιορκέω	28	2		
αἰτέω	21		2		προθυμέομαι	5	1		
ἀπορέω	4	1			σιτέομαι	17			
ἀρνέομαι	4	1			τελέω	11	2	16	1
βοηθέω	21		2	1	τιμωρέω	7	1	3	
δοκέω	50	1			φορέω	15	3	20	
ἡγέομαι	26	7			φρονέω	11		8	
ἰκνέομαι	25	5			χωρέω	10		2	
ἰστορέω	5	1		1	ᾠνέομαι	4	1		
καλέω	172	19 or 21	33	1					

harsh to hold that nothing is indicated by the distinct preferences, indicated in the MSS., of many of the verbs in question for the one or the other writing, the evidence of the inscriptions (§§ 246, 287) is conclusive that no great difference in pronunciation existed between *eo* and *ev* (*i.e.* *ἔν*) on the one hand, and *εov* and *εῦ* (*i.e.* *ἔῦ*) on the other. The difference is not phonetical, but orthographical, as Merzdorf¹ first recognized. With the material at our command it is impossible to reconstruct the exact system of orthography adopted by Herodotos or any other Ionic writer². In Herodotos the preponderance in favour of *eo* over *ev* is very great, except in the case of four of Abicht's five verbs; in Hippokrates, the other early Ionic prose writers and in the pseudo-Ionists *eo* prevails over *ev*, as is natural in literary monuments, which are conservative. The inscriptions have *eo*, never *ev*. In the lyric poets there is not a single case, except Mimn. 14₃ (see § 661), of dissyllabic *eo*. Herodas prefers *εῦ*, perhaps because the Alexandrians regarded *eo* as dissyllabic³. The contraction of *eo* to *ov* is an Atticism which has no place in any portion of Ionic so long as the dialect retained its native vigour⁴.

The writing *εov* is generally preserved in the inscriptions. In a document from Kos (Paton 37_{57, 61}) coloured by Ionisms, we find *κρέσσα* = *κρέονσα*, Hippokr. VIII 484; but a like spelling we do not recollect to have encountered on any inscription from Ionia or the Ionic islands. *εov* rarely usurps the place of *ev* < *eo*, *e.g.* *Εὐρυσθένεους* Samos 217, *Ἄριστοκλέους* Thasos 72⁵. Strictly speaking *εov* is not contracted to *εῦ*. When, as in *ποιεῦσι*, the one writing is substituted for the other, the dialect merely fails

¹ Curtius' Studien, VIII 167.

² *ev* before *μ* is a favourite spelling. When an *-aw* verb appears under the form of one in *-ew* (§ 688), the evidence points to *eo*, not *ev*, except in a comparatively few cases. These are *εἰρώτεον* *v.l.* δ 251, Hdt. I 158, III 140, 156, IX 89, 93 generally in CPDz, *εἰρωτεύοντας* III 62, *ἀμειννται* VII 236, *φυσέμενος* IV 2 in P, *πειρέμενος* Hippokr. IX 354, *ὀρεύντες* IX 358, 376, Aret. 42 and in Theokritos (Ahrens II 310), *ὀρέσσα* Hrd. 414, *κνκεύμενος* Solon 37₃, *μωμεννται* Theog. 369, *μωμεύμενος* 169, *λαβέμαι* Hrd. 369, *πηδέντα* 396. *πλανεύμενος* Arrian 72 is a bad conjecture. On *-ev-* in *-ow* verbs, see § 690, and on *πιμπλεύσαι* in Hesiod, see § 691, note 4. Cf. also Theokr. *χασμέμενος* IV 53, *ὀπτεύμενος* VII 55, XXIII 34, *συλεύμενος* XIX 2, *γελέσσα* *v.l.* I 36, *σπαργέσσα* (?) Quint. Smyrn. XIV 28₃, *σκιρτέουσι* Opp. Kym. IV 342, *διψέυσαν* Anthol. Pal. VI 217. When a verb in *-ow* is incorrectly inflected like one in *-ew* (§ 690), *eo* is very rare. Hence *σταθμεύμενος* Hdt. VIII 130 is probably correct.

³ *eo* which was copied from the earlier monuments by the pseudo-Ionists was regarded by them as more Ionic than *ev*, and perhaps classed as dissyllabic.

⁴ The confusion between *ev* and *ov*, starting from a comparison of *δικαιοῦσι* and *ποιεῦσι* produced such forms as *δικαιεῦσι* in the MSS. Hrd. has *χασκεῦσα* 412, *τεμεῦσα* 423, *δραμεῦσα* 531, which are unique of their kind.

⁵ *ρεούμενοι* in the oracle, Hdt. VII 140, should give way to *ρεεῦμενοι* (Clemens Alex.), and be referred to an otherwise unattested *ρεεῶ*.

to differentiate between $\epsilon\nu = \check{\epsilon}\check{\nu}$ and $\epsilon\nu = \check{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$. In the lyric poets $\epsilon\nu$ is almost always a monosyllable. In Hdt. it is preferred to $\epsilon\nu$, except in the case of $\piοιέω$; Herodas prefers $\epsilon\nu$. The later prose literature generally adopts $\epsilon\nu$.

$\epsilon\nu$ is open about 190 times in Hdt. There are only three or four cases of the Attic ω .

In the optative, $\epsilonοι$ is retained as an old-fashioned spelling in a Teian inscription and in Ionic prose. In the poets we have $οι$ for $\epsilonοι$, and even in prose there is ample support for $οι$ after consonants as well as after vowels. It will not do to say that Ionic prose contracts $\epsilonοι$ only after vowels as was held by Merzdorf and Spreer. How far the spelling $\epsilonοι$ after consonants is a genuine survival, how far reinstated by the writers of the MSS., cannot be determined. $\epsilonοι$ is found, outside of $\piοιέω$, about forty times in all the MSS. of Hdt. In the case of $\piοιέω$, the contracted $οι$ is found up to VII 45, after which chapter we have $\epsilonοι$. Stein adopts the latter form throughout, even when it has no support from the MSS., e.g. V 75 $\piοιούειν$.

(3) $-οω$ verbs.

$ο + ο = ον$, never $\epsilon\nu$	$ο + \epsilonι = οι$
$ο + \epsilon =$ „ „ „	$ο + οι = οι$
$ο + \omega = \omega$	$ο + ον$ (spurious) = $ον$
$ο + \eta = \omega$	

All the witnesses for the dialect agree to these contractions. On $-\epsilon\nu-$ for $-\ον-$ erroneously introduced into certain forms of this inflection, see § 690.

2. Verbs in $-\epsilon\mathcal{F}-\omega$.

In dissyllabic verbs in $-\epsilon\mathcal{F}-\omega$ the contraction of like vowels is not imperative, as it is in the case of verbs in $-\epsilon-\iota\omega$ and $-\epsilon\sigma-\omega$, which are inflected like those in $-\epsilon-\iota\omega$. The prose writers vary between $\epsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilonι$, and $\epsilonι$, with the exception that $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is always contracted. In the lyric poets $\epsilon\mathcal{F}\epsilon$, $\epsilon\mathcal{F}\epsilonι$ generally become $\epsilonι$ (in Herodas always), but $\epsilon\eta$ remains open. $\epsilon\omega$ is never contracted, $\epsilonο$ only once (in Herodas), and $\epsilonον$ is so written (except once, in Herodas), even when it may be monosyllabic.

$\delta\epsilon\omega$: in the poets we find $\delta\epsilon\iota$, Hipponax 6 (trim.), Anakr. 98 (eleg.), Herodas 390, 520, 66, 62, 31, 7129. The only occurrence of the word in Homer (*Προσβεία* I 337) takes this form, for which $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilonι$ should not be substituted (e.g. $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilonι$ with omitted $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$). In Herodotos there are about 50 cases of $\delta\epsilon\iota$ to 3 of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilonι$ (III 127, VIII 68 (a), 143). Hippokrates uses $\delta\epsilon\iota$, e.g. II 52, 374, 376, VIII 190 (next to $\piοιέειν$), so too Herakleitos 94, Melissos 16, Demokritos 20, 47, 70, 73, 205, 219 (sic Stobaios, Mullach $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilonι$), Ion 1, Euseb. Mynd. I, 21, Aretaios, e.g. 55. Eberhard's $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilonι$ in Arrian 436 has no MS. support ($\delta\epsilon\iota$ or $\delta\epsilon\iota\tauαι$?). $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$ occurs in Hdt. I 129, II 133, VI 135, IX 33, Hippokr. II 248, 302 &c., $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$ but once in Hdt. (VIII 62). A much used word would tend to contract (cf. Boiotian $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ &c.). $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ Zeleia II 339, Hdt. I 90, Hippokr. II 246,

III 258, Aret. 198, Arrian 124. So too¹ in *Clouds* 493 and in Attic inscriptions: II 809 B 32 (δέει with εἰ from η). The contracted form δῆ, which occurs sporadically in Attic literature, appears in Lobadeia (Ditt. *Syll.* 353₆₂), and in the form δεῖ² Teos 158₈, and *B. C. II.* 1890, p. 393. In the imperfect in Herodotus we find ἔδεε 15, ἔδει 7 times by consensus of the MSS. Stein changes to ἔδεε four times where the MSS. have ἔδει, but leaves ἔδει in three passages with the MSS. ἔδεε was perhaps the Herodoteian form. In Hippokrates we find ἔδει II 46. Herodas has ἔδει 6_{79, 80, 92}, Lukian, *Syr. dea* 25 ἔδεεν (cf. πῶς δεῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. § 18 citing from an anonymous writer in Ionic). δεῦμαι Hrd. 5₁₉ is an instance of the rare contraction of εο. δέειαι³ Hdt. VII 161 is probably incorrect (cf. δέη in *R*). δέεται is found in Hdt. I 32 &c., Hippokr. II 36 (-ει- vulgo), 256 (-ει- vulgo), 348 and 372 (-ει- A), VII 288, and occasionally in Attic; δεῖται in I 616, II 356, III 210, 212, 232 bis, Arrian 36₂, Herodas 1₇₀, 6₁₁, 7₄₉. δέεσθε Hdt. VIII 22. In the subjunctive we find δέηται Olynthos 8 B 4, Arkesine (*Milth.* XI 107, lato), Hdt. III 96, Hippokr. III 204 (δεῖ same line), as in Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 40 A 13, 54 B 15), and with the glide ι (δέηται II 167, 43, 48)⁴, δέωνται Hdt. II 173, IV 94 (Attic δέωνται C. I. A. II 119, 14). δεοῖατο Hdt. V 73, Hippokr. III 230; δέισθω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340, Hrd. 4₃₈, δέεσθαι Hippokr. II 28 (-ει- vulgo), IX 334, Hdt. IV 145 &c. (also Attic), δέισθαι IX 8 (in all MSS. except *R*), and in MSS. Arrian 317, and Hippokr. VII 176. δέόμενος Hdt. IV 11, Euseb. Mynd. I, δειομ- Oropos 18₅₆. Theokr. XXX 32 has δέόμενον, which is not, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, note 1, states, an unthematic form. In the imperfect: ἐδέομην Hdt. III 36, ἐδέο VII 161 (Bredow, MSS. ἐδέου), ἐδέετο Hdt. IV 162, &c. (also Attic). ἐδέοντο I 196. θέω yields θεῖ Hdt. I 181; θέειν VIII 140 (a), but θεῖν III 105, both in all MSS.; θέοντες Hippokr. epist. IX 350; ἔθεε Hdt. I 43, ἔθειν I 82. νέω *sicim* has νέειν Hdt. VIII 89 (νεῖν VI 44 A^B C d); ἔνειν VIII 89. πλέω yields πλεῖ Hekat. 284, Aret. 69, Hrd. 2₂₁, πλέουσι Hdt. II 60, Hippokr. II 60, IX 368 epist., Kallimachos frag. 94 (choliambic); πλέη Hdt. III 138, πλέωμεν VIII 109, πλέωσι IX 98; πλεῖοι II 115; πλέειν VIII 109 but πλεῖν Arrian 6₃, Vita Hom. 6, 7; πλέοντες Hdt. II 60, πλεούσας VIII 10; ἔπλεε⁵ Theog. 12, Hdt. IV 43, but ἔπλει Ion 1, ἔπλεον Hdt. I 164. πνέω yields πνέει Hippokr. II 62, VII 486, but πνεῖ VI 384 (θ), VII 16, πνέουσι Aret. 102; πνέη Hrd. 1₉₀, Aretaios 5; πνέει Hippokr. V 204, πνεῖν VII 50; πνέοντες Hdt. II 22, πνέοντα Diog. Apoll. 5; ἔπνεεν Sim. Keos 115₂; πνεόμενος Hippokr. II 122. ῥέω yields ῥέει Mimn. 51 (=Theog. 1017), Hdt. I 51, 72, 180, 185, &c., Hippokr. III 252, VII 12, 562, 570, VIII 260, Aret. 109, Herakl. 41 (but ῥεῖ 42) according to Bywater. ῥεῖ is found in Hippokr. II 658, VII 12, VII 34, Arrian 8₃. ῥέη Hdt. I 193, II 149, Hippokr. VI 314, VII 34, Aret. 98, 271 (but ῥῆ 303); ῥέοι Hdt. II 22; ῥέειν Hdt. II 21, Hekat. 278, Hippokr. II 38, 136, Aret. 248, ῥεῖν Theog. 639 (εὐ ῥεῖν for A's ευρεῖν, vulgo εὔρεῖν), Hippokr. VII 12; ῥέων Hdt. I 6, Hekat. 202, ῥέοντα Hdt. II 121 (δ); ἔρρεε⁶ II 121 (δ), ἔρρει

¹ Cf. also δεησόμενος, δεηθείς, περιδείης, ἐνδεής.

² In Hort. Adon. p. 187 B δεῖ is given as the Attic subjunctive. Cf. Demok. 188 where Stobaios has δεῖ.

³ ἐπιδευεῖαι B 229 is Aiolie rather than Ionic. An. Ox. I 109₆ calls it Ionic because Homeric.

⁴ προσδεῖται Ditt. *Syll.* 337₁₁₋₁₂ (320 B. C.) is an indicative form used in Attic as a subjunctive, a substitution made easier after δεῖν had become δῆ, then δεῖ (above). Cf. also δηλοῖ indicative and subjunctive.

⁵ Eust. 1892₂₉, cf. 882₂.

⁶ Cf. Eust. 1892₂₈.

Hippokr. V 226; ἔρρειτο Aret. 180; ρεόμενος Hippokr. I 572, VII 320, VIII 48. From χέω we have χέει Hdt. III 96, χέουσι IV 195, χέη Hrd. 7; χέεται Sim. Keos 1675; ἐκχέειν Keos 4322, Aret. 184, but χέειν Hdt. IV 127, Hippokr. II 356; χέουσα Hdt. I 185, χέουσα Hrd. 677; χέεται Herakl. 23, Hippokr. VII 570, but χείται Arrian 328, Aret. 296; χέεσθω Aret. 202, but χέεσθων Anakr. 42; ἐχέειτο Hippokr. III 54.

3. Variation in the Present between -ω and -εω (-αω) verbs.

This list includes only such verbs as show both forms in the same dialect. Omitted are cases analogous to *δινέω* in Hippokr. = *δίνω* in Hesiod and Herakleian, and also variations of the epic dialect, e. g. ἔλκω, ἔλκέω, αἰδομαι, αἰδέομαι. This section does not treat of the addition of an ε to the stem in other tenses than the present. Some of the undermentioned verbs are due to the error by which Ionic was thought to have εω in place of ω, an error assisted perhaps, but not directly caused, by the analogy of *λαχέω*, *πορφυρέω*, *μελανέω*, &c. The genuine forms recall the causatives in -*āyati* in Sanskrit, which in Greek were confused with the denominatives. The Greek representatives of -*āyati* are either causatives or iteratives (intensives and frequentatives), but in most cases the original signification has been lost.

ἀγεόμενος Hdt. III 14 in *qz* cannot stand. It is a confusion between ἡγέομαι and ἄγω, parallel to ἐπειρέμενος below. ἄχθομαι Hdt., Aret. 183, ἀχθεί Aret. 183. βαλλέω does not exist. ὑπερβαλλέειν Hdt. III 23, συμβαλλεόμενος I 68, III 95, &c., are stupid blunders of the Aldine edition. Cf. ὑπερβαλλέειν, the vulgate reading in Hippokr. IV 92. The existence of βαλλήσω (not attested in Ionic) may have furthered the error, but it is more probable that the false -εειν of the second aorist induced the mistake. Cf. also ὑπερθορόντα Hdt. VI 134 (*sz*) from θορέειν. βουλώνται Teos, Mitth. XVI 293, l. 20; cf. δυνώνται and § 618. Notice also βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθη. βρύχομαι in βρύχωνται, a doubtful reading of Littré VI 360. Hippokrates has usually βρυχάομαι. (δια)βύνεται Hdt. II 96, but διαβυνέονται IV 71. In the *Peace* 646 we read ἐβύνουν. δεψεῖ Hdt. IV 64 *ABC* is a mistake for δέψει *Rz* (δέψει *P*). δύνω 16 times in Hdt., δυνέω once, in ἐνδυνέομαι III 98 (ἐνδύνουσι *R*). Cf. θυνέω in Hesiod's *Scutum* 210, 257 with Skt. *dhūn-āyati* by the side of *dhū-nā-ti*. εἴλω perhaps in ἡλσάμην Sim. Amorg. 17, εἰλέω Hdt., Hippokr. εἶρομαι Hdt., ἐπειρέμενος Hdt. III 64 in *ABDz*, ἐπηρέμενος *C*. Read ἐπειρέμενος with *s, v*. Confusion between εἶρομαι and ἐρέω led to the incorrect form. ἔψω is Herodoteian (II 94, III 100, IV 61, IX 118) and Hippocratic, e. g. in the following cases:—ἐψεν II 32, III 236, ἔψε VII 158, 160, 374, VIII 174, 392, ἐψέτω VIII 182, ἔψων VIII 162, ἔψοντα VIII 138, ἐψόμενος VII 276. Since we have the testimony of a grammarian (wrongly supposed by Hermann (*de emend. rat.* p. 313) to be Herodian) to the effect that no ancient author used ἔψουν, ἔψεε or ἔψεε in Hdt. I 48 has been abandoned by the editors. The best support for this form in Hippokrates is II 518, where ἔψεε occurs twice. In the first case *A* has ἔφε, in the second ἔψε is the vulgate reading and the majority of the MSS. have ἔψεε. This example is however from the spurious appendix to the *περὶ διαίτης δξέων*. Other cases in the supposititious works are ἐψεῖν V 244, VII 85, 156 (ἔψει same page), 196, 254 (*θ*), 276, 374, VIII 82

(-ειν C). 92, 174, 194, 200, 338 (ἔψειν C), 366 (θ, Littré ἔψην), 392. Instead of ἔψων, which appears VII 48, 160, 222, 266, 276, 420, we have traces of the early form in ἔψοντα VI 566 (θ), ἀπέψοντα VIII 138 (θ), and ἀπέψων VII 402 (C). Aretaios has ἔψειν 250, ἐψέισθα 331, ἐψέισθωσαν 256 (Kühn), συνεψέισθω 170, 13 (Ermerins). The future, aorist, and perfect ἐψη- started the -εω form. That κύρω and κυρέω coexisted in post-Homeric Ionic may be inferred from κύρωσιν in Demokritos, ἐνέκυρωσιν in Hdt., ἐγκυρέω Herakleitos, κυρήσω Hdt., ἐκύρησα Archil., Hdt., Hippokr. κύω Hdt., Hippokr., κυέω Hdt. (κυήσω Hippokr.). μαρτύρομαι Hdt. I 44, V 92 (η), μαρτυρεῖ VIII 94 (bear witness), ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο (?) V 93. μαρτυροῦμαι is late, and due to a confusion between μαρτυρῶ (ἐγώ) and μαρτύρομαι (σε). The only testimony to μαχέομαι¹ occurs in Hdt. VII 104 (A B C d z, μαχομ- Rvs), 225 (Rz), 239 (Suidas), IX 67 (A B, μαχομ- P R), 75 (z). In VII 104 occurs μονομαχέομαι which is formed like συμμαχέω and must be considered apart from μαχέομαι. The -ε- form in the simple verb appears in the future μαχέσομαι in Hdt. μέλομαι is Herodoteian (I 98, II 2, 174) and Hippocratic (ἐπιμελόμενος III 522, vulgo -εο-). μεταμελήται Hdt. III 36, in all MSS., should be read -ηται. In Hippokr. III 476 we find ἐπιμελήται (as in Demokr. 41), in III 492, IX 256, 420 -έεσθαι. On inscriptions we find both forms: ἐπιμέλωνται Thasos 71^a, ἐπιμέλεσθαι 71^b, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Oropos 187. μινύθω Hippokr. IV 360, μινυθέω III 330. μύζω Hippokr. VIII 592, 594, μυζέω VII 252. ξύρω and ξυρέω are both Hippocratic. Cf. ξύρω VII 118 (aorist, not imperf. of ξυράω), ἐξύρησα VI 212. Hdt. has only ξυρέω. δμίχω in Hipponax 55 A ὄμιξεν; cf. δμιχέω in Hesiod. πέτομαι Hdt. II 75 renders καταπετομένους III 111 (C) impossible. Read -πετομένους with A B. πιέζω Hdt. V 35, Hippokr. II 18, 92, III 334, 504, 522, 524, VII 190, 276, 496. πιεζέω in πιεζεύμενος Hdt. III 146 (A B R), VI 108 (πιεζομ- Cz), VIII 142 (πιεζομ- B Cz). In these passages we adopt the contracted form, but in IX 21 πιεζόμενος (πιεζου- R), and elsewhere (I 142, II 25, IV 13, 105, 118, VI 139, VII 121, IX 60, 61), πιέζομαι is undisputed. Bredow and Dindorf would read this form throughout. Hippokr. has πιεζέω in πιεζεύνται II 184, πιεζεύντα III 450, πιεζεύμενος VII 566, VIII 262. Aretaios has πιέζω 77, 107, πιεζεύμενος 107. Apio adopted πιεζέω in Homer, Aristarchos and Herodian πιέζω². πινέω in πινεύμενος (?) Hippokr. II 38. ρίπτω Hdt. III 41, IV 61 &c., ριπτέω IV 94, 188, VII 50, VIII 53. Of σινέομαι (cf. IV 123, IX 13, 49, 73, 87) there is now no reading accepted in Herodotos. Even in V 81 ἐσίνοντο or ἐσικνέοντο is adopted. In all other passages except those referred to, the MSS. have σίνομαι. Hippocrates has σινεύμενος VII 552, 562, 592 twice and σινόμενος once, σίνοιτο III 482, VII 550. (περι)σπερχέω is correct in Hdt. VII 207, since it is derived from περισπερχής. Hdt. elsewhere has σπέρχω, σπέρχομαι, &c., and in the passage cited Abicht adopts Valckenaer's περισπερχθέντων. σπέρχων in the sense of σπέρχω is mentioned by Erotian (Lex. Hippokr.). φθινεύσιν, dat. pl. Hippokr. II 674 (-ουσιν A), cf. φθινήσας V 468. φυράω Hdt. II 36; cf. ἐφύρησα Hippokr. VI 460, &c., πεφύρημαι VI 540, but πέφυρμαι Hdt. III 157.

¹ Gram. Vat. 698 μαχόμενος, μαχεόμενος, but Meerm. 652 μαχοόμενος, μαχεόμενος; in each tractate in conjunction with a present (λυπεόμενος). The reference, we think, has in mind the epic μαχειόμενος and μαχεούμενον rather than a New Ionic μαχέομαι.

² πιέζω Ionic (Homeric), Attic, Aiolic, πιάζω Doric, Hdn. II 348^a, cf. I 443¹⁰, II 949¹¹. In II 140²² Herodian reports that Apio read (incorrectly, as he thinks) πιέζων in μ 174.

In this list we have not included such monstrosities as ἐρείχεε, in all MSS. Hdt. I 118, ὄφλεε (*Rz*) VIII 26.

4. -εω varies with -εωω as in other dialects. ἀεθλέω and ἀθλεύω both occur in Hdt., but Hdt. has always τυραννέω, never τυραννέω; δινέω is rare in prose (Hippokr. V 274, VI 494, Hdt. II 14), while δινεύω is epic and tragic.

ἀναλώω appears in Hippokrates II 50, VII 588; elsewhere it is mainly older Attic. Aretaios has ἀναλίσκω 198.

κρεμάομαι in Hippokr. I 592, II 288 is suspicious. κρέμαμαι is certain in II 152.

λούω and λώω. The existence of a present λούω, λούομαι in Homer is open to grave doubt. Verbs whose stems ended originally in -ουvs (ἀκούω, κρούω) reinstate in the present their ου from future and aorist; but verbs whose stems did not end in -ουvs regularly lost their υ < F in primitive Greek. Homeric ἀπολοίσομαι¹ and λούσα have as their present, not λούω, but λώω. For λούεσθαι in Z 508=O 265, which is merely an Aiolism (=λόφεσθαι), λούεσθαι is the older form. ἐλούεον Hymn to Demeter 290 is also an Aiolism, or it is a confusion between λούω and λούω (Gemoll reads with Bücheler ἔλουον). λούω itself was formed from λούσω after the principle regulating the movement of the ου had passed into abeyance.

λούομαι occurs in the following forms:—λούται Sim. Amorg. 763 (first foot); λούνται Hdt. I 198, II 37; λούσθω Hippokr. VII 24, 26, 78, VIII 162, 260 (C θ); λούσθαι Hdt. III 124 (λούεσθαι AB), Hippokr. VII 74, VIII 298 (θ, λούεσθαι vulgo, Littré); ἐλούτο Hdt. III 125. All these are formed directly from λο + ε or λο + ο. It is not true that the present and imperfect 'generally drop ε and ο in their terminations' (Veitch, p. 424). Veitch cites the inf. λούν from Hippokrates in Galen.

λούω is found in λούε Hippokr. VIII 162; λούει Hdt. VI 52; λούειν Hippokr. II 374, 376, VII 26, 34, 90; λούοις Hippokr. II 372, as in Attic; λούονται Hdt. IV 75 *ABR*, Stein. but λούνται is better; λούεσθω Hippokr. VII 276, 334, 380, VIII 198, 242, 420; λούεσθαι Hippokr. II 376, V 244, VI 252, VII 330, Aretaios 301; λουόμενος Hdt. III 23 (Dindorf λούμενοι). The last form appears in Hippokr. VII 276, *Hellen.* VII 2, 22 (Dindorf λουμ-), &c.² It is certain in the comparatively late inscription from Andania (Cauer 47103).

¹ This form cannot be resolved into ἀπολοίσομαι as can 25 occurrences of the aorist (λούσθ Ξ 7, λούσατε ζ 210 resist resolution).

² Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrygichus*, p. 274.

Present Indicative.

On $-\epsilon\omega$ instead of $-a\omega$ see § 688. Verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ are omitted (§ 637, 2).

638.] Singular First Person.

1. $-a\omega$ is always contracted¹, e. g. Anakr. 19₂ κολυμβῶ, Hrd. 386 σιωπῶ, 524 ὄρω, Hdt. VI 130 ἐγγυῶ, IV 36 γελῶ.

2. $-\epsilon\omega$, though thus written, is always monosyllabic in the lyric poets of Ionic birth. φιλέω Archil. 58₁ (tetr.), Anan. 4₂, Anakr. 72 B, 94₁ (eleg.), Herodas 166 and so 74 where φιλῶ has slipped in: δοκέω² Anan. 5₁, Solon 32₄ (iamb. tetram., δοκῶ Fick), Hrd. 110, 6₄, 7₄₂: αἰρέω Theog. 87₃ in *n* alone, Hrd. 362; οἰκέω Hrd. 113, 2₂₂ (Theog. οἰκῶ 1210 in all MSS.). Anakreon has also εἰσοσκέω 3₂, μισέω 74₁, Theognis αἰνοβαρέω 503 (A O), Hrd. τελέω 2₂₄, μετρίεω 6₅, ἑλακτέω 6₁₁, φωρέω 54₇, 7₅.

In the spurious Anakreontics we find δοκέω 287, ποθέω 40₁, φιλέω 40₂ (υυ-).

$-\epsilon\omega$ is the ending in Ionic prose: δοκέω Hdt. I 8, &c., Hekat. 331, Hippokr. V 196, 714, Lukian *V. A.* § 14, Hdt. ποιέω I 38, νοέω VII 8 (a), ἐπινοέω III 134, &c., Hippokr. ἐπαινέω II 244.

3. $-o\omega^4 = \omega$: δικαίω Hdt. III 142, &c.

639.] Singular Second Person.

1. ὄρᾱς⁵ Archil. 87₁, 88₂, Anakr. 1₆, *Vit. Auct.* 4; Hipponax ἀρειᾱς 6₅, περιᾱς 52 (conj.), Anakr. ἡβᾱς 18₂, Herodas γελᾱς 27₄, ἐρᾱς 27₉, Hdt. νικᾱς I 40, χρᾱς IV 155, *Vit. Auct.* 13 ἐρωᾱς.

2. κοεῖς Anakr. 4₂, δοκέεις 75₂, φιλεῖς Theog. 88, ὀμιλεῖς 1377 (-εῖς here impossible); Herodas has δοκεῖς 165, 342, 517, φαρματεῖς (?) 543, ποεῖς 6₉, φιλεῖς 643, ἀμυθρεῖς 6₆. In Hdt. the incorrect -εῖς is more frequent than -εῖς: δοκέεις I 27, 207, III 34, IV 126, VII 237, νοεῖς VII 38 (εὐνοεῖ VII 237), but ζητεῖς I 32 in all MSS. and in Stobaios, φληνρεῖς VII 103 (R). Good MS. evidence supports ἀμυθρεῖς and δοκεῖς *Vit. Auct.* § 4.

¹ Vat. 694 cites as Ionic βῶα parallel to the open ποιέω and χρυσῶ. An open $-a\omega$ is unknown in post-Homeric Ionic. The Doric λῶ is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 79₃₁.

² καλέω Hdn. I 444₁₃, II 332₂ (Et. Gud. 294₁₁), ἀδικέω Hdn. II 331₂₅, δινέω II 267₁₁ (Et. M. 620₄₅), φιλέω, νοέω Apollon. Adv. 143₁₁ (Schn.), φρονέω, νοέω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 653, ποιέω Vat. 694.

³ Cf. Peace 46 Ἴωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος "δοκέω μὲν, ἐς κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται . . ." Open $-\epsilon\omega$ may occur in lyric passages in tragedy: καλέω *Agamem.* 147.

⁴ χρυσῶ Vat. 694 does not exist.

⁵ κατορᾱς (Anakr.) Joh. Gr. 240, ἀτιμᾱς An. Par. III 350₂₃ (ἀτιμῖς Aiolic, ἀτιμοῖς Attic).

ποιεῖς § 6 (in C). In Hippokr. ep. 14 (IX 338) we find *θεομαχεῖς*, but *-έεις* is more common (e.g. *δοκέεις* IX 360).

3. *δικαιοῖς* Hdt. VII 159.

640.] Singular Third Person.

1. *ὄρα*¹ Sim. Amorg. 7_{15, 80}, Theog. 168, Solon 13₁₇, Hdt. I 10, Diog. Apoll. 6, Ion 1; Hippon. 7₆ *λαιμά* (conj.), Theog. 320 *τολμά*, Solon 13₁₅ *τελευτά*, Hrd. 1₇₇ *ἐνγελά*, 3₈ *ὄρμα*, 7₃₀ *φοιτά*, 7₆₁ *ἐρά*, Hdt. I 55, &c. *χρά*; VIII 69 *ἐά*, Demokr. 15 *ρικά*, 71 *ἀνιά*, Hippokr. VII 578 *ἔξερά*, II 40 *λιθιά*.

2. The only case of open *-έει* in the post-Homeric authors here investigated is *δοκέει* Theog. 221, which is a reproduction of the epic form in Z 338, Ψ 470, α 376, ε 360, &c. (nine times in all). Homer employs also *δοκεῖ* M 215, ν 154, &c., but never *δοκέει*. This *δοκέει* appears at the end of a trimeter in Hipponax 74, though Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₈, and Solon 13₄₂, have *δοκεῖ* in the same place. The form with synizesis in the former poet (1₉) is also improbable. Solon has *δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι* in 13₃₉, but the passage is spurious, and Herodas the same form V 3 (*δόκει* Bergk). The only other trace of a possible *-έει* is *φιλέει* Anakr. 70, where the dactylo-epitritic permits *φιλέει* (cf. the metre of 71). *-εῖ* is found at the verse end in Archil. 116 epod. (*καθαίρει*), 69 tetr. (*ἐπικρατεῖ*), Sim. Amorg. 7₆₅ (*φορεῖ*), 7₂₇ (*νοεῖ* as Sim. Keos (?) 8₅₈), Theog. 1270, 1368 (*φιλέει*)², Anakr. 21₁₃ (*φορεῖ*). Other cases of *-εῖ* are *ἐπαρκεῖ* Solon 51 (*-έει* impossible), *ἀρκεῖ* Hrd. 52, *ἀπαρκεῖ* 363, *εὐτυχεῖ* Sim. Amorg. 7₈₃, *ἀγρεῖ* Theog. 294, *φρονεῖ* Theog. 395. Herodas has *αἰνεῖ* 447, *αἰτεῖ* 310, *ἠθεῖ* 333, *καλεῖ* 556, *ποιεῖ* 786.

On an Hellenistic inscription (Ephesos 147₈) dating about 300 B.C. we find *διατελεῖ*, and *τελεῖ* on one from Teos [*Mith.* XVI 292 (l. 8, 12)] from the fourth century.

Herodotos: (1) *-έει* preceded by a consonant is left uncontracted in *χωρέει* I 192, *ἀγηλατέει* V 72 (only occurrence of the present in classic Greek), but the correct form appears in *κινεῖ* III 80, *ἀποστερεῖ* VI 65, *μαρτυρεῖ* VIII 94 in all MSS., and in some: *κινεῖ* II 68 (*PRdz*), *ἀπωθεῖ* II 25 (*CRd*), *ἀδικεῖ* VII 10, η (*PR*), *μαρτυρεῖ* II 18 (*d*), *χωρεῖ* II 96 (*C*), *δοκεῖ* III 5 (*AB*). (2) *-έει*, preceded by *οι*, is retained in the MSS. in *ποιέει* I 142, II 25, III 47, IV 26, &c. (cf. *ποιέειν* in Hdt.). Preceded by *ο*, *-εει* contracts in *εὐνοεῖ* VII 237 (but *νοέεις* VII 38!). Cf. the forms after *ο* in the infinitive and in the imperfect. The contracted forms are correct.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists we find the open forms where the MSS. often pronounce in favour of the contraction.

¹ Joh. Gr. 240.

² *φιλεῖ* Theog. 1255 is possibly Solonian.

ἀγνοεῖ Euseb. Mynd. 54; ἀδικεῖ Demokr. 203; αἰμορροεῖ Hippokr. V 606, 618, 626, 726; ἀλγεῖ Melissos 4, 11 (Mullach ἀλγέοι), 13 (Mullach -έει) -έει, Aret. 69; ἀλυκεῖ Hippokr. VIII 30 (an epic verb: near by is ἀμεννά); ἀναίρει Pherekyd. of Leros 48, Hippokr. V 624; ἀρκεῖ Hippokr. VI 210 (θ); γαμεῖ Pherekyd. Leros 22, 40, 48, 55 (Atticized fragments), 85; δοκεῖ Hekat. 332, Melissos 17, Demokr. 184, 185, 188, 208, Diog. Apoll. 2, 3, 6 *bis*, Arrian 9_v 5; ὄρεν δοκεῖ in Demokr. 25, 101 (Demokrates, Diogen. Apoll. 1 (Diog. Laert.)), Lukian 7. 2. 13, Hippokr. II 38, 52, 56, 60, 76, 78, 128, 244, 250, 288, III 228, V 696. The vulgate of Hippokr. sometimes has -εῖ. In VI 110 A, in 270 V has δοκεῖ; ἐξαθεῖ Hippokr. V 710; ἐξαρκεῖ Herakl. 91; ἐπιδημεῖ Hippokr. II 20; ἐπιθυμεῖ Demokr. 71; κρατεῖ Anax. 6, Herakl. 91, -έει Hippokr. II 38; μαρτυρεῖ Herakl. 3 (Clemens, Theod.); ματαιοπονεῖ Demokr. 59; οἰκεῖ Demokr. 1, Pherekyd. Leros 16, 20; ὀμολογεῖ Melissos 17, -έει Herakl. 45 in Hippokr. -έειν; παραιοπονεῖ Hippokr. V 632; ποιεῖ Anax. 11, Demokr. 35, 88, 133, Hippokr. II 256 (in A) Arrian 473; ποιεῖ Demokr. 24, Hippokr. II 20, 298, 358, 374, III 220 *bis*, 242, 258, V 656, 726 (-ροεῖ same page); συμφωνεῖ Hekat. 144; ταλαίπωρεῖ Demokr. 184; φιλεῖ Herakl. 10 (-έει 117), Demokr. 20, 235; χωρεῖ Meliss. 14, Diog. 2, Anax. 6 (-έει Hippokr. VIII 30 and often); ὤφελεῖ Hippokr. V 646, 650, 708, 720, but -έει II 128, 138, V 196 (ὠχλεῖτο same page), 622 *bis*, 710.

In a majority of cases Hippokrates has -έει. ἀλλοφρονεῖ VII 30 is an interesting use of an epic verb. Aretaios has about 130 cases of -έει to 20 of -εῖ. An unusual form in Aret. is νέει 274 = the poetical νέεται. Lukian's *Syr. dea* has only open forms, Arrian 14 cases of -έει to 4 of -εῖ.

3. σοοῖ Theog. 868, ἀμαυροῖ Solon 4₃₅, ἐπιλοξοῖ Hrd. 4₇₁, πληροῖ Hdt. II 7, δηλοῖ II 44, Hippokr. V 634, *Vit. Hom.* 37, ὀρθοῖ Demokr. 128.

641.] Plural First Person.

1. Hdt. ἐῶμεν II 114 as in Homer, B 236, K 344, besides εἰῶμεν σ 420, φ 260. Cf. Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 326. ὀρώμεν is the reading of all MSS. Hdt. I 120 (as regards -ῶμεν); elsewhere *ABR* have the contracted form, *Cd* -έω-, *P* -έο-.

2. καλέομεν Hdt. V 49, Hippokr. ep. 17₁₂, Aret. 25, νοεῶμεν Solon 13₃₃ (Attic καλοῦμεν Theog. 1207), Hrd. ἀντλεῶμεν 4₁₄, τελεῶμεν *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2₁. On ὀρέομεν see § 688.

3. δηλοῦμεν, &c.

642.] Plural Second Person.

1. ὀράτε Solon 11₇, διαιτᾶτε Hrd. 2₈₆.

2. Kall. δοκεῖτε I₃, αἰδέισθε I₂ (where εε is metrically impossible). Hdt. θαρσέετε IX 18, ποιέετε IV 136, &c.¹, but ἀνχέετε VII 103 (in all MSS.), a reading rejected by Stein. We require the contracted form.

3. ἀξιούτε Hdt. IV 115.

¹ Cf. also ἀπιστέετε.

643.] Plural Third Person.

1. ὄρωσιν Kall. 1₂₀, Solon 34₂, τιμῶσι Tyrnt. 12₃₇, Theog. 169, Hdt. II 50 (*CP* -έωσι, cf. § 688), Herakl. 102. Hdt. has also σῶσι I 200 from σάω *sifl*¹, ἔωσι II 36, βοῶσι III 117 (Sim. Keos 114₆), νικῶσι VIII 94, Hippokr. τελευτῶσι V 598, 624, ἡβῶσι II 22.

κομῶσι Hdt. IV 191, adopted by Stein from all MSS. except *R*, is an epic form here out of place. So κομῶντες in Arrian 34₇, 35₃, and ἀμφαφῶσι Aret. 141. σταλάουσιν *Astrol.* 19 is an error (cf. Lobeck *Rhetorik.* 175).

2. Open forms in -έουσι (ο-ο) are very rare in the lyric poets: ὀκέουσι Phokyl. 9 (hex.), καλέουσι Xenoph. 2₃—the only instances in poets of Ionic birth—and στυγέουσ' Theog. 278. -εῦσι occurs in φρονεῦσι Archil. 70₃ (tetr.). It is interesting to observe that Herakleitos 5, where he states a belief in opposition to that expressed in the fragment of Archilochos, employs φρονέουσι. Theog. has φιλεῦσιν 169, 337, 871, Anakr. (?) χωρεῦσι 108₃ eleg., Hrd. ἀπαρκεῦσιν 36, κατοικεῦσιν 4₁₀, ποιεῦσι 6₆₉, πορθεῦ[σιν] 6₁₀₁, Kallim. II 82 ἀγνεῦσι. εἰσοιχιεῦσιν *Prometh.* 122 (anap.) is from ι 120.

Solon's verse (151) containing πλουτέουσιν is reproduced in Theog. 315 where πλουτοῦσιν is read. The existence of Κυπρογενούς 26₁, and ἰκνούνται 4₂₁, make it probable that Solon used here the genuine Attic form in -οῦσιν, which was expelled on the ground that he was entirely dependent upon Ionic models. πλουτοῦσιν stands in Solon 24₁ = Theognis 719, ἀδικοῦσι in 4₂₂ (reading ἐν συνόδοις θ' οὐς ἀδικοῦσι φίλους for Bergk's ἐν συνόδοις τῆς ἄδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα). Forms in -οῦσιν occur elsewhere: φρονοῦσιν Hipponax 73 tr., φαγοῦσι 82 tetr. are clearly due to an Attic copyist; Theognis has τελοῦσι 142, ζητοῦσιν 684. Perhaps we should read παταγεῦσιν for Eustathios' παταγοῦσιν in Anakr. 64. διατελοῦσιν Ephesos 147₅ is Attic also.

Hdt. has -εου- over 260 times in the 3rd plural and participle in other verbs than ποιέω. In the case of ποιέω, ποιεύσι² is so much more frequent, that ποιέουσι in I 71, II 121, where there is no support for -ευ-, should perhaps be corrected. So too νοέουσι III 81 (but cf. νοέουσα VIII 101). Exceptional, on the other hand, in having -ευ- are καλέεσι II 94 (with *v. l.* -έουσι in *C*), λεηλατεῦσι II 152, ἡγιοχεῦσι IV 193, πωλεῦσι V 6, ἐπιτελεῦσι V 49, διατελεῦσι VII 111, all these verbs having a consonant before ε. -οῦσι is best supported in κοσμοῦσι III 24 (all MSS. except *R*).

-έουσι is very frequent in the other monuments of Ionic prose, e.g. Demokr. φιλείουσι 70, ποιέουσι 87, ἐπιθυμέουσι 47, ἀσκέουσι

¹ Hippokr. has both σάω and σήθω (σεσημένος and σεσησμένος).

² Scarcely any passage has not the *v. l.* -έουσι, which occurs most frequently in *R*, often also in *Pd*, rarely in *ABC* (II 49, 60, VI 138). Twice at least *R* alone has -εῦσι (IV 146, VII 148).

103, τηρέουσι 126, σωφρονέουσι 137, ἀπορέουσι 168, εὐδαιμονέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-); Pekat. οἰκέουσι 67, 78, 114, 175 (Steph. Byz.), but οἰκοῦσιν 173 (Athenaios and Steph. Byz.), ὁμονρέουσι 190, 195, φορέουσιν 189, καταλέουσιν 290 (Athen.); Anaxag. ἐκχωρέουσι 9; Herakleitos οἰκέουσι 5, 122, φρονέουσι 5, ἐγκυρέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-), ποιέουσιν 2 (MSS. -ου-), ἀμυλέουσι 93 (MSS. -ου-); Charon of Lampsakos 2 has ἐπαναχωροῦσι though Plutareh has in the same fragment βασιληῖον; Hellenikos ἀνθέουσι. A thorough investigation of Hippokrates does not exist. Our impression is that -έουσι is more frequent than εὔ for εο. Examples may be found II 28, 76, 78, 86, 110, 128, 130, 132, 154, 158, 166, 176 (ποιέουσι), 178, 184, 262, 290, 312, VI 100 (the poetic τρομέω), 294 (ἀκέω, the only occurrence of the present active), 494 (δινέω, a rare verb in prose), IV 192 (ἀποπληρέουσιν, if not from πληρόω), V 656.

In Arrian the MSS. generally have the Attic form. δοκέουσι Aret. 248.

Forms in -εῦσι are rare: ποιεῦσι Demokr. 66 in Stobaios (with which cf. ποιέουσι Hippokr. II 18, 76, 296), διομρεῦσι Hippokr. II 38, with οἰρέουσιν on the same page, μισεῦσιν IX 364, ταλαπυρέουσιν II 64, οἰκεῦσιν II 68, διατελεῦσιν II 238, καλεῦσιν II 410.

3. ἀξιούσι Priene 144₉, Hdt. III 20, ὀρθοῦσιν Archil. 56₂, tetr., σαοῦσι Tyrnt. I 1₁₃, ἀμαυροῦσιν Hippokr. II 84.

Subjunctive.

644.] Singular First Person.

1. ποιέω Hdt. IX 79 (hence εἰδῶ II 114 is probably incorrect).

645.] Singular Second Person.

1. τιμᾶς, &c.

2. Herodotos has στρατηλατέης VII 14, the contracted and correct form in ποιῆς III 36, VII 235 (so in the archetype MS.). Demokr. 24 has ἐπιθυμέης, Hippokr. II 256 ἀφαιρέης, Lukian *Syr. dea* 32 ἐσορέης (§ 688). In the plural ἀγνῆτε Hrd. 355.

646.] Singular Third Person.

1. εἰρωτᾶ Theog. 519, ὀρᾶ Theog. 932, Sim. Amorg. 7₁₅.

2. On inscriptions we find ἐπικαλῆι Halik. 238₂₃, δοκῆι Olynth. 8 B 14, ἀμφισβατῆι Zeleia 113₁₈, ποιῆι Chios 174 C 9, ἱεροποιῆι Miletos 100₆, συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18₁₉₋₂₀, παρεῖ 18₂₆, εἰ 18₃₄ = ἦι Halik. 238₂₇. On εἰ < ἦι, see § 239, 2. In the poets we observe only -ῆι:—δοκῆι Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₃, προεκπονῆι 22, γαμῆι Hippon.

29₂. In Theog. 1166 *A* has ὁδοὺς τελεῆμι, the other MSS. ὁδοῦ τελέει (*O* τελείους). Neither reading makes sense and Bergk edits στέλλη. In 929 the MSS. have εἰ μὲν ... πλουτεῖς ... ἦν δὲ πένηται where there is no reason to change to ἦν πλουτησ. In 96 we have φρονῆ, 609 προσομαρτῆ, 1008 νοῆ (Mimn.) In the last instance a vowel precedes the contracted syllable, as in νοεῖ (indic.) Sim. Amorg. 7₂₇. Solon has κινῆ 12₂, γεγωνῆ 42₄, Herodas αἰτῆ 2₈₈, λαλῆ 6₆₁.

The MSS. of Herodotus vary between -έη and -ῆ. The former occurs, if we exclude the subjunctives from -εῖω verbs (§ 637, 2), seven times: ποιέη I 206¹, διατελέη I 32, δοκέη I 122, IV 120, σενουκέη II 120, οἰκέη VIII 106, ἀπαιτέη VI 86 (*a*), the contracted seven times: οἰκοδομῆ I 21, ποιῆ III 69, ἐπιζητῆ III 36, ποιεῆ III 36, αἶρη IV 127, δοκῆ VII 10 (*δ*) in *ABCd*, and IX 48. There is no support for the view that after vowels -ῆ, after consonants -έη was the Herodoteian form. In the aorist passive -έη is invariably contracted, and -ῆ is the only correct form here.

In the texts of other Ionic prosaists we usually find -έη, often-times against the MSS. Demokr. ἀδικέη 213 (Stob. -ῆ), δοκέη 188 (Stob. -ῆ). Hippokrates has very many examples of -έη (*e.g.* II 38, 114, 122, 146, 156, 158, 160, 180, 186, III 102, 216, 232, 238, 254, 258, 260, VII 74, 76, V 618, 660). Forms in -ῆ are very rare: ποθεῆ II 360, παρακολουθεῆ V 668, ὀχληῆ V 704, ῥιγηῆ V 706.

Luk. ιστορέη *Syr. dea* 32, ἐπαινέη 36, but ὀρηῆ 31, 32, 48. Aretaios ἀχθέη 134 (rare and late use of this form of the present; cf. 183 when ἀχθέει and ἄχθεται occur in close proximity). We have noted in Aretaios -ῆ on pp. 91, 92, 101, 114, 165, 168, 245, 270, 279, -έη on 10, 22, 68, 69, 70, 71, 270. 3. Hdt. IX 93 δικαιοῖ.

647.] Plural First Person.

1. Anakr. 63₁₀ μελετῶμεν.

2. Theog. 1134 ζητῶμεν in the first foot, Hdt. ποίεωμεν I 159.

648.] Plural Third Person.

1. τιμῶσιν in the MSS. of Solon 13₁₁ is now generally read μετῶσιν. Bergk's suggestion of μῶωσι is not in keeping with the dialect of the elegiac poets, who do not adopt the epic distraction of vowels. Hdt. φερῶσι II 36, &c.

2. Archil. ἐγκυρέωσιν 70₃ tetr., Ananias τραπέωσι 5₄, πατέωσιν 5₄ tetr. Hence δοκῶσιν Sim. Amorg. 7₂₇ is to be read δοκέωσιν. παραπιτνωσι Samos 220₁₁ is Attic, but πολέωσι Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, l. 8 (and ἔωσι l. 4) is the regular Ionic form.

¹ This is the only instance where *ει* in the verb ποίεω is supported by all the MSS.

In Hdt. *εω* is not contracted in the MSS. except in the case of *περιποιῶσι* VIII 75, where the contraction may be due to the influence of the neighbouring *διαφθείρωσι*. Cf. *ποιέωσι* IV 111. In Hippokr. *-έωσι* is without exception, e.g. II 142, 156, 162, 186.

Optative.

649.] Singular First Person.

Verbs in *-αω* always contract¹. From *-εω* verbs we have *δοκέομι* Theog. 334, but *ποιοῖμι* Hdt. V 106 (*PR* *-έοιμι*). *εοι* after a vowel probably contracts in this verb in Hdt. In pseudo-Ionic sources open forms are common, e.g. Euseb. Mynd. *ἰ ἐπιθυμέομι*, *ἐπαρκέομι*, *ἀσκέομι*, *αἰρέομι*, but also *ἐρώην*, *ρικώην*, *τιμώην*, *κρατούην*, *προθυμοίην*, *ἀποστνυγούην*. Hippocrates makes frequent use of *-οιην*, whereas Herodotos prefers the *-οιμι* ending. See § 651.

650.] Singular Second Person.

1. The only possible case of the open form in the later poetical monuments is *ἦβᾶοις* Theog. 877, which is now abandoned for *ἦβα μοι*. The *v. l.* *ἦβῶοις* is not to be defended, since the distracted verbs form no part of the linguistic apparatus of the elegy. In 107 Theognis has *ἀμῶς*.

2. Theog. has *τελέοις* 926 and *v. l.* (in *O*) 1166. Lukian has *δοκέοις* *Syr. dea* 46, Hippokr. *τηροίης* I 634, *ἐννοοίης* III 254, *αἰωροίης* VII 524, *διαρροίης* VI 84, but *ὠφελέοις* VII 34 (*θ*).

651.] Singular Third Person.

1. *-φη* in *ρικώη* Tyrnt. 124, *ὀπτώη* Hdt. VIII 137, *ἐνοροφή* I 89, *δαιτυφή* Hippokr. II 254. *-φι* in *ρικῶ* Xenoph. 221. No case of *-εοι* for *-φ* occurs in the active.

σαφοῖ (= *σφῆοι*), the reading of Roehl and Roberts, is not adopted by Bechtel (No. 5). He adopts *ῥσσα φοι* on the ground that *σᾶος*, *σῶς* never contained a *f*. For this view, cf. § 277, *Philol. Anz.* 1886, 14 note 8. Fick explains the *ω* in *σῶφρονεῖν* Sim. Amorg. 7108, &c., as originating from *ασο*. Phokylides (91) alone has the open *σαῶφρονες*.

2. Teos 156 A 2 *ποιοῖ*, but *ἀνωθεοίη*, l. 11 (whose *εοι* is a legal archaism); in l. 4 of 156 B, Roehl supplies [*ἀπειθεο*] *ίη*, Boeckh [*ἀπειθεο*] *ίη*; *σιντελοίη* Teos 158₂₃ (Attic)², *ὀλοίη* (?) Roberts I 159 (Amorgos). Theog. *φιλοῖ* 1119, Tyrnt. *πλουτοίη* 126, Solon *συμμαρτυροίη* 36 trim., a form suspected by Renner (p. 42) on the

¹ *ἀγαπήην* Et. M. 65, Et. Gud. 316, An. Ox. II 338₂₀.

² *ἐπισορκοίην* C. I. A. II 578₁₂ is the only example of the optative of a contract verb we have met with on a purely Attic inscription.

ground that it is not in line with the Ionisms of vv. 11 and 12, and of 37. It may however be regarded as the earliest proof in Attic of the transferring of the *-ει* of non-thematic verbs to the *verba contracta*, a phenomenon that grew apace in the Attic dialect though it was but sparingly adopted by Herodotos, and old-fashioned in the Ionic of the fifth century. See Rutherford's *Phrygichus*, p. 442 ff. on the optatives in *-ει* in Attic. 'Tyrtaios' *πλουτοῖη* may be regarded as an imitation of *φοροῖη* ι 320 (though this is the only case in Homer of this class of new forms) and not as a Dorism (cf. *ἀδικοῖη* in Kretan, C. I. G. 2556₄₇).

In Hdt. *-εοι* is not contracted after consonants: *καλέοι* I 11, *δοκέοι* I 24; after vowels, to avoid hiatus, *ποιοῖ* II 169, *ποιοῖ* or *ποιοῖη* VI 35 as Stein reads. This would be the only case of *-οιη* in Hdt. In VI 35 Dobree read *ποιῖη*. The first person is *ποιοῖμι* V 106 (§ 649).

The coexistence of *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ* in Herodotos is paralleled by that of *ἀνωθεοῖη* and *ποιοῖ* in the Teian inscription of the fifth century. Merzdorf, Stein, G. Meyer and others accept the contraction of *εοι* to *οι* after vowels as genuine Ionic, but hold the uncontracted forms to be equally genuine. While this is not disputed, the uncontracted *καλέοι*, &c., represent an antiquated orthography. Cf. § 637, 1 (2), end.

Hippokrates and the other writers of prose often have *-εοι*, but *-οιη* is preferred, at least by Hippokrates. Thus *ξυνωφελοῖη* IV 132, *προσωφελοῖη* II 356, but *ἐμποιεοῖ* *ibid.* according to Littré, where *Δ* has *-νοῖη*. *ποιοῖη* is correct; cf. IV 82. *ἐπιχειροῖη* I 572, *αἰωροῖη* VII 522 (an unusual verb in classic Greek), *ἐπικρατοῖη* VI 82, *αἰμορραγοῖη* IV 112, *ἀγρυνποῖη* II 136, *ἀπωθοῖη* IV 226, 304 (in *B.M.V.*, Littré *-εοι*) but *ἀντωθέοι* IV 82 on the same page with *ποιοῖη*. Cf. *ροφοῖη* and *χωρέοι* VII 608. *ὠφελέοι* is certain in III 524, *ἐμέοι* II 144, *ἐκχωρέοι* II 160, *δοκέοι* II 14, IV 92, whereas Herakleitos *R. M.* XV 605 has *δοκοῖη*. Melissos 13 has *ἀλγέοι* twice according to Simplicius, and also in 4 according to Mullach; Lukian *Syr. dea* 19 *ἀπειθεοῖ*.

3. *-ω* verbs have *-οι* and *-οιη*.

652.] Plural First Person.

1. *-ῶμεν* e.g. *νικῶμεν*. *ἐρῶμεν* Sim. Amorg. 1₂₃ (others *ἐροῖμεν*).
2. Sim. Amorg. *φρονοῖμεν* 2₂, 17₁₃ *ξυνεργοῖμεν*.
3. *-οῖμεν* in *δηλοῖμεν*, &c.

653.] Plural Third Person.

1. Theog. 81 *τολμῶεν*, Hdt. IX 69 *νικῶεν*.
2. Anakr. *φιλοῖεν* 45₁, Hrd. *τελοῖεν* 357. Such forms as Herodotos' *φρονέοιεν* I 46, VIII 34, *ποιέοιεν* VII 103, 208, IX 104 represent conservative spellings of the fifth century, if

indeed they may claim admittance into the text at all; cf. θεωροῖεν VIII 25 (*R* has θεωροῖεν), ἀσχοῖεν I 196, V 84, ἐπιχειροῖεν IX 54 (*AB*), ποιοῖεν V 75. Anaxag. 17 has καλοῖεν, Herakl. *R. M.* XV 605 ἀπατοῖεν (*σίοι*, -φεν?), Hippokr. V 662 δοκοῖεν. The longer forms of this conjugation are still in their infancy in Homer.

Imperative.

654.] Archil. eleg. φοῖτα 4₂, tetram. ξᾶ 51, ὄρα 54, ἀσχάλα 66₆, Theog. 1151 ἐρεῖνα, 877 (cf. 1070) ἤβια μοι by conjecture for ἤβιας or ἤβωσις. Ird. ξᾶ I₇₆, εἰρώτα 3₇₈, κυβερνάτε 2₁₀₀, Hdt. ὄρα III 134, προσδόκα I 42, &c.

655.] Upon inscriptions we find τελείτω Erythr. 204₉ and hence ἐπικαλ[εῖ]τω Halik. 238₁₇; σურτελείτωσαν Teos 158₁₃ and ἐπι- I. 25 are Attic.

(α) Forms in -εε. ὀμίλεε Theog. 37. (β) Forms in -ει. Archil. ἄγει 4₃ eleg., in the first thesis; Theog. προσομίλει || 31, ὀμίλει || 597, 1243, ὀμάρτει || 1165, ἐπιχείρει || 75; πένθει 830, ὄχθει 1032, αὔλει 1056 have their ει in the first thesis; δόκει 63, second thesis, 310 || where ∪ ∪ ∪ was metrically impossible. Solon κράτει 3₁₃ tr. (Blass with one MS. κράτη), Tyrnt. κινείτω 11₂₃, Theog. οἰνοχοεῖτω 473, Tyrnt. θαρσεῖτ' 11₂, φιλοψυχεῖτε 10₁₈. In the case of κινείτω and θαρσεῖτ' the open forms were metrically possible, but as in Homer the contract forms are written. Ird. has εὐτύχει 1₈₈, κάλει 5₉, χῶρει 1₇₄, &c., τελείτω 2₄₃, δοκεῖτε 2₉₂. The proportion of open to contract forms in Homer is somewhat greater than that in the lyric poets. Homer has 32 forms in -ει, three in -εε (η 303, K 249, Φ 288), -ειτω 5 times, ει in the dual 3 times, -ειτε 6 times in plural.

It is to be lamented that we have no example of the imperative in an early iambic fragment, otherwise we might estimate the value of the Herodoteian forms in -εε, which, if genuine, stand in sharp contrast at least to the elegiac use. But if the elegy has -ει, except in a single instance, it is highly probable that iambic poetry would have only -ει. Herodotos has στρατηλάτεε I 124, V 31, VII 5. 10 (*θ*), λιπάρεε V 19, παραίρεε VIII 143, στρούκεε IX 111 (*bis*), ποίεε I 124 (*bis*), 209, V 40, VII 18, VIII 100, IX 91, ποιεῖτε IV 98, but ποίει I 8, 206 (*ABP*), VIII 140 *a* (*AB*). Other forms are read with -εε by Stein (θάρσει I 9, 120, IX 76 though in all the MSS., III 85 *ABR*, *i.e.* in the archetypal MS. according to Stein; ὄθει III 78, χῶρει V 72, βοήθει VII 157, 159 (as Hippokr. IX 350), δυσθύμει VIII 100). In the plural Hdt. has ἀγγεῖτε VII 103 in all MSS., rejected

by those who hold that the evidence of *θαροσέετε* IX 18. &c., is all-conclusive. Merzdorf¹ (p. 148) attempts fruitlessly to find a reason why Hdt. should use the imperative in *-ει* in one instance, that in *-εε* in another. The former only is correct².

In Hippokrates we find *ποιεί* VII 428, VIII 162 (*ποιεί θ*), *ροφείτω* II 276 (*Α*), VIII 92 (*θ*), VII 328 (*εὐλο*, *-εε- Ι*), *ἐμέετω* VII 74. Demokritos (Demokrates) 177 *ἀσκειέτω*, Euseb. Mynd. *ἐνυχωρεέτω* 20, *κυρέετω* 44. In the plural: *φοιζέόντων* Hdt. VII 235.

656.] *στρέβλου* Hrd. 2₃₀, *ἀφιδρούτω* Hippokr. II 516, Oropos 18₁₀ *ζήμιούτω*.

Infinitive.

657.] *ὄρᾶν* Samos 215₂, Xenoph. 2₆, Hdt. I 33, *φοιτᾶν* Oropos 18₂, Hdt. I 182, *νικᾶν* Solon 5₆, Demokr. 75, *ἡβᾶν* Anakr. 24₂, 44.

658.] In the inscriptions occur: *ἐπικαλεῖν* Halik. 238₄₅, a form unjustly suspected by Renner, p. 39, who assumes that one *E* might have been omitted from *ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΝ*³. But the contraction is supported not only by *ἐπικαλήμ* 238₂₃, &c., but also by *ἀδικεῖν* Mylasa 248 A 9, B 8, 9, C 11, and *σκοπεῖν* Orop. 18₄₃, *ἐπιτιθεῖν* Orop. 18₂₆, *ἐκτιθεῖν* 18₄₂, *ἐκχεῖν* Keos 43₂₂, *ἐπιτελεῖν* Erythr. 204₂₃, not to speak of other inscripational forms such as *ἐπεστ[ά]τει* Zeleia 114 B 1, *τελείτω* Erythr. 204₁. I. G. A. 489 (Didyma) has *ποιΕ(ν)* = *ποιεῖν*. An Ionic *-έειν* is not to be defended by *ἀποσιεῖν* C. I. A. II 83₂₇ (330-300 B. C.), the only example.

Lyric poets: Sim. Amorg. *ὠφελεῖν* 7₉₇, *θυμηθεῖν* 7₁₀₃, *σωφρονεῖν* 7₁₀₈; Hippon. *ῥνφεῖν* 132; Hrd. *κιεῖν* 5₂; Solon *κοσμεῖν* 4₁₀, *ζητεῖν* 27₁₀; Xenoph. *αἰεῖν* 1₁₉; Theog. *δοκεῖν* 405, *φιλεῖν* 874, 1092, 1094, 1258 (MSS.), 1364, *πονεῖν* 919, *εὐδοκμεῖν* 587; Anakr. *δισκεῖν* 40₃.

In but two instances does the ill-famed form *-έειν* appear: Archil. 64 *κερτομέειν* and *φιλέειν* 80, where the shorter forms are required by the metre. In the first instance *κερτομέειν* is found in Clem. Alex. and Schol. Odyssey χ 412; Stobaios has *-εῖν*. The longer forms may have been introduced by scribes who had the epic and supposed Herodoteian *-έειν* in mind.

¹ After alluding to the fact that the quick utterance of the imperative demands the contraction, he says: *Accedit, quod praeter δυσθύμει breviora tantum vocabula contractam prae se ferunt formam θάρσει, ὥθει et quod non negligendum βοήθει, cum in longioribus στρατηλάτεις &c. quae ipsa natura ad vocandum et ad celerius pronuntiandum minus apta sunt itaque in lentiore quoque oratione assumi possunt, semper εε appareat.*

² *νόει, φρόνει* Joh. Gr. 240 B.

³ A supposed [ἀμ.]ύνεεν Roberts I 26₁₁ (Naxos) gives no support to this assumption.

Herodotos: -έειν occurs (1) after consonants *e.g.* in αἰρέειν I 2, 3, ἀπαιτέειν I 2, 3, &c. But the correct forms in -εῖν are not infrequent. We find the following cases in which all the MSS. agree:—ἐνέειν I 11, εἰφήμειν III 38, ἐνεμείν II 172, πολεμείν V 120, τηρέειν IX 104. In seven other cases there is some support for -εῖν in the MSS. (2) After the diphthong *οι*, εει holds its place in ποιέειν¹, which is attested as the sole Herodoteian form in over a hundred passages. After *ο*, εει suffers contraction in καταροέειν II 28 (*d*), 93 (*P R d*), ἀγροέειν II 162 in all MSS., εὐροέειν IX 79 (*P R*). The contracted forms are correct.

Other prose writers: Herakleitos ὁμολογέειν I is due to Bernays, μοχθεῖν 82, ποιεῖν 94, 107, σωφρονέειν 106, 107, φρονέειν 91 (*vulgo*); Demokritos, according to Stobaios and other excerptors, in the following forms has -εῖν: ποιεῖν 100, 208, 235, ἐμποιεῖν 204 (in *A*), ἐπικαινοσυργεῖν 20₁₇, ἐπουργεῖν 215, ἐπιθυμείν 47, φρονέειν 73, 139, δοκείν 92, ἐπαινεῖν 120, εὐεργετέειν 197, τιμωρέειν 202, ἀδικεῖν 206, προτελεῖν 215, δξυκερδεῖν 14, ποδηγεῖν II, ὀχεῖν II, πονεῖν 235, -έειν in ἀδικεῖν 107, 109, 112, 205, ἀσκέειν 141, ἐπιθυμείν 83, μετανοέειν 227, ἀγροέειν 95, κρατέειν 77, θεωρέειν 20₁₁, ξυγχωρέειν 44, κακοπαθέειν 20₁₄; Anaxag. κρατέειν 6, κινεῖν 7, δοκείν 3, 4 in Simpl., who read κρατέειν in Diog. Apoll. 6; Hekat. ἐκχωρέειν 353, Ion στρατηγεῖν and ποιεῖν I.

In Hippokrates, Littré edits -έειν even when -εῖν has the better support, though such cases, we think, are not frequent. It is common to find -εῖν in the vulgate, but the -έειν forms preponderate over those in -εῖν. There is no genuine treatise in which -έειν is not more frequent. We believe this to be true also of the spurious tractates. We cite from Littré's text: II 12 ζητέειν (-εῖν?), 14 σκοπέειν (-εῖν?), ἀναμετρέειν 36 (*vulgo* -εῖν), 82 κινέειν, 124 νοέειν, 136 χωρέειν, 138 and 708 πορέειν, 138 φρονέειν, 142 αἰρέειν, 272 ὀκίειν (*vulgo* -εῖν), 290 and 368 λυσιτελέειν (but *A* has -εῖν in 290), 356 (and III 58) ὠφελέειν, 642 νοσέειν: III 32 ἀλγέειν, 242 ξέειν, 248, 258 αἰρέειν. ποίεειν occurs in II 12, 42 (*Galen* -εῖν), 264, III 234, 236, αἰμορροέειν V 656, 724, 726, ὀχλέειν 626, φλυμπεῖν, ἀνερεῖν 660, εἰσοεῖν 664, θεωεῖν 692, ψοφεῖν 696, ἐμείν 710, ἀρρωστεῖν 718, with 12 cases of -έειν in the *προγν. κωικαί*. IV 640 shows ἀγροέειν by the side of ποίεειν.

Lukian *F. A.* 3 λαλέειν, 4 ἀριθμέειν (*v.l.* -εῖν)², -έειν 17 times in the *Syria dea*, twice in the *Asitol.*, Abydenos εὐτυχέειν. Aretaios has 106 cases of -έειν, about 20 of -εῖν. Arrian has -έειν 10, -εῖν 5 times.

¹ Joh. Gr. 235, Gram. Leid. 628.

² It is interesting to note that in § 4 the tendency to hyper-Ionize changed in MS. Ψ the ἀριθμείν of the Ὀνητήης to ἀριθμείν. Or the -έειν might have been caused by the previous ἀριθμείν (where Ω has -εῖν).

659.] Verbs in *-ωω* contract *ο + ε* or *ει* (spurious) to *ου*; in Hdt. *καυοῦν*, *ἐξορκοῦν* (as Halik. 238₂₆), *χοῦν*, *ρεοχμοῦν* IV 201 (the only occurrence of this tense in classic Greek); *ἀροῦν* Tyrnt. 53, Theog. 582; *βεβαιοῦν* Halik. 240_{4, 5}, and so *διβοῦν* Orop. 18_{21, 33}.

Participle.

660.] Verbs in *-αω* always contract. *ραιετόντες* Sim. Keos 84, is not Later Ionic. *αἰσυμῶνι* Teos 156 B 8-9 has been read as *-ῶν*, and hence *νι[κῶν]* Samos I. G. A. 388 A. *εἰσορῶν* Archil. 74₆, *ἐσορῶν* Mimn. 5₂, *προσορῶν* *ibid.* 1₈, *ὄρωντι* Theog. 1059, *ὄρωντες* Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₁, Archil. *νικῶν* 66₄, *δρῶντα* 65₂, Hippoxax *μαδῶντα* 23, Theog. *βοῶντος* 887, Anakr. *σκιρῶσα* 75₆, Solon *σιγῶσα* 4₁₅.

In Herodas we find *δρῶντα* 5₂₈, *φυσῶντες* 2₃₂, *ἀπαντῶσα* 5₇₅, *γελῶσα* 6₄₄, *διψῶσ'* 6₇₃, *καταψῶσα* 6₇₆, *πρημονῶσαν* 6₈, *πρηδῶσαι* 4₆₁.

In Ionic prose we encounter the variation between *-αω* and *-εω* verbs, on which see § 688. Certain examples of the former are *τελευτῶν* Hdt. III 65, &c., *-ῶντος* I 24, &c., *τιμῶν* III 21, IV 43, *τιμῶσαν* VI 52, *προσδοκῶν* VII 235, *τολμῶντας* IV 150 (all MSS.), all of which verbs show in other forms or in other places variants from *-εω* verbs. The following verbs never have such variants: *θυμῶντες* III 107, *ἔων* VII 47, &c., *ἔωρτες* V 96, &c., *ἔωσα* VIII 101, *βοῶντας* III 78, *πειρῶντας* I 133, *νικῶν* I 207, &c., *ἀπαντῶσας* II 75, *μελετῶν* III 115, *νομῶντες* IV 128, *σιγῶν* VIII 26, *σιγῶντων* IX 42, *σιωπῶντων* VII 10, *καταψῶσαν* VI 61, *ἐρευνῶν* VII 19, *λευσσωντα* IX 71, *ὀπτῶντι* IX 120, *ἔλῶν* II 162, &c. In Hippokrates we have e.g. *σιγῶσα* III 52, 142, 144, *τελευτῶσα* III 184, *μυδῶσαν* III 242, *χαλῶντες* V 590; *ἔστιῶντος* Ion 1.

ῥυπῶντας Arrian 347 is an error; cf. Hippokr. IX 374.

661.] Verbs in *-εω*¹.

1. On inscriptions: *ὑποτελέωρ* Chalkis 16 A 16, *τελέουσι* Olynth. 8 B 8, *τελείοντας* 8 B 6, *γεγωνέοντες* Chios 174 B 13, *ὑφορμῆοντι*, *βουκολέοντι* Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 10, *μισθαρεῶντων*, *ξυλληγῶντων* Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, l. 7, *τιμουχέοντες* Teos 156 B 29, *μεδεούσης* Samos 216, *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Latyschev II 19₁₂, 28 (Pantikap.)², *Ἀρκέων* Styra 19₁₇. *Φουκέων* Rhégion 5 is not Ionic. On *βασιλέοντος*, cf. § 248. It is to be observed

¹ *-έων* Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Meerm. 653, Birnb. 678₈, Et. M. 52₁₈, An. Ox. I 232₁₂, An. Par. IV 38₂₉; *-έουσα* An. Ox. I 360₂₅.

² Cf. *μεδέουσαν, ἄτευν* Hippolytos 168, and see § 74.

that in the epigraphical monuments we have no case of *ευ* for *εο*, and none of *ευ* for *εου*.

Attic contractions:—*ἄστυ*]νομοῦντος Olbia 131, 2 and 14. *ἐνοικοῦντα* Keos 473, *κατοικοῦντες* Samos 221₁₈ (after 322 B.C.); *ποι[οῦ]ντας* has been restored by Roehl (I. G. A. 395 B 9) and adopted by Cauet (530 B) in an addition (of a later date) to a Keian inscription whose first part dates before 400 B.C. *ποιοῦντων* is found in Teos 158₁₈.

2. In the lyric poets we find *-έων*, *-ῶν*, and *-έων* in Theognis and once in an Ionic elegist. *-έων* appears in Phokyl. *ἀπαιτέων* 16₂, Anakr. *ὀμιλέων* 21₇, *φορέων* 21₁₂, Hrd. *κινέων* 155, *θαρσέων* 273, *οἰκέων* 65₂, *ἐνπολέων* 66₃.

-ῶν: Theog. *δοκῶν* 138, *κεντῶν* 371, *τελῶν* 914, *ποθῶν* 1251. *θηπῶν* is improbable in Hippon. 14.

-έων (—): Theog. *φρονέων* 27, *δοκέων* 137, *εὐσεβέων* 145, 1144, *ὀλέων* 534. These examples from the elegy are not surprising. Remarkable however is *τελέων* Mimn. 113, the only example of open *εω* in the poets of Ionic birth. Meineke proposed *τε ἔλων*, Fick *τελέσων*, *τελείων* (cf. *διετέλειε* Eresos)¹, or perhaps *τελήων*, Meister *τε λέων* i.e. = Homer *λάων* τ 229. But if one instance of open *εο* (*κλονέοντα*, see below) is certain, no objection is possible on the score of an isolated case of open *-έων*. With the phrase *τελέων ἄεθλον* in Mimnermos, cf. *τελείοντες ἀέθλους* γ 262. On *διψέων* Archil. 68, see § 687.

In the feminine occur *-έουσα* and *-εῦσα*.

δολοφροπέουσα Archil. 93₂ (epod.), *οἰκεῦσα* Phokyl. 52 (*-έουσα* Fick), *δοκεῦσ'* Hrd. 329 and seven other forms in *-εῦσα*.

In tragedy we have *ἕμνεῦσαι* *Medea* 422 (see Verrall's note), *μυθεῦσαι* I. A. 789: both choric passages.

Variation between *-εο-*, *-εο-*, *-ευ-*. In only one case is *εο* a disyllable in a poet of Ionic birth: *κλονέοντα φάλαγγας* Mimn. 143, the phrase of E 96². Theog. has *φρονέοντα* 625, *φορέοντας* 827, *φιλέοντες* 739, *δοκέων* 162.

-εο- is found in *ἀγρυπνέοντα* Theog. 471 (or *υ* before *πν* may be short).

-ευ- was certainly used by the time of Theognis: *φιλεῖντος* 385, *νοεῖντες* 737, *ποιεῖντι* 589, *πλουτεῖντι* 1153 (Brunek; MSS. *-ου-* as 315 *πλουτοῖσι*; see § 643, 2), *φωναῖντες* 495 (*K* has *φονέοντες*). But whether it was employed by Sim. Amorg. 78₆ (*φιλεῖντι* in MSS.) may be doubted. Herodas has *θεῖντα* 521 (*hind*), *κινεῖντα*

¹ Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1886, p. 375.

² *κλονέω*, which is poetical in the active, reappears in Aretaios 232 (*κλονέουσαι*).

³ *λωτεῖντα* (M 283) is called Doric or Ionic by Hdn. II 336₁₅, 777₃ (Choirob. 395₂₀).

367, νοεῦνθ' 355, ψοφεῦντα 711, δοκεῦντες 465, σκοπεῦντες 299, ποιεῦντες *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 118, κινεῦσι 773, οἰκέυσι 294, ἀνθεῦντας 152. The only non-Ionic form in *Hdt.* is φρονοῦντα 7129.

3. -έων remains open in Herodotos in the present, as it does in the future, participle. Exceptions are ζητῶν VI 62 (*R*), οἰκοδομῶν II 121 (*a*) in *ABC*, σκοπῶν I 117 (in all MSS.).

In the feminine -έουσα is the usual form. In νοέουσα VIII 101, ποιέουσαι I 93 (as ποιέουσας *Arrian* 316), κνέουσας VI 68 a vowel precedes. -εῖσα appears in ἱστορεύσῃ I 61, λυπέεσα VII 190, βοθηέεσαν¹ II 118, ἀνθείσης IV 1, κεντεύσας V 87; and in ποιέεσα III 119, IV 9 (-έουσα *CPR*), VI 52 *bis*.

-εο- preponderates generally over -ευ- in *Hdt.* Some interesting examples are: ἀελπτέοιτες VII 168 (elsewhere only II 310), ἀλλοφρονέοιτες VII 205 (an epic and Ionic verb: cf. *Hippokr.* VII 30), ἀτέοιτες VII 223 (epic), τειχέοιτος V 23 (Ionic τειχέω and τειχίζω, Attic τειχίζω). Examples of -ευ- are exceedingly rare in the case of verbs other than ποιέω: II 34 ἱστορεῦντα, IV 156 ἀγνοεῦντες, 157 οἰκεῦντες, the only case, in 74 occurrences of οἰκέω, of the contraction (-εο- *AB*, οἰκέοιτες above in same chapter), VIII 3 νοεῦντες. The -ευ- forms are, however, far more frequent in the case of ποιέω (ποιεῦντι VII 29, ποιεῦντες II 36, IV 98, V 81, &c.) But in the following cases -εο- is attested without any variant: I 140 (ποιεῖνται same chapter), 158, 216 (ποιεῖμενοι same chapter), VII 8 (*δ*).

The archetypal MS. of *Hdt.* rarely had -ου-: ποιοῦντες I 90, οἰκοῦντες I 175.

In the other Ionic prosaists the contraction of εο to ευ is very rare. εω remains open. Demokr. has ρουθετέων 59, φθονέων 30, κρατέων 76 (*Stob.* -ῶν). ἀδικέων 205, θεωρεῦσα 147, ἀδικέοιτι, ἀμελέοιτι 213, ἐπιθυμέοιτι 2013, σωφρονέοιτος 42, ποιέοιτι 205, φιλοφεικέοιτα 212, ἀδικέοιτα 112, 206, εὐθηλέοιτα 185, μυθοπλαστέοιτες 119, δοκέοιτες 151, δυστυχέοιτες 137, ξυμφωνέοιτες 152, τάλαιπωρεόντων 2010, φρονέόντων 79, ἀμελέοιτας 213, ἀδικέοιτας 205; Herakl. διαιρέων 2, δοκέόντων 118; Melissos ἀλγέοιτι 13; Pherek. οἰκέοιτες 85; Ion ἀφαιρετέοιτα, δοκέοι 1; Ktesias φωνέοιτι; Lukian *V.A.* 5 δοκέοιτα, *Syr. dea* 26 εὐνοέοιτας; *Vita Hom.* ἱστορέων 6, but ποιῶν 15. Simplicius has Atticized Anaxagoras' περιχωρεόντων 11. Aret. has ὠφελεῦντα 312, &c.

We note the following cases of -ευ- in Hippokrates, who has -έων, -έοιτος, &c., in almost every instance: ἀλγεῖντα II 132, διηθεῖντες II 240, ἐκπνεῖντα V 626, ἐξαιρεῖντα III 258, φθινεῖσαι II 674 (φθινέω here only, § 637, 3), ποιεῖντα VI 210 (*θ*, -εο-

¹ Greg. Kor. § 60.

Litré). cf. II 278, IX 362, οἰκεῖντα IX 354, cf. 360, πατεῖντα and ἀμαλείντα IX 382, ἀγρυπνεῖντα V 590, ἐπιρριγεῖντα V 592 (ἐόντες 588). Usually we find -εο-. In the feminine: ποιέουσαι II 66, φιλέουσα *Syr. dea* 26.

662.] Verbs in -ω.

ἀξιο(ύ)πτων Priene 144₃, κηροῦσ' Hrd. 315, χῶν Hdt. I 162, κακοῦντες III 82. On δικαιεῖντος IX 42, see § 690. For ὁμοῖντες Hdt. I 153, as if from an unheard-of ὁμόω, ὁμύντες is to be substituted.

Imperfect Active.

663.] Singular First Person.

-ω verbs contract -αω to -ωι (ἐνίκωι Samos 215). Occasionally we have -εον for -αον, and this -εόν may become -ευν (§§ 637, I (2), 688). Verbs in -εω have -εον, not -ευν so far as we are aware in Ionic literature¹. In *Hippolytos* 168 we have however an Ionic αὔτευν. ἐδόκωι Hrd. 4₁₀ is an Atticism (δόκεωι Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 26). Verbs in -ωω have -ουν, not -ευν (§ 690).

664.] Singular Second Person.

ἡλάστρεις Theog. 600.

665.] Singular Third Person.

1. ἐφόρα (ἐκόια Fick in *G. G. A.* 1883, 125), I. G. A. 370, generally referred to Euboeia, but perhaps Asiatic Ionic. Hdt. has ὄρα I 11, &c., ἐφοῖτα III 90, ἠῶδα II 57 (a rare verb in prose; cf. ἀπηῶδηκε Hippokr. VIII 570).

2. -ει² is the correct form. On inscriptions: ἐποίει Eretria 14, Samos I. G. A. 388 a, Amorgos I. G. A. 390, Naukratis I 342, Klazomenai, Head II. N. 491, ἐπόει Samos 222 (pre-Roman), Delos 57 (middle of second century). ἐποίηω Miletos 95 resembles ἦσκειω Γ 388 in adopting the -v after a contracted εε, contrary to the ordinary rule. Other forms are ἐπιστάει Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 341, Nos. 2 and 3, 342 No. 4, Zeleia 114 B 1 and perhaps in the Parian inscription, C. I. G. 2384 g, add. l. 2-3; ὁμολόγει Mykonos 92₂₁. In Bechtel's No. 6 ἐποίη is Eleian. The testimony of the inscriptions is unanimous in favour of -ει.

In the lyric poets, exclusive of ἐπλεε Theog. 12 (cf. Ξ 251),

¹ In Hrd. 6₂ ἐλπάρων we may have synizesis; but the tribrach is permitted in the second foot.

² When the Gram. Vat. 699 cites νόει, ποίει it is for the purpose of showing the omission of the augment.

we find only *-ει*: *ἔδῶκει* Theog. 960. *ἐφόρει* Archil. 93, where $\cup\cup\cup$ would have been the alternative; Hippon. tr. 47 *ῥκει* in the MSS. (Schneid. and Bergk *οἶκει*, Meineke *οἶκεῖ*). At the period of Hipponax it was not usual for the first foot of the iambic measure to consist of $-\cup\cup$. Sim. Amorg. 28 *ἐκίνει* (\cup was not admissible in the arsis of the trimeter); Anacr. *ῥνοχοίει* 32₁; *ἔπο[λ]ει* Hrd. 4₂₂.

In by far the greater number of instances Herodotos has *-εε*. Thus *ἔδῶκεε*, *ἐχώρεε*, *ἐκάλεε* and even after *ο* in the case of *ροίω* (*ἐνόεε* I 155, VIII 103, *ἔπενόεε* I 27, III 31, but *ἔπενόει* II 152 *A B C d*), and *οι* in *ποιέω* (*ἔποίεε* III 9, VII 156). Forms in *-ει* occur as follows: *ἠπόρει* III 78, *ὠφέλει* III 126, *ἐξήρκει* VII 161. See also on the imperfect of *-μι* verbs.

In Hippokrates, both Littré and Ermerins contract *-εε* in *ροίω*, but after consonants we find now *-εε* now *-ει*. Thus *κατενόει* II 686, 690, 692, 702, 706 (*bis*), 714, III 34, 40 (*bis*), 42 (*quater*), 44, 48, 50, 62, 64, 110, 112, 122, 140, 142; *παρενόει* III 140; *διενόει* rejected by Littré III 42. Other examples of *-ει* are: *ἐλήρει* II 688, 706, 712; *ῥκει* II 666 (*bis*), 682, 684, 702, III 24; *ἔδυσφόρει* III 40; *ἠρρώστει* II 290; *παρηκολούθει* V 370; *διεπέλει* I 626; *ἐξεπύει* II 706; *ἠφώνει* II 714; *οὔρει* II 686, 692, 708 and many other forms in the genuine tractates. Littré edits *-εε* in *ἠλγέει* II 690 (*v. l. -ει*), 704 (*-ει vulgo*), 708 *bis* (*-ει v. l.*), III 52 (*-ει v. l.*), 64 (*-ει vulgo*); *ἔπόνει* II 290 (*-ει A*), III 44 (*-ει v. l.*), 50 (*-ει v. l.*); *ἔδῶκεε* V 204; *ἠμορράγειν* II 600 (*-ει A*).

Aretaios 201 has *ἐπόθειεε*.

The MSS. of the excerpts of the other prosaists have *-ει*, *e. g.*, *ὑπεχώρει* Melissos 14, *ἔδῶκει* 17, *ἔποίει* Anaxag. 6 (*περιχώρεε* in 6 is due to Mullach), *ῥκει* Pherekr. Leros 55. In Protagoras *ἔδῶκει* has been read.

The iteratives appear in our texts with the form *-έεσκον*, which is open to suspicion. In Hdt. I 186 *Rd z* only have *ἀπαιρέεσκον*, in IV 200 all the MSS. have *ἠχεσκε*, *z ἔχεσκε*, which recent editors change to *ἠχέεσκε* (Bredow *ἐχέεσκε*). Asios in Athen. 525 F used *φοίτεσκον*, from Ionic *φοιτέω* = *φοιτάω*. In the middle the forms with hyphaeresis are better supported, but in the following occurrences of the active *-έεσκον* is the uniform MS. reading: *πώλεεσκε* I 196, *ποιέεσκον* I 36. In Herodotos iteratives from contract verbs are confined to those in *-εω*, while Homer had *-ασκε* and *-εσκε*.

3. Hdt. *ἠξίου*, *ἔδικαίου* (*ἔδικαίειν*, an hyper-Ionism, *v. l.* III 118, IV 154; cf. § 690).

666.] Plural First Person.

1. *-ομεν* = *ωμεν* except when it passes into *-εομεν*.
2. *-εομεν* is either retained or becomes *-ευμεν*.
3. *-οω* verbs always have *-ουμεν*.

667.] Plural Second Person.

1. -ατε.
2. -ειτε, not -εετε as often in the prose monuments.
3. -ουτε from -οω verbs.

668.] Plural Third Person.

1. -αον = -ων, e.g. ἐθυμίων Hdt. VIII 99, κατέκλων IX 62.
2. -εον is generally retained. -ενν is very rare. The inscriptions have -εον in ἐθόρεον Thasos (L.) 7 A 2, 8 A 6, 97.

Herodotos has ἐποίεον¹ VII 36, IX 6, 8, 11, 104, ἐπενόεον V 65, ἀέθλεον I 67, VII 212 (Xenophanes 2₂₁ has ἀεθλεύω as Hdt. V 22), ἐπλούτεον III 57 (Greg. Kor. § 14), ἐφρόνεον II 162, κατηγορεον II 113 (though there is a notable number of εν's in its vicinity (113, 115, 118). εἰρώτενν I 158 (§ 637, 1 (2)) contracts -εον < -αον. Cf. ἐπειρώτεον I 67.

Herakl. has ἔμνεον 127, Hippokratēs διετέλεον II 640, ἐπερρίγεον II 642 bis (cf. § 687, 3), ἐπειρόσεον II 646, ἤμεον V 88 (elsewhere in the late epic).

Menekrates has ἐδόκειον, ἐπολέμεον, *Vita Hom.* ὑλάκτηον.

In the poets -εον is never open. Cf. ἐφρόνεον Archil. 112, -ενν in ἐφίλενν Theog. 786, ἐσύλενν < -αον, Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 3, ἐπορνοβόσκενν 277.

Atticisms are ἐδόκουν Theog. 1381 (where it may be original), ἐκάλουν Hdt. IX 11.

3. -ονν in ἐπλήρουν Hdt. I 171, ἐδήιουν V 89 (ἐδικαίενν III 79 is an hyper-Ionism; § 690). On ἐπερρίγουν Hippokr. II 642 (A, Littré -εον), see § 637, 6.

PRESENT, MIDDLE AND PASSIVE.

*Indicative.***669.] Singular First Person.**

1. ἀρριχώμαι Hippon. 104, ποιῶμαι Mimn. 52, ἐσσωμαι Hrd. 8₁₉.

2. φορέμαι Anakr. 38, ἀλεῖμαι Theog. 575, αἰεῖμαι Solon tetr. 32₄ (νολγο -οῖμαι, which may be correct), ἀπαρνέμαι Hrd. 274, παραιτέμαι 572.

Examples of -εῖμαι in prose are διηγεῖμαι Herakl. 2 (in the *Gib. auct.* 14 Herakl. uses -έομαι), Hippokr. III 100, ποιεῖμαι Hdt. IX 111, Hippokr. VII 490. Hdt. has elsewhere εο

¹ ἐποίεον is called Doric and Ionic Hdn. II 330_e (Choirob. 528₁₂).

generally, but *εἰν* in *προαιδεῖν* III 140, *αἰρέειν* III 142, the only case of any contraction in this verb (cf. *αἰρέονται*, *αἰρέοντο* and even *αἰρέόμενος*), and also *ἀξιεύειν* V 106 (§ 690).

Lukian *Vit. auct.* 6 has *σιτέομαι*.

3. *γοννοῦμαι* Anakr. I₁, 2₆.

670.] Singular Second Person.

In verbs in *-εω* we may admit *-έαι* from *-έσαι* by *hyphaeresis*. Cf. Homer's *πωλέ' δ* 811, *μυθέαι* β 202, *μυθεῖαι* θ 180. As it stands, *μυθεῖαι* is an old form (= *-έσαι*, which might be read) though preserved in a very late book. In Anakr. 12 we find *διεάει*, in Hdt. III 34 *ἐπαυέαι* (not *-έσαι* as *Pz*), *φοβέαι* I 39 (*-έσαι P*). Here *A C²* have *φοβέαι* with superscribed *ε* between *ε* and *αι*.

671.] Singular Third Person.

1. *ιερᾶται* Miletos 100₄; *πλανᾶται* Archil. 56₅, *μνᾶται* Anakr. 68, *βιᾶται* Solon 13₄₁, *ἀλᾶται* 13₄₃. Hdt. has *μηχανᾶται* I 21, &c., *ἐπαιτιᾶται* II 121 (β), *βιᾶται* III 80, *σμᾶται* IX 110 (*σμηῖται* Antiph. com. frag. III 81), Demokritos *κτᾶται* 184 (§ 687, 2), Hellenikos *ἀναρριχᾶται* 178. *ἀνᾶται* occurs in Demokr. 184, Melissos 4, 11 (Simplicius). Hippokr. III 204 has *ἐσφλᾶται*.

2¹. *ικνεῖται* Halikarn. 238₂₆ (fifth century); Sim. Amorg. *ποιεῖται* 7₆₂, *κινεῖται* 7₇₅. Even if the forms had been properly open, *synizesis* was not permitted in the arsis of the iambic measure. *προκαλεῖται* Anakr. 14₄, *ὄρχεῖται* 20₃; Hrd. has *αἰρεῖται* 3₅₄, *δωρεῖται* 6₃₀, *ὠθεῖται* 4₅₄.

Herodotos: *ποιέεται*, &c., with *-εε-* everywhere, except *μνέται* in all MSS., VIII 65. In all these forms *-εε-* is out of date in the fifth century. Lukian puts *μυθέεται* into the mouth of Hdt., *De Domo* 20. In other writers of Ionic prose: Herakl. *ἀφικνεῖται* 18 (Stob., *-έεται* is conjectural), *ἐξικνεῖται* 12 (Plut.), *διαχέεται* (§ 637, 2), and *μετρέεται* 23 (Clem. Alex.). *ὠρέεται* 105 (Iamblichos); Demokr. *ἐρέεται* 6 = *ἐρᾶται* (Demokrates), *ἀκέεται*² 80 (where Clem. Alex. has *ἀφαιρέεται* in the same frag.), *ποιέεται* 123 (Stob.); Melissos *συγχωρεῖται* (Simpl.) 1, *κινεῖται* 5, 14 (*bis*), 15, according to Simpl.; Hekat. *κινεῖται* 284 (Steph. Byz.), *μυθεῖται* 332, *καλεῖται* 260. Pherekydes of Leros has *ποιεῖται* 44, a fragment containing several genuine Ionisms. All the cases of *καλεῖται* (16, 85, 89, 114 A) are in Atticized fragments. So too *ἀφικνεῖται* 34; Hellenikos has *καλέεται* in 160, which contains *ἐνοικοῦντες*.

In Hippokrates there are many examples of the correct form,

¹ *πωλεῖται* is called Ionic in contrast to a supposed Aiolic *πωλήται* in An. Ox. I 362₂₅.

² Hippokrates VI 294 used the active *ἀκέουσιν*.

e.g. καλείται V 656, ἀφικνέεται 664, οὐρέεται 720. The resolved form appears in Littré, *e.g.* in ἀφικνέεται II 70 (*vulgo* -ει-), αἰρέεται II 38, VII 160 (so *θ*, *vulgo* -ει-), καλέεται III 84, 208, V 588, VIII 356 (*θ*), ποιέεται II 128 *bis*, V 644, κρατέεται II 638, εἰπορέεται III 102 (*vulgo* -ει-), ἐμέεται II 184 (*vulgo* -ει-).

Euseb. Mynd. 59 has ἀποστερέεται, 63 ἡγέεται, Aretaios 32 cases of -εε- to 3 of -ει- (ἐμέεται 1, καλείται 102, παρωθέεται 297). In Arrian we have 12 cases of -εε-; Abydenos δωρέεται 9.

3. τρυχοῦται Mimm. 2₁₂, λαχροῦται Solon 27₆, λοῦται Sim. Amorg. 7₆₃, στεφανοῦται Anakr. 41₂, ἀλλοτριοῦται Hdt. I 120, βιοῦται II 177, ἀλλοιοῦται Herakl. 36, ἑτεριοῦται Meliss. 12, καρποῦται Demokr. 236, ἀμαυροῦται Hippokr. V 644, μισθοῦται *Vita Hom.* 4.

672.] Plural First and Second Persons.

A. 1. διαιτώμεθα Hdt. IV 114.

2. -εόμεθα and -εῦμεθα.

3. -οόμεθα. On ἀντιεύμεθα Hdt. IX 26, see § 690.

B. 1. πειρᾶσθε Hdt. IV 127.

2. ἡγείσθε Herakl. in *R. M.* XV 605, where Neumann read -εε- in order to accommodate the form to Hdt.'s ποιέεσθε IX 7.

3. -οῦσθε.

673.] Plural Third Person.

1. αἰτώονται Hdt. IV 94, Hippokr. II 78, ὀσμῶνται Herakl. 38, ἰῶνται Hippokr. II 78, ἐπισπῶνται II 312, ὀργινῶνται Hrd. 7₃₇.

2. Theog. 290 ἡγέονται but μομεῖνται 369, as if from μομέομαι (cf. μομεύμενος 169); Solon 4₂₁ has preserved the Attic ἰκροῦνται. φορεῖνται Parmenides 48.

In Hdt. we expect, and find, ποιεῖνται I 132, 140, IV 70, &c., except IV 180, where all MSS. have -εο-. Elsewhere we have -έονται, except ἡγεῖνται IV 2 (-εο- *PRz*), καλεῖνται V 108 (-εο- *CPz*), and διανοεῖνται IX 54 in all MSS. [cf. § 637, 1 (2)]. ἀμεινται VII 236, if correct, is used in a future sense and as an analogue of κομεινται, &c. Stein accepts ἀκεῖνται in his school edition.

Herakl. αἰρεῖνται III, μνεῖνται 125; Demokr. δωρέονται 13 (Stob. -ου-), ποιέονται 47, 126, αἰτέονται 46¹; Pherek. καλέονται 85; Hippokr. διαιτεῖνται II 68, 72, καλεῖνται II 68, 76, ἀσθενεῖνται II 316, ὀχεῖνται II 68, δυσσαρεστεῖνται IX 368, ἡγεῖνται II 240 (*A*), ἀφικνέονται II 50, 150, ποιέονται II 56, &c. *Vita Hom.* has ἀπικνέονται 5, 6, Luk. *V. A.* κινέονται 4, συνειλέονται 14.

¹ μνεῖνται Mullah I 371, cited sometimes from Demokritos, does not exist (MSS. νοῦνται). The fragment is hard to restore.

3. ἀποχωλοῦνται Hippokr. II 78, ῥυσμοῦνται Demokr. 16, λούνται Hdt. I 198, τοξοῦνται Aret. 10.

Subjunctive.

674.] -αω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

675.] From -εω verbs we have ποιῆται Chios 174 C II (cf. προθῆται Halikarn. 238₃). This exemplifies the contraction supported in the MSS. of Hdt. in δηλῆται IV 187, ἐξηγῆται VI 74 all MSS. (-εη- V 23), IX 66 (-εη- R), ποιῆται IX 45, VI 57 (A B C d). III 8 and IV 65 (A B R, i. e. Stein's archetypon), φοβῆται VII 36 (A B R). Herodas has ἡγῆται 543, θεωρῆται 546.

Demokritos has ἐπιμελῆται (?) and μετρῆται 41, ποιῆται 188. In Hippokrates the hyper-Ionic -εη- is very frequent, e. g. ὠφελῆται II 374, κινῆται III 258, ποιῆται VII 514.

Lukian has ἀπηγῆται *Astrol.* 22, Euseb. Mynd. 53 ἀπαιτέται, Aretaios ἀκέηται 25, ἐμέηται 31, μετακινῆται 62, but ἀεμιῆται 322.

In the third plural we have κινῶνται Hippokr. II 126, ποιῶνται, e. g. Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273.

676.] -οω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

Optative.

677.] χολῶτο Theog. 325, σιγῶτο Hdt. III 82, ρικῶτο IX 13, κοιμῶτο III 38, ὀπτῶτο VIII 137, &c., ὀδυνῶτο Hippokr. III 256, ἀνιῶτο Melissos 4 and 11, according to Mullach (Diels with Simplicius ἀνιᾶται). ἀνιῶτο Hdt. III 1, ἀνιῶατο IV 130.

678.] -εω verbs: ἐνθυμοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 21. In Hdt. after consonants we find both the older and the younger forms: καλέοιτο V 76, ἀπικνέοιτο I 29, λυπεοίατο I 99, and δωροίτο II 126 (Rd), φοβοίτο VII 87 (R): after vowels ποιῶιτο VII 48, VIII 67 (-οῖντο A B, -έοιτο C). The rule has been accepted by some that after consonants εοι, after vowels οι, is the correct form in Ionic. This is, however, applicable to the MSS. of Hdt., not to the wider horizon of Ionic literature. The testimony of φρονοίμεν and ἐνθυμοίμεθα in Simonides of Amorgos and of φιλοίεν in Anakreon shows, not that the forms in εοι above mentioned are wrong, but that contract forms had been adopted in pre-Herodoteian Ionic. The archaism ἀνωθεοίη Teos 156 A II does not invalidate this statement.

Demokr. has according to Stobaios ἀμελέοιτο 213, but ποιόιτο 2. Simplicius has preserved Melissos' μετακοσμέοιτο (11). Hippokr. has ποιέοιτο II 110, λυπέοιτο II 134, ἀφαιρέοιτο II 356, οὐρέοιτο II 140, ἀπολωφέοιτο ep. 17₁₆. Lukian *Syr. dea* 26 λυπέοιτο, ἐξαπατέοιτο 27 as if from -έομαι.

679.] -οω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

Imperative.

680.] *πειρῶ* Theog. 358, *κνῶ* Hrd. 8₈, *πειράσθω* Tyr. 12₄₄.

681.] *ποιοῦ* Theog. 753 and *αἰδοῦ* 1179 are Atticisms, even if the latter is from *αἰδομαι* (*αἶδεο* Φ 74, &c.).

Hdt. has -εο¹ in *αἰτέο* I 90, *ἀκέο* III 40, *λυπέο* VIII 100, *ἐξηγέο* III 72, IV 9, *ἀπικρέο* V 24, *φοβέο* VII 50, 52, *ποιέο* VIII 68 (α). Demokr. 142 *προθνήμέο*: -εν in *φοβεῦ* I 9, *ποιεῦ* IV 9, VIII 100. On the hyperaeresis see Fritsch in Curtius *Studien* VI 128, where it should have been noted that in -εξε-σαι, not in -εφε-σαι, is the loss of one ε permissible in Homer. Cf. *μυθέαι* by the side of *μυθείαι*. In the imperative however we do not find -ειο.

In Oropos 18₂₀ we find *τελείσθω*, in Chalkis 13₉ *αἰρέισθω*. Tyr. 11₃ has *φοβεῖσθε*, Hrd. 7₂₁ *θηεῖσθε*, Anakr. 42 *ἀναχεῖσθων*.

Hippokr. has -ει- in *ἐμείσθω* V 708 and II 144 (several MSS.) but *ποιέεσθω* VII 190. Aret. *εὐπορεῖσθω* 279, *ἐψείσθω* 202, 331.

682.] -οω verbs are inflected as in Attic. *ἀνακοιπέο* Theog. 73 must come from -κοινέω, not from -κοινώω. Pindar has *κοινάω*.

Infinitive.

683.] 1. Verbs in -αω have throughout -ᾶσθαι except in *πειρήσθαι*, *διαιτήσθαι*, &c., in Hippokrates, § 637, 1 (1). Herodotos has e.g. *ὄρασθαι*, *ἀνιάσθαι*, Theognis *ἰῶσθαι* 433, *ἀγοράσθαι* 159, Miletos 100₆ *προϊεράσθαι*, Diog. Apoll. 6 *κυβερνάσθαι*, *κρεμάσθαι* Hippokr. I 592, II 288 should be read *κρέμασθαι*, which occurs in II 152. *ἐννᾶσθαι* Aret. 272 is the only prose instance of the un-compounded form.

2. Verbs in -εω². *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι* Orop. 18₇ (cf. *ἐπιμέλεσθαι*

¹ The Homeric *ἀποαιρέο* is called Ionic by the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 275. For *ἄλευ'* (*ἰωνικῶς*) Diogen. II 56, read *ἄλεῦ* (Schulze, *Quaest. epicae*, 64).

² Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Greg. Kor. 36, Gram. Leid. 629 *πονέσθαι* (*πονέσθαι* Meerm. 650, Vat. 694, *κλονέσθαι* Meerm. 650, on the view that ε might appear in place of ει as in *δέξω* = *δείξω*).

Thasos 71₇); Tyrtaios has *μυθεῖσθαι* 4₇, where *μυθέεσθαι* would have been impossible; Hrd. *ἡγείσθαι* 1₇₂. Herodotos: *ποιέεσθαι* about twenty times, but *R* has *ποιεῖσθαι* II 1. Contraction after *οι* in the finite forms of this verb is very rare in the MSS. After *ο* we have *διαροέεσθαι* II 121 (ὀ), but *διαροεῖσθαι* VI 86 (ὀ) in *ABCD*. Cf. the present and imperfect of *νοέω*.

Other Ionic prosaists have *-ει-* very often according to the MSS. of their excerpts: Demokrates has *αἰρεῖσθαι* 3. 92, *δατεῖσθαι* 71, *αἰδεῖσθαι* 100, 235, *ποιεῖσθαι* 128, *ἐπαυεῖσθαι* 204, *ἡγείσθαι* 212. The open forms are *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* 20₂₀ (*sic* Stob., but *-ει-* in 92), *ἀρκέεσθαι* 20₇ (various conj.), *μυμέεσθαι* 114 (cf. 113), *φιλέεσθαι* 161 (Demokrates). Diogen. Apoll. *ἐννοεῖσθαι* 4 (Simpl.); Melissos *κινεῖσθαι* 5 (Simpl.).

Hippokrates has *-ει-* in many cases, *e.g.* *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* II 14, 170 (most MSS.) 188, *ποιέεσθαι* II 280, III 214, 228, 230, 252, *ἀνελίεεσθαι* II 138 (*-ει-* one MS.), V 694, *ταλαιπωρέεσθαι* II 72, *αἰωρέεσθαι* III 442, *σκοπέεσθαι* II 634, 678 (*-ει-* *τυλγο*), III 100, *ἐκλαλέεσθαι* IV 630, *πονέεσθαι* II 184 *bis*, *ἀρθυμέεσθαι* II 170 *bis*, *σιτεῖσθαι* II 246 (*A*). but *-έεσθαι* II 288, *σκοπεῖσθαι* III 212, 258, 260. Arrian's only case of *-ει-* is *ἐξικνεῖσθαι* 24₄; Aretaios has *-έσθαι* only 73, 321. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has *αἰρέεσθαι* 6.

3. Verbs in *-ω-*. *ἐπαναεοῦσθαι* Eretria 15₇; Theog. *μανροῦσθαι* 192, Hdt. *κατορθοῦσθαι*, *ἐξισοῦσθαι*, &c., *ἐτεροιοῦσθαι* Melissos 17, Diog. Apoll. 2; *λοῦσθαι* Hdt. III 124, Hippokr. VII 74.

Participle.

684.] 1. *-ω* verbs have *-όμενος*, *e.g.* *κυκόμενος* Archil. 66₁, and MSS. Solon 13₆₁ (*κακούμενος* Bergk), *ἀλώμενος* Tyrta. 10₁₁, *στρωφόμενος* Theog. 247, *πλανόμενος* Sim. Amorg. 7₁₄, Solon 36₁₀, *λωβωμένη* Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₃, *ἀμφιδηριόμενος* 7₁₁₈, *πειρώμενος* Solon 13₆₇, *γεγανόμενος* Anakr. 13 A.

Herodotos has *-όμενος*, without any variant, in the verbs *αἰτιάομαι*, *ἀλάομαι*, *ἀρακτιάομαι*, *βιῶω*, *διαιτώω*, *ἐρίω*, *θεαῖομαι*, *θηρίω*, *κραγανῶω*, *λωβάομαι*, *νικάω*, *πλανῶω*, *στρωφῶω*. On other forms (*-έόμενος*, *-εόμενος*) see § 688.

τιμώμενος Hippokr. II 80, Demokr. 231, *πειρώμενος* Herakl. 2, Pherekydes of Leros 33^h, *ιώμενος* Pherekydes 76.

2. Verbs in *-εω*¹. In the lyric poets we have unanimous testimony to the contraction of *-εο-*. Archil. trim. 32₂ *πονευμένη*, 44 *ποιεύμενος*, 46 *πολευμένω*, 102 *σαλευμένη*, 128 *ἐξαλεύμενος*; Sim. Amorg. *κλονεύμενοι* 1₁, *μυθεύμενος* 7₁₈, *φορευμένη* 7₄₀ (Stob.

¹ *λυπέόμενος* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Birnb. 678₁, *ποιεόμενος* Aug. 668, *μαχεόμενος* Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.

Π-ου-). ἀλετρίνη 7⁶¹; Solon 1³⁴, φορέμενος, trim. 36¹² τρομεμένους, the only contracted form of this poetic (and Hippocratic) verb, trim. 37⁵ κκεύμενος; Mimn. 7¹ δηλεύμενος; Theog. 169 μωμεύμενος. ποιούμενος occurs in an iambic line preserved by Stobaios 28, 18; ὠνευμένης in Hrd. 7⁸². The cases of -ευ- in the early iambists awaken suspicion, as we elsewhere have εο. The writing ευ recalls that in vogue in the fifth century.

Attic forms are πονούμενον Theog. 1359, Φιλουμένη Paros 66, ἀδικούμενον C. I. G. 2919 (but the document is a modern forgery). Genuine Ionic is ἀφικνε(ο' μένων Οτορος 18₈).

Verbs in -εω usually show -εόμενος. This is the case even in Herodotos¹ who has the greatest number of cases of -εύμενος. These are given in the note below. Before μ there is evident a tendency to write ευ; as if the scribes thought εο (which they judged to be dissyllabic) with -μενος would produce too many short syllables.

αἰωρέω VII 61, 92; ἀπολογέω VII 161 (-ου- B); ἀπορέω II 121 (γ); εἰλέω II 76; ἡγέομαι II 93 (ἡγέονται bis same chapter), 113 (κατηγόρεον soon after), 115, VII 161; θηέομαι VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88; θυμέομαι IX 72; ἰκνέομαι II 105 (-εο- R d), 178, III 9, VI 65, 86 a (-εο- C), cf. VI 65, 84 (-ευ- R); καλέω II 56, 72, 79, 97, 113 (-εο- C), 118, 124, 156 (-εο- CPD), 178 (-εο- CP), III 106 (οἰκεόμενος same chapter), IV 20 (-εο- R), 85, 93, 175, V 31 (-εο- r), 108 (-εο- ABCd), VI 79 (-εο- PRz), VII 77, 170 (-εο- ABCd), IX 48; cf. II 41 (-ευ- AB), 154 (-ευ- R), καλεόμενος III 13 and elsewhere; καλλιερέω VI 82; λυπέω IX 94; μυθέω II 121 (δ); ναυπηγέω II 96, VI 46; νοέω III 122, V 36; πιεζέω III 146 (ABR), VI 108 (-ο- Cz), VIII 142 (-ο- BCz); πολιορκέω V 115 bis (-εο- r, and -εο- B²r); cf. I 26 (-ευ- CP), II 157 (-ευ- R), III 13 (-ευ- CPd z); τελέω II 152, III 134 (-εο- d²), VII 16 (-ου- P); τιμωρέω III 50 (-εο- R); ὑπισχνέομαι II 152, III 74 (-ου- AB), VIII 106, cf. V 51 (-εο- all MSS.); φορέω III 106, 146, VII 10 (θ); ὠθέω VI 83; ὠνέομαι I 165; ὠφελέω II 68, -εο- PRz (-εο- same chapter, where d has -ευ-).

In the case of ποιέω, Hdt. has ποιεύμενος very frequently. In a small number of instances we find ποιεύμενος: I 37, 68 (same chapter -εύμενος), 73. θηέομαι, too, contracts εο to ευ.

In other prose writers than Herodotos: Herakl. κινέόμενος 84 (conj.); Demokr. θυμέόμενος 27 bis, -μεύμενος 20₂₂, τελεύμενα 71, λυπεύόμενος 29, κινέόμενος 20₅ (Stob. -ου-), ὑπηγεομένης 92, μωμομέτων 123, καλομένης 211, ἐρέόμενος (?) (with accus.) for ἐρώμενος 6; Anaxag. κινέόμενος bis 7 (Simpl. -ου-); Diog. Apoll. καλεόμενος 6 (Simpl. -ου-); Meliss. κινέόμενος 4 (Simpl. -ου-); Pekat. ποιεύμενος 350 (Longinos -ου-). Hippocrates has -εόμενος usually, e.g. ἀφικνεύόμενος II 14, ἐπιρροφεύόμενος II 358, καλεύόμενος

¹ Forms in -ου are to be rejected: ἀπολογούμενος VII 161 in B, πολιορκούμενος I 26 in A, III 13 in AB, ἐπιμετρούμενος III 91 in all MSS., ἀφαιρούμενος Hippokr. VI 494, σκοπούμενος III 258, ἡγούμενος I 612 (A) &c.

Π 224, but ἀφικνεύμενος Π 76, ἐμέυμενος Π 144 (same page ἐμέομενος). ποιεύμενος Π 362, ΙΙΙ 442. VI 74, 514. ἐνθυμείμενος Π 42, ἐνοσούμενος Π 50, σκοπεύμενος Π 50 (-ου- vulgo, cf. ΙΙΙ 258), σιτειεύμενος VI 54 (A) whereas Hdt. VI 57 as Ηίρροκρ. Π 282, 288, has -εο-, κλονεύμενος VIII 18, ἀδηλεύμενος VIII 18, ἡγεύμενος Π 110, 242, ἐναιωρεύμενος Π 116, φιλοτιμεύμενος IX 358. *Vita Hom.* 33 καλεύμενος (only case of -εο-), ποιεύμενος 23, Lukian's *V. A.* ὠνεύμενος 14, Aret. 313 διεύμενος. Attic forms sometimes occur in Lukian (*Astral.* 19) and Arrian (20). πωλεύμεναι *Prometh.* 645 trim. as β 55, ρ 534.

3. Verbs in -οω. Archil. γουνομένω 751, χολούμενος 95, and so Solon 341. In 1361 Bergk follows Lobeck in reading κακούμενον for the MS. κυκώμενον. Herodotos has ἐσσούμενος, ἀντιούμενος, Ηίρροκρ. ἀποκορυφούμενος, &c., Diog. Apoll. 6 ἐπεροιοιμήτωι, *Vita Hom.* 5 ἀνδροούμενος.

Imperfect.

685.] 1. Verbs in -αω. ἦραο Xenoph. 51, ἐστρωφᾶτο Archil. 33, ποτᾶτο 186, ἐκοιμάτο Ηίρροκρ. ΙΙΙ 48, ἀπεπειράτο Hdt. I 46, κατηρῶντο Hippon. 11. ἡργορόωντο Hdt. VI 11 cannot stand.

2. Verbs in -εω. Hdt. has ἡγεύμην Π 115, ἐποιέετο about 30 times, ἐπορθέετο I 84, ἐμιμέετο V 67. Ηίρροκρ. has ὠφέλεετο V 204, but ὠχλείτο V 196 (ὠφέλεεί same page). -εν- occurs in ἐποιούμεσθα, Hrd. 417. -εοντο¹ and -εντο in the third plural: ἡγέοντο Hdt. VII 40, διανοεύντο VI 133, προηγέοντο VII 40, ἐκαλεύντο VII 74, ἐποιεύντο V 63, VII 138, Ηίρροκρ. IX 348. ἐρριπτέυντο Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 24. Forms that have been Atticized occur, e.g. ἐποιούντο Herakl. 127.

The inflection of the verb *behold* presents great difficulties². Two forms are certainly Ionic: *θηέομαι*, *θεάομαι*. (1) *θηέομαι* = Doric *θᾶέομαι* ³ < *θᾶ^εε-ιο-μαι, is found in *θηέτο* η 133, *έθηέτο* Hdt. I 10 (-ηῆτο *Rbdz*), 68, IV 85 (-ηῆτο *dz*), VII 44, 56, 100, 208 (-ηῆτο *d*); *έθηέντο* ΙΙΙ 136, VIII 25; *θηείσθε* Hrd. 721; *θηέυμενος* Hdt. VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88. Homer has eight forms from *θηέομαι*, one from *θεάομαι*. Hesiod has *θηήσομαι*, *θηητός*, Aret. 312 *θηητός* in *G* (*θηητός* *H. V.*). (2) *θεάομαι*⁴, as in Attic, from **θηᾶομαι* < **θᾶ^εᾶ-ιο-μαι*. Hdt. has

¹ *έπονέοντο* Joh. Gr. 240.

² Cf. Johansson, *D. V. C.* 149, *B. B.* XV 173.

³ *θᾶέομαι* (Pindar) from **θᾶ^εᾶ*, Syrakusan *θᾶᾶ*. *θᾶέτο* in Theokr. is not from **θᾶᾶετο*, but from **θᾶᾶέτο*, because *a* becomes *e* before *o*, not before *e* (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 327). *θᾶητός* is found in Pindar and Theokritos. With *θᾶτήρας* *θεατός* < *θᾶᾶ*-, cf. Hom. *θηητήρ*, whose second *η* is different from that of *θηητός*.

⁴ Dindorf, praef. XXXVII, thinks the forms from *θεάομαι* in Hdt. are due to a copyist, and doubts even *θηηταί*, *θέητρον*. *ᾄθιοθέητος* he is constrained to accept because of *θης ᾄξιος*.

θεώμενος III 32, VI 67, VII 208 (as Aret. 91), θεήσσαι, θεησόμενος, -σασθαι (as Hippokr. IX 348), -σάμενος often (I 11 *AP*, other MSS. -ηησάμενον), I 30 (*b*-ηησάμενον), II 106 (*Rd* -ειησάμενον), IV 87 (*Rd* -ηησάμενος), ἐθεήσατο VII 128 (IV 87 *Rd* -ηήσατο), -αντο VI 120 (III 23 *PRz*, 24 *PRdz* -ηήσαντο). From the same stem we have θέη < *θήη, in Hdt. I 25, IX 25 (θέαι Hrd. 129) = Attic θέα, θεηται Hdt. III 139, θέητρον VI 21, θέημα Sim. Amorg. 707 (Doric θάημα < θάφημα), ἀξιόθεητος Hdt. often. θεη- is contracted to θη- in ἴνα μιν θησαλατ' σ 191 (ἴνα θηησαιατ' Kirchhoff), θησάμενος Abdera 162 (metrical), θήσεσθε Hrd. 756. We see no reason for accepting an Ionic θάομαι in these contracted forms. The Doric forms (Ahrens II 342) may be referred to θάομαι or to θάμαι, and θεώμενος in Hdt. is not necessarily from θάομαι. θάο is certain in the Anthology and Hesychios, who has also θάοντα θεωρῶντα, but Koehl's (I. G. A. 409) θάεν τοῦ λίθου in the Naxian inscription must yield to Bentley's [τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου. Two forms cause great difficulty: ἐθηήτο, the *v. l.* in Hdt. and ἐθεήτο in Hippokr. VII 490 according to Littré (ἐθειήτο in *ε*, ἐθειᾶτο in seven MSS.). These forms, if correct, could come only from an hitherto unknown θηήομαι < θᾶφᾶ-ιο-μαι, and from θεήομαι < θηη-. ἐθηήτο, we think, has its ηη wrongly transferred from ἐθηήσατο, &c. (a reading adopted by Abicht), and ἐθεήτο its ειη from ἐθεήσατο. Johansson suggests the possibility of deriving ἐθειήτο from ἐθηείτο, *i. e.* ἐθήετο, by *metathesis quantitatis*. We prefer to regard the forms as simple blunders.

The editors adopt -εέσκετο, *e. g.* in ποιέεσκετο Hdt. VII 5, which has the support of only one MS. (*g*, ἐποιέετο *PRz*). The preferable form would be ποιέσκετο found in *ABCD*. So in VII 119 *z* alone has ποιέεσκετο, the MSS. (except *R* ἐποιέετο) ποιέσκετο.

3. Verbs in -οω. ἤντιοῦτο Hdt. I 76, ἐκακοῦτο Hippokr. III 74, ἤτεροιοῦτο Diog. Apoll. 2, παρεκρημοῦντο Hippon. 130. On ἐδικαιεῦντο Hdt. III 29, see § 690.

The Contraction of -εε, -εει.

686.] To afford a survey of the usage of Hippocrates, Aretaios and the imitators of Herodotos in respect of their adoption of the obsolete forms in -εε, -εει from -εω verbs, we present the following table. See Lindemann *de dialecto Ionica recentiore*, pp. 31 ff. The names of Asinius Quadratus and Uranius are omitted from the list, since they present no pertinent forms. Forms of -ερω verbs (§ 637, 2) are included in the enumeration.

	Indic. Pres. Act.		Inf. Pres. Act.		Ind. Impf. Act.		Indic. Pr. Pass.		Ind. Impf. Pass.		Inf. Pr. Pass.		Imperat. Act.		Imperat. Pass.	
	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.
<i>Syria itea</i>	All	0	17	0	25 ¹	0	22	0	15	0	7	0				
{ Vit. auct. Asstr.	3	1	2	0	3	0	2	<i>v.l.</i> § 29	1	0	2	0				
	4	0	2	0	14	4	11 or 12	2	4	0	3	0				
Arrian's <i>Indika</i>	15	6	10	6	1	0	1	0			19	2				
Abydenos			1	0												
Eusebios					2	0			1	0						
Euseb. Mynod.	8	³ 3 δεε	22	0			2	0			17	0	7	0		
Aretaios	156	21	106	25	7	0	32	4	0	1	17	2			1	2
Hippokrates:—																
ΠΚ	31	15	12	12			1	3			1	1			0	1
ΕΙ	2	2 (δεε)	15	0	15	30	1	0			1	1				
ΕΠΙ	3	3 (δεε)	2	1	3	44	1	1	0	1	0	1				
ΠΑ	10	¹⁰ 2 δεε	8	5	0	1 εδδεε	1	2			10	1				
ΠΔΟ	30	17 δεε	26	³ (1 δεε)ρ	1	1	1	3			8	0	1 ²	0		
ΠΓΚ	5	2 (δεε)	1	0			1	3			6	4				
Π			11	<i>v.l.</i> 1			3	1			4	3 <i>v.l.</i>			0	1

The *Vita Homeri* contracts in all 25 times, leaves open 7 times.

¹ In 4 other passages the MSS. vary.

² So Littré II 276.

The Inflection of Verbs in -ηω, -ωω.

687.] 1. -ηλω < -αιω.

διψῆ Hippokr. VI 488, VII 258 (-ᾶ Ermerins wrongly), as in Pindar, διψῆν Hdt. II 24, διψέων (-ο-) Archil. 68, from διψήων (cf. διψάων λ 584 and Μαχάων, Μαχέων § 140, 1). The contracted form appears in διψῶντα Anakr. 57, for which Fick would read διψέωντα, διψῶντες Aret. 134, διψῶσαν Astrol. 24 = διψεῦσαν Anthol. Pal. VI 217. In the imperfect, ἐδιψῆ Hippokr. III 36, 42, ἐδιψων II 652.

The origin of the long vowel in διψάω, πεινάω still remains obscure. Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 269 refers these two verbs to διψᾶσιω, πεινάσιω, and connects their latter part with √as *burn*. But διψῆν, as πεινῆν, may be merely an analogue of verbs with primitive η, e. g. ψῆν.

δρῆν Hippokr. III 290, δρῶντα (Attic?) Hrd. 528, for which we should expect δρέωντα, δρέοντα, or δρεῦντα (cf. πηδεῦντα 306). Verbs in -ηω in Hrd. always contract (cf. under κνάω and ψάω), and the closed forms are known to us from the prose monuments. Attic δρᾶν may be from δρᾶ-ειν.

θυμῆται Hdt. IV 75, ὑποθυμῆσθω Hippokr. VII 320 have been regarded as derived from θυμῆω. We class them with the hyper-Ionisms (§ 637, 1 footnote), and in Hdt. read θυμᾶται with *A²R*.

μνάομαι we expect to yield μνεάμενος in Hdt. This is found in I 96, but only in CPz, MSS. which often affect -εω- where it is not in place. In I 205 all MSS. have -ω-. ἐμνάτο I 205 and μνάται Anakr. 68 are also from μνάομαι, if the other forms in -ω- are correct. Homer has μνάμενος λ 117, but also ἐμνάοντο, μνάσθαι, &c. μνώμενος is a certain emendation of Wolf in Hymn I 209.

πεινῆ Hippokr. VI 488, but πεινῶντας Hdt. I 133 which would seem to be Attic, cf. πεινάων Γ 25, &c.

2. -ηλω (with pan-Hellenic η).

Whether pan-Hellenic η exists in all of the following forms, e. g. σμηῆν, ψῆν (ψᾶφος), is uncertain.

ζῆ < *ζῆ-ει, Herakl. 25, Diog. Apoll. 6, Hippokr. III 192, VI 42 (subj.). ζᾶμεν Sim. Amorg. 32 might be from *ζέωμεν < *ζῆομεν, could we not assume a weak stem ζα-. Improbable is the derivation from *ζῶομεν < ζῶομεν. ζῶσι Hdt. II 92, IV 22 (*A B R*), 23 (ζῶουσι *R*), 103, Hippokr. II 46, V 672. Bekker, Dindorf, Abicht accept only ζῶουσι in Hdt. ζῆν < *ζῆ-ει, Hdt. V 6 (cf. VII 46 in *P R*, Stob.), Demokr. 54, Theog. 1156, Aret. 10. Hdt. elsewhere has ζῶειν which Merzdorf would, and Stein does, adopt in V 6. ζῶν Herakl. 78, ζῶντος Hippokr. III 246, Aret. 183, ζῶντι Hippokr. III 246, Hdt. IV 94, VII 238 (*A B R*), ζῶντα Hdt. I 86 *bis* (in one case *B²C* have ζῶοντα; ζῶόντων in same chapter), II 162, III 10, IV 14, VII 33, 166, ζῶντες Hdt. IV 22, 23, 46 (ζῶο-*P d*), IX 119, Herakl. 67, ζῶντα Hippokr. VI 488, ζῶόντων Herakl. 123 (Bernays), ζῶσι Hdt. VI 58, ζῶντας II 69 (ζῶο-*C*), VII 146, ζῶσα IV 205.

On the forms of ζῶω, see below under 3. The second ablaut form ζα- cannot be supported by a supposed Kyprian ζαφεῖτε, or by δαιτα (with Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 151). ζῆ is, moreover, not from *ζῆf-ει, but from *ζῆ-ει. ἐζῆν, ζῆσι are not original forms, the -μι conjugation of ζῆω being later than

that in -ω. ζῆθι is an analogue of στῆθι (cf. στήτω, ζήτω), and ζῆν is built on the pattern of ἔσβην. Cf. Brugmann *M. U.* I 7. ζῆν displaced the earlier ζῆων (Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 546).

Hdt. has no trace of the η of *κνήω: κνᾶν VII 239, despite epic κνή and κνήται Hippokr. III 490. Herodas has κνῶ *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 15. If κνᾶς in Aristophanes is incorrect, as Cobet, Meineke and Dindorf maintain, κνᾶν would be erroneous in Hdt. But in the case of both Ionic and Attic we may assume the existence of κνᾶ-. See below, p. 565.

Hdt. contracts κτάομαι (§ 168) in κτῶνται I 135, III 98 (-εω-σ), 105, 110, κτώμενος I 29, III 134, IV 80. The contraction to -ω- is also supported by *ABR* in κτῶνται III 107, where *P* has κτέονται, *C* δ σ -εω-, II 79 (-εο-*P*, -εω-*C*σ), III 74 ἐκτέωντο (-εο-*P*, -εω-*C*σ), Euseb. Mynd. κτώμενος 15, 24; κτᾶσθαι Hdt. I 61, III 21, 73, VII 9; κτᾶται Demokr. 184. ἐκτέατο, imperfect in Hdt. VIII 112 in *ABC*δ (-εε-*P**R*), is certainly wrong (Dindorf ἐκτετο, all the recent editors ἐκτᾶτο); as is -έετο, unless a form κτε-, parallel to χρε-, can be shown to exist in this verb. See on χράομαι below. ἐκτέαται IV 23 is correct.

λῆ Theognis 299 is not the result of a Doric contraction of λάει, but of pan-Hellenic λῆει. If the Kretan form were λῆῶ=ληέω, λῆ might also be explained as λῆ+εῖ. It is, however, certain that λέοι is to be read in *Museo Ital.* II 678, 6, and this may stand for λε(ί)οι (Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1888, p. 400). Λ λῆέω would, however, be a parallel of χρηέομαι (*λῆος, χρηός).

νήω *hear ye* (νῆει σωρεύει Hesyehios) has passed into the inflection of νέω in Herodotus: ἐπινέουσι IV 62, περινεῖν VI 80 (so *R*, -εειν other MSS.), συννεύεται IV 62. Perhaps we should read νηεῖ in the gloss (cf. Hom. νηέω). Photios' νῶντος σωρεύοντος would point to νᾶω. νῶντα νήθοντα has the same contraction. In Hesiod *W. D.* 777 we may read νῆ for νεῖ and in Hesyehios νῆν for νεῖν (*spin*).

σμάω would seem to be Ionic, not σμήω: ἐξέσμων Hdt. III 148 (cf. Hesyehios), διασμάωντες II 37 (only *C*σ -εω-, *P* -εο-), σμάται IX 110 (cf. σμωμένην Aristoph. frag. 326 D). σμέονται was a conjecture of Valekenaeer in Hdt. VII 209. Hippokr. uses σμήχω.

χρᾶς *utterest an oracle*, Hdt. IV 155=Attic χρῆς; χρᾶ I 55 and 15 times elsewhere; χρᾶν IV 155, VIII 135 *bis*; χρέωσα VII 111 (χρέουσα *P*σ) fem. of χρέων Hymn I 253 (= II 75), cf. χρήων θ 79; ἔχρη Tyr. 33 as in Attic.

χρέώμενος *consulting an oracle* Hdt. IV 151 (*P* -εο-); χρέεσθαι I 157 all MSS. (χρᾶσθαι Stein), χρᾶσθαι VII 141 (χρήσθαι *R*), χρήσθαι I 47 all MSS. (χρᾶσθαι Stein); ἐχρέωντο I 53, IV 157 (-εο-*BPR*), V 82 (-εο-*Pr*), VII 141 (-εο-*P*).

χράω (χρή), cf. Epicharmos' ἀποχρέω, and epic ἄμοκλέω derived from κλή. καταχρᾶ Hdt. I 164, ἀποχρᾶ IX 79, ἀποχρῶσι V 31 (cf. χρεῖ (χρέει)? δει in Hesyehios, and ἀποχρέοντι in Archimedes); subj. ἀποχρή Hippokr. IX 156; ἀποχρᾶν (cf. Bekk. An. 439²⁰) Hdt. III 138, VI 137, VII 148, IX 48, 94; χρέον V 49 (-εῶν *δ*σ), 109 (-εῶν *δ*σ); ἀπέχρα I 66 (-ῆ *β* *δ*σ), κατέχρα VII 70; ἀποχρέωμενος, *content*, I 37; ἀπεχράτο I 102 all MSS., VIII 14 (-έετο *R*σ, -ῆτο other MSS.).

From primitive *χρή-ιο-μαι *use* (§ 167) we have the genuine Ionic¹ forms χρέωμαι, χρέωνται in all MSS. of Hdt. to II 77, except in a few passages where there is a slight support for -εο-, or Attic -ω-. From II 77 on we find that *P* has -εο- (except IV 104), all the other MSS. -εω-. Hippokrates prefers

¹ Also Kretan: χρέώμεθα *Mus. Ital.* III 563, l. 32. *χρήομαι may stand for *χρηφέσομαι, Kretan χρηέομαι < χρηός. Or χρηέομαι may be a causative like the Skt. *prāyāyatī*. It is more probable that we have two distinct forms *χρήομαι and *χρηέομαι.

χρέονται, e.g. II 12, 48 (-ω *vulgo*), 54, 60, 72, 74, 88 (-ω *vulgo*), 246 (-ω in *A*, -εω *vulgo*), 344 (-ω *A*); χρέμεθα VII 224. Herakleitos 111 has χρέονται in Bywater, following Bernays, before whose time χρέονται was read. Neither form occurs in the MSS. In Anaxag. 10 Simplicius has χρώνται. χρέωνται is found in *Syr. dea* I (6 MSS., -εο- in *E*), χρέονται in 4, Arrian 13₁, 16₁, Aret. 174. χρώνται is found in Theog. 161, and the MSS. Arrian 29₁₅; χρώμεσθα Herodas 321. χρώται occurs 8 times in the MSS. of Hdt. (in I 58 *z* has -εε-, in III 78 -η-, in IV 50 *PR* have -εε-); elsewhere there is no variation. χρέεται is found in Aret. 63, 133, 176, 179. The second person singular is χρέᾶ, Ionic and κοινή according to the Schol. Ven. A on A 216. Attic is χρή.

In the imperfect Herodotos has ἐχράτο¹ eight times in all MSS., ἐχρήτο once (III 41). Variation exists in II 173 (r.l. -εε-), III 129, VIII 14, 118 r.l. -εε-), IX 37. ἐχρήτο is found Herodas 6₃₅, Hippokr. III 106.

Hdt. has ἐχρέωντο, not ἐχρέοντο² which is found in *P* (and in other MSS. occasionally), II 108, III 57, IV 157, V 68, 82, VI 46; Hippokr. has ἐχρέοντο II 226 (-εω- *S*¹, -ω- gloss. *FG*). So too *Astrol.* 7, 23, Euseb. § 4.

In the subjunctive we find χρέωνται, e.g. Hdt. V 87, Hippokr. II 264. The optative is χρέοιτο Hippokr. II 346, but (χρώτο in *A* and gloss³, 358 (χρώτο gloss), VII 448.

Imperative χρέω Hdt. I 155 in all MSS. except *AB* which have χρέο, the reading of Littré in Hippokr. II 516 (χρώ *A*), 520 (χρέω *A C*), VIII 440. Stein and Kallenberg adopt χρέο in Hdt., but the other form is preferable. χρέω is from *χρήσ, *χρήεο. The Attic χρώ occurs in Herodas 56; χράσθω Hdt. II 123, χρέεσθω Hippokr. VII 176, 182, 184, 216, 234, 244, 246, 288, in VII 168 and VIII 260 (-η- in *θ*); χρήσθω VII 22 *bis*, 24 *ter*, 26, 28, 348 (-ει- v.l.), VIII 92 (*Cθ*), 502; χράσθε Hdt. V 92 *α*) with -η- in *ABd*; χράσθων III 81; χρέεσθωσαν Hippokr. VI 82 is read by Littré (*A* has χρή-). The ending is late.

χράσθαι appears 22, χρήσθαι only 6, χρέεσθαι 13 times in all MSS. of Hdt. Elsewhere there is variation (12 times), in 3 of which χρήσθαι is better attested than χρέεσθαι, and in 3 others better than χράσθαι. [χ]ρησθ[αι] Keos 43₂ may be χρήσθαι or χρέεσθαι, of which the former is correct. χρήσθαι is found in Demokr. 188 (Stobaios, who has χράσθαι in 11), Hippokr. III 236, VI 302, 342, 516, VII 26, 100, 234, VIII 440, to cite passages where Littré adopts this form. In a large number of passages Littré adopts χρέεσθαι against the authority of the best MSS. or of the vulgate. *A* has χρήσθαι in II 254, 356, 364, 366, VI 72, 74 *bis*, 78, 80, 84 *bis*, *θ* has χρήσθαι VI 602; cf. also III 304, VI 72. The vulgate has -η- in II 78, 180, 268, VI 76, &c. No variant from χρέεσθαι is given in II 30, IV 162, VI 516, 662, VII 168, 176, 190, 330. Littré even reads on the same page (VI 516) χρέεσθαι and χρήσθαι. Kühn adopts χρέεσθαι in Arctaios 188, 195, 198, 202, 203, 204, 303.

χρέώμενος (cf. χρέώμενος Ψ 834 and Eust. *ad loc.*) is the correct form in Herodotos. *P* and sometimes other MSS. have -εο-, e.g. II 108 *PR*. χράώμενος is foreign to the dialect of the historian³. This form in Kallenberg's text I 131 must be an error. χρέώμενος is edited in Herakl. 62 (?), Hippokr. II 62 (-ω *vulgo*), IX 404 epist. (*vulgo*, -εο- v.l.), Abydenos 9 (-εο- v.l.).

χρέόμενος is generally adopted in Hippokrates: II 254 (-ω *A*), 260 (-ω *vulgo*), 264 (-ω *A*), 280 *bis* (-εω- v.l., -ω- *A*), 308 (-ω- *A*, -εω- *C*), 342 (-εω- *vulgo*,

¹ Cf. Bekk. Anecd. I 423₂₆.

² Greg. Kor. § 15 cites this form as Ionic: ἐχράοντο ἐχρέοντο τὸ α εἰς ε τρέποντες.

³ It occurs in Sim. Keos 100₄.

-ω- *Α*), 372 (-εω- *Α*, -ω- gloss *FG*), III 102 (-ω- v. l.), 364 (*D*, -εω- *S*¹, -ω- *Α*), VI 72 bis (-εω- *vulgo*, -ω- *Α*, and -εω- *G J Q*¹, -ω- *vulgo*), 662 (θ, where Littré has -ω-); Lukian, *Syr. dea* 55 (-εω- v. *Α*), *Astrol.* 15, 29 (*E*), Arrian 12₂, 28₈, 29₁₆, Aret. 103, 241, 274, 306, 311.

*ψῆνω yields καταψῶσα Hdt. VI 61, Hrd. 67₆ (cf. καταψῶν *Peace* 75).

Remarks. On the evidence above adduced we conclude that in the case of ζη-, κνη-, κτη-, σμη-, χρη- and ψη-, Ionic builds, with a few exceptions in the forms from χρη-, the inflections from the weak ablaut stem in *ä*. The presence of these stems in *ä* relieves us of the necessity of regarding the contracted forms in ω as the result of a union of ηω, ηο in ω. The interrelation of the stems χρη-, χρᾶ- and χρε-, and to a less degree that of κτη-, κτᾶ- and κτε- is of extreme difficulty. The most probable explanation is that of the two¹ ablaut forms χρη-, χρᾶ- (cf. χραισμέω and κνήν, κναίω) κτη-, κτᾶ- the η form appeared originally before ο, that in *ä* before ε sounds². Thus χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος, χρέω, χρέωσα on the one hand, and χράται, ἐχράτο, χράσθω, χράσθαι, χράς, &c. on the other, represent the original function of the two types. Later on this dichotomy was abandoned and the resulting confusion produced χράω, χρώμενος Attic and Messenian, χρήσθαι, κτῶμενος, κτῶνται, &c.; unless we maintain with Schmidt *K. Z.* XXVII 297 that Attic χρω- is from χρηο- (cf. Ποσειδῶν <-ηων).

The χρε- forms³ are historically and morphologically later. They came into existence when χρᾶομαι, instead of χρήομαι, had established itself in use. From this χρᾶομαι came Ionic, Rhodian, and Kretan χρέομαι, as ὄράω became ὄρέω (§ 688). χρέομαι soon led to χρέεται, ἐχρέετο, χρέεσθαι.

Without the assumption of an original differentiation in use between χρη- and χρᾶ-, the shifting between χρεώμενος and χράται in Hdt. cannot be defended. If we attempt to carry the stem χρη- through the singular present and imperfect, and infinitive, it is inconceivable why Hdt. does not have χρήται and χρήσθαι. If χράται is not original in Hdt., it was introduced at a time when Attic χρήται had been supplanted by χράται.

3. -ωίω.

ζῶω⁴ Theog. 914, ζῶεις Hrd. 410, ζῶει Hdt. III 22, Hippokr. VI 482, 506. ζῶομεν Sim. Amorg. 14 is the traditional form, but the verse will not scan (ζῶουσιν Ahrens, Hiller, ζῶμεν Bergk). ζῶουσι Herakl. 92, Hdt. I 216, II 36,

¹ The existence of an ablaut series η (ω), ε, *ä* in one and the same verb is not to be accepted with Johansson, who *D. V. C.* p. 156 (hesitatingly) suggests its possibility. *πίμπλημι* has πλη-, πλε-, πλᾶ-, but of these πλε- is a weakened form of πλη- before a vowel (πλε-ίων) that was carried into the inflection of the verb by the analogy of τίθημι, τίθεμεν. See § 691, note 4.

² This was not recognized in § 167. The weak point in the above explanation is that original χράται in Attic was supplanted by χρήται (whereas χράται does not appear in inscriptions till the second century B.C.) and then was driven out by χράται: an analogue of τιμᾶται. Perhaps χρήται was formed like ἄητο, ἔγνων.

³ Meister, *Herodas* p. 796, thinks that χρη- became χρε- before the vowel ο when followed by a double consonant. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 172, suggested (doubtfully) that accent-shifting produced the change (χρηόμενος, χρεομένου). Neither theory has the support of facts.

⁴ Very frequent in Homer. It occurs also in Kretan, Lakonian, Boiotian, North West Greek. Kyprian Ζώφης does not belong here. In Rhodian we find ζῶντι, ζῶντας, in Lakonian, Delphic, &c., ζῶντι, in Boiotian ζῶνθι.

III 22; ζῶν Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 12; ζῶοιμι Theog. 1121, ζῶην (?) Hrd. 579, cf. [ξ]ῶη 579; ζῶων Kallinos 119. ζῶόντων Hdt. I 86 (ζῶόντων *Red*), III 119, ζῶουσαν Hrd. V 2, ζῶοντας Euseb. Mynd. 42; ζῶειν Theog. 182, Herakl. 86, Hdt. I 31, VII 46, Hippokr. VIII 70, Hrd. 229, *Syr. dea* 6, Sim. Amorg. 117 at the verse end (hence Porson's ζῶειν); ξῶων Hdt. IV 112.

ζῶω is well established in the language as early as Homer. From an ablaut perfect ξῶκα (which chanced to occur on a late inscription from Kyzikos C. I. G. 3684, where it is doubtless from ζῶω), the stem ζω- was abstracted. ζῶω is not a contracted verb, as πλώω is not. The stem ζω- we find in ζωρός, ζῶπυρον, ζῶς which was later on enlarged to ζῶος [Archil.] 633, Hdt. I 194, ζῶον, *i. e.* ζω-10-ν, ζῶή (Aret. 41). ζῶή, ζῶός, ζῶειν, ζῶες became respectively ζῶή (Hdt. IV 112, Hrd. I 4, 32), ζῶός (Archil. 63, Porson), ζῶειν (Sim. Amorg. 117), ζῶές· ζῆ Hesychios.

From the stem ἰδρωσ-¹ (epic ἰδρῶ, ἰδρῶ) the denominative ἰδρωσιω is formed. Cf. epic ἰδρώουσα, ἰδρώνοντας. ἰδρῶω yields ἰδράει *Syr. dea* 10, ἰδρῶη Hippokr. II 34, ἰδρῶειν *Syr. dea* 17, ἐφιδρῶντες Hippokr. V 598 (-ou- *vulgo*, cf. 594), VI 192 *bis* (θ, -ou- *vulgo*). The forms in Lukian may be derived from the future or aorist ἰδρω-σ-, but neither Ionic nor Attic admit, in an early period of their existence, such forms as Delphic στεφανῶω formed from στεφανῶ-σω. From the weaker stem we have ἰδρωσιω which yields in Hippokr. ἰδρῶϊ II 34, ἰδρῶουσιν V 610, 626, ἰδρουν II 642, ἰδρούτω II 516, ἰδρῶν V 588, 596, ἰδρῶντες II 612, V 590, 594 *ter* (A has -ω- once), 596 *ter* (-ω- twice in A), 676, 710.

The earlier type of the forms of ῥιγῶω is derived from the stem ῥιγωσ- (cf. Latin *rigōr*): ῥιγῶ Hippokrat. 162, 171, ῥιγῶη Hippokr. VII 190, ῥιγῶσα Sim. Amorg. 716. ῥιγῶω shows its later origin in the fact that it is constructed in the ordinary fashion from the stem ῥιγωσ-. Examples of ῥιγῶω are ῥιγῶϊ Hippokr. V 588, ῥιγῶουσι V 624, 626, ῥιγῶῦσι V 112 (Attic ῥιγῶῦσι V 656, 710), ῥιγῶ V 706, ῥιγῶν Hdt. V 92 (η), ῥιγῶντες Hippokr. V 588, ῥιγῶοντα V 590, ῥιγῶντα V 592 (A), (ῥιγῶντα V 540), ἐρρῆγῶν II 642 *bis* (-ou- *vulgo*, -εον C in one case only), 652 (-ou- *vulgo*).

The Inflection of -ᾶω Verbs.

688.] 1. The original inflection of τιμάω was as follows, *e.g.* in the present and imperfect indicative :

τιμα-ιω	whence	τιμέω	τιμα-10-μεν	whence	τιμέομεν
τιμα-1ε-15	„	τιμᾶς	τιμα-1ε-τε	„	τιμᾶτε
τιμα-1ε-1	„	τιμᾶ	τιμα-10-ντι	„	τιμέουσι
ἐτιμα-10-ν	whence	ἐτίμεον	ἐτιμα-10-μεν	whence	ἐτιμέομεν
ἐτιμα-1ε-5	„	ἐτίμας	ἐτιμα-1ε-τε	„	ἐτιμᾶτε
ἐτιμα-1ε	„	ἐτίμα	ἐτιμα-10-ν	„	ἐτίμεον

Before an *o* sound, *a* became ϵ^2 in the verb (and noun, § 136) in a very early period of the language³; a substitution of ϵ for *a*

¹ ἰδρῶς is post-Homeric is a τ stem. Cf. Hom. γελῶω < γελῶσιω, γέλφ, γέλω. γέλως is later a τ stem.

² Schmidt, *Neutra* pp. 326-334.

³ Original *a* became ϵ in primitive Greek only before an *o* sound. In verbs

found in Homeric *μειοῖνεον* (cf. *μειοῖνάαι*), *ὀμόκλεον*, *ὀμοκλέομεν* (cf. *ὀμόκλα*), *ποτέονται*, *ἐκποτέονται* (*ἀμφεποτάτα*), *ἤντεον*, *ἐσύλεον*, v. l. E 48, *ἀνει-* or *ἀνηρώτεον*, v. l. δ 251. It also appears in many of the dialects known to us only from inscriptions, but has been completely abandoned in Attic, that dialect reinstating the original *a* by analogy to the other forms (-*αιε*, -*αιεε*), and then contracting this *a* with the following *o* sound. The process that has thus recurred in Attic the older *a* forms was also active in the other dialects; and to such an extent that the regular forms with *εο*, *εω*, *εον* are the exceptions. The impetus towards the reinstatement of *αο*, *αω*, *αον* was vigorous enough and early enough to have left Homer with only a handful of instances in which *ε* has displaced *a*. The coexistence of such forms as *τιμῶν*, *τιμέω* shows that the original dichotomy has been abandoned. When the dialects diverge in respect of a verb's variation between -*αω* and -*εω*, it cannot be said that Ionic always stands on the side of the latter. Hippokrates has *αιολάω*, Plato *αιολέω*.

2. The rule appears to be broken in the following forms (see the list given below): *αἰοεῖν*, *δαιτέεσθαι*, *ἐρέεται* (?), *ἐρώτее* (?), *μηχαρέεσθαι*, *ὄρσει*, *ὄρέης*, *ὄρέη*, *πηθεῖν*, *σκορδιένηται*, *φοιτέεις*, *φοιτη*. Of these the only form that may be old is *ἐρέεται* (?), which is, however, reported as used by Demokrates, not by Demokritos. The analogy of *ἐρέόμενος*, *ὄρέων*, &c., introduced the *ε* in forms where the primitive *a* was not followed by an *o* sound. On (non-Ionic) inscriptions we have *τιμῆιν* and *σκανεῖν*.

3. In poetry scant traces of *ε* for *a* occur: *ἐρέω* Archil. 253, 68₂ (both tetram.), *μωμῆνται* Theog. 369, *μωμῆμενος* 169, *κνκέυμενος* Solon 373 (trim.), *βροντέων* Hrd. 765, *γκέων* 151, *φοιτέων* 305, *πηθεῖντα* 306, *λωβεῖμαι* 303 (cf. -*ῆται* III 3); *διφέω* in Krimagoras, Anthol. Pal. IX 559, and *σκιρτεῖσι* Orphian Kyn. IV 342. While no Ionic inscription has a trace of *ε* for *a* in any verbal form, it should be remembered that a *φοιτᾶν* (Oropos 18₂) does not disprove a *φοιτέω*.

4. In the following note are collected from the prose writers those verbs which show any tendency in the MSS. to substitute, before an *o* sound, *ε* in place of *a* contracted with that *o* sound. The examples from Herodotos are complete save that an enumeration of all the MS. variants is not attempted in the case of *ὄρω*,

in -*α-μαι*, e. g. *δύναμαι*, *ἐπίσταμαι*, *ἀπίσταμαι*, -*εσται* (§ 585) is not dissimilated from *α-ται*, but derived from such perfects as have -*εσται* < -*ησται* (§ 611 ff.). Dissimilation is generally, but wrongly, accepted in *ἐπίσται*, *δύναι*, whence *δύνη* (§ 605). The 2 sing. follows the analogy of the 3 plur. When *δύνα-νται* became *δυν-έσται*, *δύνα-σαι* (A 393) became *δύν-ε(σ)αι*. These two persons alone have, or seemed to have, vocalic endings. In Attic both *ἐπίσταμαι* and *δύναμαι* contract their 2 sing. (*ἐπίστω*, *ἐδύνω*) contrary to the usual practice of *μι* verbs. That the analogy of *βούλη* helped the formation of *δύνη* (§ 618, 1) may be doubted.

είρωτάω and φοιτάω¹. All other verbs than those included in the list and those so included in other cases than those specially mentioned, contract αο, αω, and αου to ω.

αίονεῖν Aret. 194, 198. ἀμλληώμενοι Hdt. IV 71 R, -ω- ABCPd. ἀπατέοιτο Syr. dia 27. ἀρέομαι Hdt. III 65 Pz, -εω- Cd, other MSS. -ω-, -έονται II 39 Pz, -εω- C, other MSS. -ω-. Kretan ἐπαριόμενον. On ἀρέομαι, see Veitch s. v. βροντέων Hrd. 763. δαπανέονται Hdt. II 37 CPz, other MSS. -ω-. δαπανοῖεν Euseb. Mynd. 6, Aitolian δαπανοῦμενα (Andania). διατιέοντο Syr. dia 26, διατιεομένουςιν Hippokr. II 354, the second hand in R¹ (other MSS. -ω-), ἐνδιατιέσθαι R in Hdt. VIII 41; -ᾶντο VI 514, -ᾶμενος Aret. 321. διφέω Krinagoras, Anthol. Palat. IX 559. προσδοκόντας Hdt. VII 156 CPdz, -ω- ABR; προσεδόκεε Aret. 201. ἐρέω Archil. 253, 682 (both tetram.), a possible form, but not handed down, for ἐρῶ in Anakr. 31, 89 bis; ἐρέμενος², ἐρέεται Demokritos (Demokrates) 6. ἐρετᾶν v. l. for ἐρατόν³, Archil. 12, ἐρετή⁴ ἐπιθυμητή Hesychios (without stating the dialect), Delos, Ἄθην. IV 463, Attic in Kumanudes' ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ. 3037⁴, and Arkadian Ἐρεμένα C. D. I. 1227 are to be derived, not from ἐρέω, but from ἐρατός by dissimilation, the α being assailed by an ε sound before and after. It is assimilated to the former. εἰρωτάω in Hdt. shows 6 cases of εἰρώτων in all MSS., but in I 158, IV 131 no MS. has the contracted form. In 10 other passages there is variation between -ων, -εον or -ων. In the *Vita Homeri* one MS. has ἐρώτεε, but BPM have ἠρώτα, i. e. Ionic εἰρώτα. In the nom. masc. of the active participle we find -ᾶν twice in all the MSS. of Hdt., and twice variation between -ᾶν and -ᾶν. -ᾶντα VI 86 (γ), IX 55, -ᾶντων VI 66, -ᾶσι I 67, 158, VII 148 occur in all the MSS. Variation exists in V 13, IV 145, 155, III 62, I 47. The statistics of the middle participle are the same as those of the nom. masc. active. ἰάομαι yields ἀνιεύνται Hdt. VII 236, a form constructed on the analogy of the 'Attic' futures. On ἰῆται, see § 637, 1 footnote. κοιμέονται Hdt. II 95 Pz, -εω- C, -ω- other MSS., IV 172 Pd, -εω- Cz, -ω- other MSS. κοιμέουσι Hdt. II 36 ABPC, -ου- R, -ου- d; IV 180 -εου- Pz, -εω- Cd, -ω- ABR (here even Stein accepts κοιμέουσι). Elsewhere -ω-, except IV 191 -ου- (R -ω-), retained by Stein. In I 82, 195 all MSS. have κομῶντες which represents the contraction to be adopted in IV 180, 191, if not in II 36. κομόωσι is as inappropriate as ἡγορόωντο VI 11 (in all MSS. except AB¹). κυκέοντας in three MSS. Hippokr. IX 374 epist.; cf. κυκούμενος Solon 375 trim. (κυκλευ-Lobeck), but in 1361 eleg. κυκώμενον (κακον-Lobeck and Bergk). λωβέονται Hippokr. IV 158 (-ᾶνται many MSS.). Cf. λωβεῖμαι Hrd. 369. μαργάω (?) in καταμαργέων Hdt. VIII 125. This example may however be a case of variation between μαργέω and -όω (Pindar, Aischylos). ἐμηχανέοντο Hdt. VIII 6 -εω- d, VIII 52 PR, -ω- ABCd, VII 172 CP, -εω- dz, -ω- ABR, -εόμενοι VII 172 P, -εω- Cd z, -ω- ABR, 176 P, -εω- Rz, -ω- ABC. Cf. ἐμηχανάτο V 63 (-έοντο Stein). Elsewhere -ω-. -έεσθαι Aret. 192 (-ᾶσθαι Hippokr. IV

¹ On this point, see Spreer p. 13, Merzdorf p. 195. On verbs with long stem vowels such as χρη-, κτη-, see § 687.

² Cod. Pal. ἐρέμενος, a vicious form. The accus. in ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὰ ἐρέμενος, τὰ θεϊότερα ἐρέεται is suspicious. Orelli conjectured αἰρέμενος, αἰρέεται. Cf. Cobet's ἠρέθης for ἠράσθης in Alkiphron I 18.

³ ἐρατῆς Anakr. 941 eleg. Cf. also ἔραμαι Anakr. 44, ἐράσμιος Anakr. 20, Sim. Amorg. 722.

⁴ Κλημερέτη l. l. 1648 is an error for -αρέτη.

252, -άασθαι Littré). **νικέουσι** Demokr. 200, *νικέων* Hrd. 151. In Aitolian we have *νικέοντοισι*. Hdt. contracts *νικάω* 31 times. In respect of **ξυρέω**, the forms in Hdt. II 36, 37, 65, 66, III 8, 12 are divided between -ω, -ευ-, -εο-, -ου-. Since *ξυράω* is not classic, the forms with -ω- (which are adopted by Stein, Kallenberg) may be explained as derived from *ξυράω*, abstracted from *ξυρήσαι*, which seemed to come either from -εω or -αω¹. The only other form of the verb is *ξυρέω*, on whose -ου- (adopted by Holder), see § 690, 1 (B). **ὀδυνέονται** Aret. 141, *ὀδυνέονται* Hippokr. IV 166 in C (-ω- *vulgo*), but *ὀδυνῶνται* V 714, *ὀδυνῆται* II 424 (*ὀδυνᾶται* VII 70, *ὀδυνᾶτο* V 206). **ὀρῶ** is the better attested reading four times in Hdt. (I 89, 207, V 20, VIII 140 β). In VII 236, only AB support *ὀρῶ*. Stein's *ὀρέω*² is found only once in all the MSS. (I 111). Hippokr. has *ὀρέω* IX 340 (epist.), but *ὀρῶ* II 314 (in A), Demokr. 185. Hdt. *ὀρᾶ* correctly, but Lukian, *Syr. dea* 29, *ὀρέει*. In the plural (present and imperfect) Hdt. has -ᾶμεν once in all MSS. (I 120), elsewhere (5 times) *ABR* have -ω-, C -εω-, P -εο-. *ὀρέομεν* occurs in Hippokr. VII 548 (*ἐωρῶμεν vulgo*), Arrian 153³, but the same form in Melissos 17 is a conjecture of Mullach. In Herakl. 64 it has the authority of Clement. In the third pl. Hdt. has *ὀρῶσι* I 124 (CP -εω-), 138 (C -εω-). In the subjunctive we find *ὀρέης Syr. dea* 32, Aret. 30, *ὀρέη* (?) Hippokr. V 480 (*ὀρᾶ* A), *Syr. dea* 32 (elsewhere *ὀρή*). In the plural we have *ὀρῶσι* Hdt. IX 66 (Stein -έωσι with ζ). *ὀρέωσι* appears in Aretaios 187. Imperfect, 1 sing. and 3 pl. in Hdt. 20 times, with *ᾶρων* 10 times in all MSS.; elsewhere there is fluctuation between -ων, -εων, -εον, but *ABR* have *ᾶρων* 7 times. In the third sing. we have *ᾶρα*, whereas Hippokr. has *ἔωρα* II 708; see § 582. Participle: *ὀρέων*, 18 times out of 38 in all MSS. in Hdt.; *ὀρῶν* once (VII 44) in all. Elsewhere *AB* usually have -ᾶν, CP -έων, while *R* fluctuates, thus making *ὀρέων* attested more frequently than the *εω* forms elsewhere. *ὀρέων* Hippokr. III 238 (*BMN*, -ᾶν *vulgate*), IX 332, *Astrol.* 24, Aret. 10, and Protagoras. Hippokr. has *ὀρῶν* III 256; *ὀρέοντι* Aret. 10 (*ὀρ.*); *ὀρέοντα* is not the better reading in Hdt. (*ABR* -ᾶντα, -εω- C, -εο- P d z), *ὀρῶντα* in all MSS. VII 36. *ὀρέοντα* Hippokr. III 214 *BM*, -εω- N, -ω- *vulgo*, and on same page *ὀρῶντα*; *ὀρέοντα* Aret. 207; the nom. plural (31 times in Hdt.) varies greatly. In VI 68, VII 206 all the MSS. have -ᾶντες, and the contraction is well supported in I 82, 96, 99, VII 211. Elsewhere *ABR* have -ω- generally, the other MSS. either -εο- (C sometimes -εω-), or, when they divide, -εο- P d and -εω- C. In Demokr. frag. physic. 4 Mullach edits *ὀρέοντες*, but Sextus has -ᾶντες; *ὀρέοντες* is edited in Hippokr. VI 44, IX 374, -εῦντες IX 358, 376 (-ω- many MSS.), and Arot. 42; *ὀρέόντων* Hdt. III 41 in P d z only; *ABR* -ω-, C -εω-; *ὀρῶσι* Hdt. I 99 (-εω- CP z); *ὀρέοντας* Hdt. IX 37 P d z, -ω- *ABR*, -εω- C; *ὀρῶσα* Hdt. I 185, IX 76 in all MSS., VI 61 in *AB¹ C d*; *ὀρῶσαν* VI 61 in all; *ὀρέουσαι* Aret. 167; neuter: *ὀρῶν* Hdt. VII 16 γ (all MSS., Stein *ὀρέον*), *ὀρέεσθαι Astrol.* 21; *ὀρέόμενος* Hippokr. IX 382 (epist.), *Vit. auct.* 5 (-αο- in Ω). Forms with ε appear in Alkman, Archytas, and Theokritos. From *ὀρμάω* we have -ᾶμεν Hdt. VII 209 in all MSS., -ᾶντο VII 88 in *ABR*, -εω- C z, -εο- P d. *ὀρμάμενος* is found 4 times in all except C z or C d z, and in 21 other passages -ᾶμενος has the support of *ABR*, -εω- of C, -εο-

¹ So *οἰδάω*, abstracted from *οἰδήσω*, in *οἰδῶσαν* Plutarch *Mor.* 734 E. Sütterlin, *Verba denominativa* p. 91, suggests that *ὀργάω* helped the creation of an *οἰδάω*. With these late forms in -αω, cf. *μυζέω* in Hippokr., *μυζάω* in Ailian.

² Greg. Kor. § 15, Et. M. 621₃₈ (*ὀρέω*).

³ It is very unusual for Arrian to accept the ε forms.

of *P*. In 5 other places there is greater variation. Forms in *ε* (or *ι*) occur in Arelytas and in Kretan. *πειράομαι* usually yields *-ω-* forms in Hdt. except I 46, III 73, 128, IV 3, VII 211, where the MSS. vary between *-ω-*, *-εο-* *-εω-*. *πειρέμενος* appears Hippokr. IX 354 (*-ω-* many MSS.). In Rhodian we find *πειρούμενοι*. *πηδέων Syr. dea* 36, *πηδεύντα Hrd.* 306. In Hdt. VIII 118 *R* has *ἐκπηδέειν*. *πλανέονται* Hdt. II 41 *Pz*, *-εω-* *C*, *-ω-* other MSS. Elsewhere *-ω-* in Hdt. *Astrol.* 11, 24 *πλανεόμενος*, but in Arrian 72 this form is not in the MSS. *σκορδινέηται* Hippokr. VIII 486. Whereas *σταθμάω* contracts *αο* in Hdt. usually, we have *-εόμενος* VIII 130, *-εόμενος* II 150 (*-εω-* *dz*), as in Hippokr. VII 532. Since forms from *σταθμάω* also exist, it is difficult to decide whether the forms in *-εο-* or *-εω-* are variations of the *-αω* verb, or false inflections of a verb in *-ωω* (§ 690, 1 (B)). But *εο* for *εω* is very rare when from an *-ωω* verb. *συλέω* appears in a *v.l.* E 48 (*ἐσύλεον ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι* for *ἐσύλευον θεράποντες*). In Xanthos, frag. 1, Müller edits *συλοῦσιν* which is not in the MSS. We prefer the *σιλλοῦσιν* of *A*. Hippokrates IX 406 (epist.) uses *συλέοντες* of the Krisaïans. Cf. the numerous examples of *συλέω* in Delphic inscriptions. Hrd. has *ἐσύλεον Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 31, [Theokr.] XIX 2 *συλεύμενον*, Quint. Smyrn. I 717 *σύλεον*. The only evidence in Hdt. for *τελευτέω* is the reading *-έοντας* in *CPz* and Celsus in III 38. Eberhard reads *προτελευτέουσιν* in Arrian 148, which we think wrong. *τιμέων* Hdt. VI 39 (all MSS.), but in other passages the open forms are not well attested: *-έοντες* V 67 *Pd*, *-εω-* *Cz*; *-έωντες* II 37 *C*; *-έωσι* II 50 *CPz*; *-έόμενος* V 20 *P*, *-εω-* *Cdz*. Elsewhere only *-ω* forms. In 13 Herakl. has *τιμέω* (Hippolytos), but in 102 *τιμῶσι*. Lukian puts *τιμέων* into the mouth of Hdt. (*de Domo* 20), and has *τιμέουσιν Astrol.* 1, *τιμέοντες* 10. *τιμέω* is attested in the dialect of Delphi, Phokis, Rhodes, Krete, Agrigentum, and perhaps in Boiotian. *τολμέω* Hdt. VIII 77 in all MSS., but *-ῶντες* IV 150, *τολμῶντων* VII 10 in all MSS. Stein edits *-εο-*. Hippokr. III 450 and IV 166 (*-εω-* *MN*), Aret. 67 have *τολμέουσι*, Hippokr. IX 332, Aret. 200 *τολμέοντα*. In the subj. Demokr. 215 has *τολμέωσι*. *φοιτέω* occurs in *φοιτείεις* epist. Thal. 1 (Diog. Laert. I 43), *φοιτῶσι* Hdt. VII 103 all MSS. (Stein *-έουσι*). In 6 other passages: II 22, 60, 66, III 69, IV 180, 182, the MSS. vary between *-έουσι*, *-έωσι* and *-ῶσι*; *φοιτῆ* subj., Aret. 76, 168; *φοιτοίη* Aret. 285; *φοιτέων Syr. dea* 15, *-έων* Hrd. 365, Hdt. III 6 except in *AB*, II 174 except *BR*; *φοιτῶσα* Hdt. IV 116 *bis* in all MSS.; III 119 *-ω-* *ABR*, *-εω-* *C*, *-εου-* *Pd*; *φοιτέον* Hippokr. V 646, 652, Aret. 114, but *φοιτῶν* Hdt. VII 15 (*R* *-φοιτον*); *φοιτέοντος* Hdt. I 97 (*-εω-* *C*); *φοιτέοντα* Hdt. I 37, VII 126 (*-εω-* *d*), Aret. 21 (neut. pl.); *φοιτέοντες* is certain in Hdt. I 60, but in I 78, 186, II 63, 172, IV 172, VI 49, VII 125 there is variation. In IX 28 *-ῶντες* is certain; *φοιτέοντων* Hdt. I 73, VI 125; *φοιτέοντας* Hdt. I 37. The *εο* forms are therefore well established. It is noteworthy that *φοιτέοντος*, &c. remain open while *εἰρωτῶντες* is closed. *εφοίτων* Hdt. VII 22 in all MSS., but variation in I 96, IV 1, IX 25, 49; *εφοίτεον* VI 126 in all MSS. In *Asios arud Athen.* 525 F we find *φοίτεσκον*. *φυσεόντων* Hdt. IV 2 *Pdz*, *-ω-* *ABRsv*, *-έμενος* IV 2 *I*, *-εω-* *Cdz*, *-ω-* *ABR*; *φυσῆται* Hippokr. VIII 484, *φυσῶνται* 320, but *-ῶ-* in *θ*; *-ῶντες* V 598, *-άμενος* V 596, 616, *φυσῶσι* Hdt. IV 2.

The preservation in all the MSS. of Hdt. of *ε* for *α* (contracted) is exceedingly rare: *ἐπιτιμέων*, *τολμέω*, *ὀρμέμενος*, *ἐμυλαροῖτο* (in all except *η*), each of which occurs once, *ὀρέοντες* (once), *ὀρέω* (once), *ὀρέων* (18 times), *εἰρώτευν* or *-εον* (twice), *εφοίτεω* (once), other cases than the nom. sing. of *φοιτέων* (five

times). Not one of these verbs does not show other forms in which all the MSS. contract *a* with the following *o* sound. In general when the MSS. diverge, *ABR* (Stein's archetype¹, which is however not infrequently deserted by Stein) have -ω-, *CP* the ε forms, *C* having -εω-, *P* -εο-, -εου-, -εω- as the case may be.

The problem of the dialect of Herodotos is thus fraught with peculiar difficulties. First it is impossible in certain cases to discover the reading of the archetype, and, secondly, we have to face the question whether the inconsistencies of the archetype reproduce the text of Herodotos. That there should have been such confusion in Herodotos himself as there exists in the archetype in the case of ὀράω may safely be denied: certainly it would be unparalleled in any other monument of prose literature. Lack of consistency between two *different* verbs may be admitted, and is a phenomenon known to us from other departments of Greek and from the modern languages. But an absolute diversity of inflection in one and the same verb must be viewed with suspicion. To preserve uniformity tradition must be deserted at some point. Thus if *τολμέω* is correct in VIII 77, *τολμῶντες* IV 150 and *τολμώντων* VII 10 would seem to be wrong. Yet both sets of forms have the support of all the MSS. Stein adopts -εο- in the participial forms of *τολμάω*, while Kallenberg and Holder retain the MS. readings in both cases. In the case of the participle of ὀράω, all editors would be forced to rely at times upon the slightest MS. support, or to desert the MSS. altogether, in order to adopt a uniform system of inflection.

From a survey of the MS. tradition in reference to the inflection of all the -ᾶω verbs, it will be seen that the burden of proof is thrown on the adherents of the ε forms. No less than 38 verbs invariably contract *a* with a following *o* sound, and in a large majority of those which show any trace of ε (in *CPd*), the testimony is such that we may fairly conclude that they were contracted². In respect of the others, notably ὀράω, εἰρωτάω, φοιτάω, the archetype was in a state of such confusion that we are utterly unable to discover the original readings of an inflection consistent with itself. Thus ὀρώ, ὀρώμεν, ὀρώσα but ὀρέων, φοιτέοντος, &c., but φοιτώσα would seem to have stood in the archetype.

With our present evidence it is impossible to demonstrate whether the ε forms of *CPd* are survivals of the original scheme

¹ See footnote, p. 93. We have been unable to compare throughout the readings of *s* and *r*, which undoubtedly deserve a higher place than that accorded them by Stein. Their contractions support those of *AB* and *R*.

² These are ἀμιλλάομαι, ἀράομαι, δαπανάω, δοκάω, κοιμάω, μνάομαι, πειράομαι, πλανάομαι, τελευτάω, τιμάω, φυσάω. In the case of *τολμέω*, *μηχανάομαι*, *ὄρμάω* the fluctuation is greater, but the bulk of the evidence tends towards contraction.

of inflection not adopted by the archetypal MS., or whether they are mere errors of μεταχαρακτηρισμός. We incline to the belief that the readings in question in *P* and *C* (apart from the question of the peculiar $\epsilon\omega$ in *C*) do not antedate those of *AB + Rvs.* The attempt has been made to refer *C*'s $\epsilon\omega$ to an original type, but it failed; and was in fact withdrawn (in part) by its author¹. It is significant, as regards the $\epsilon\omega$ of *C*, that the hyper-Ionic $\epsilon\omega$ appears in the inflection of nouns in this MS. Cf. § 480. We have little hesitation in regarding the $\epsilon\omega$ as the work of a copyist who thought to give a specially Ionic tone to the inflection of verbal forms. If ὀρέω is a genuine form in Hdt., it may have been the exemplar followed in the construction of *C*'s $\epsilon\omega$.

Verbs in -αω in the pseudo-Ionists.

689.] $a + \epsilon, \epsilon i$ become \bar{a} regularly in the imitators of Herodotos and Hippokrates with but few exceptions (§ 688, 2, 3). In 39 out of 56 verbs a contracts with an o sound to ω . There is no complete agreement between Herodotos and the pseudo-Ionists as to which verbs have ϵ in place of a ; nor do the later Ionists agree with each other. Arrian contracts ὀράω, while Aretaios prefers ὀρέω. When Arrian does not have $-\epsilon\omega$ for $-\alpha\omega$, he contracts. Many of the forms used by him are those which are usually, or invariably, contracted in Herodoteian, as well as in Attic, prose. Arrian has ὀρώμενα 30, and καθορώσιν 32, 37, which vary as to their form in the MSS. of Hdt. The *Vita Homeri* always contracts. In Herodotos there are 13 contracted verbs which are used in the contracted form by the Ionic writers of the age of Hadrian.

Forms in ευ from Verbs in -οω.

690.] In a few $-\alpha\omega$ verbs, and chiefly in those in which the o of the stem is preceded by a vowel or a diphthong, the MSS. of the prose writers contain forms in which $oo, oou,$ and oe are apparently contracted to $\epsilon\upsilon$. Most of these peccant forms occur in Herodotos, all modern critical editions of whose text are disfigured by their adoption. To cite merely those examples which have the unanimous support of the MSS.²:

(1) $oo, oou = \epsilon\upsilon$. (A) A vowel precedes. ἀνδρευμένω Hdt. I 123, ἀξιεύμαι V 106, -μεθα IX 26, -μενος I 199, VII 16 (imit.), IX 111, δικαιοῦσι I 133, II 47, III

¹ Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis* pp. 139 ff., but see *B. B.* XV 174.

² See Spreer p. 17, Merzdorf, *Studien VIII* 218.

8, IV 186, *-εὔντος* IX 42, *ἐδικαίευν* III 79, VI 73, 138, IX 19, *-εὔντο* III 29, *ἀντιεύμεθα* IX 26, *ἐξομοιεύντες* III 24, *δμοιεύμενοι* VII 50, *οικηιεύμενος* IV 148, *ἀποσιεύμενοι* IV 203. Variations in favour of *εὔ* are found in the case of *δηιάω* (V 89 in *r*), *παρισόμαι* (VIII 140 *a* in *R*). (B) A consonant precedes. In Hdt. VIII 78 *Pz* have *περικυκλῶντο*, the other MSS. *-έοντο* (*ABCD*), or *-εύντο* (*R*), and in VIII 16 *R* has *ἐκυκλέοντο*, the other MSS. *-εύντο*; III 131 *μισθεύνται* in *CPDz*, VIII 59 *στεφανεύνται* in *R*. On *σταθμεύμενος*, *ξυρεύμενος*, see § 688, 4.

(2) *οε* = *εὔ*. A vowel always precedes in Hdt. An attempt has been made in certain MSS. to contract *οε* to *εὔ*: *ἐδικαίευν* I 100 (*-ου* in *A*), III 52 and 148 (*CPDz*, *-ου* *ABR*), 118 (*C?*, *z*), IV 154 (*sz*), *δικαίευν* VI 82 (*dz*). No form has the support of all the MSS.

In Hippokrates we find *δικαίεουσι*, the vulgato reading, III 524 and 526 (*-ούσιν* in 10 MSS.), *ἀποπληρέουσιν* IV 192 (*-ούσιν* gloss *FG*), *πληρεύμενος* I 624 (*-ου* *A*), VI 84 (Galen *-ω*). Perhaps these forms are from *-εω*. In VIII 78 Littré edits *πλαγιεύμενον* where *θ* has the *ου* form.

In the pseudo-Ionists we find *δικαίεῦσι* *Syr.* *deca* 54, *ἀξιεῦσι* Euseb. *Mynd.* 17, 29, *ἀξιεύντας* 42, *δμοιεύμενοι* 63.

All of the above mentioned forms are the result of hyper-Ionizing tendencies which affected even the archetypal MS. of Herodotos. This is certain from the following reasons: (1) Of the verbs in question almost all have many forms, in other passages than those cited, in which *οο*, *οου*, *οε* contract to *ου* in all the MSS. The remainder show in the aorist or perfect that they are *-οω*, not *-εω* verbs. (2) Even if some of these forms can be explained from *-εω* verbs, this would not apply to such cases as *ἐδικαίευν* (for *-οε*). (3) In the case where it is known that doublets in *-οω*, *-εω* existed, we are prevented by other reasons from assuming the presence of an *-εω* verb. The rule of Thomas Magister (*κυκλέω τὸ στρέφω*, *κυκλώω τὸ περιλαμβάνω*) is not in place. (Cf. Hdt. III 76 and Anacr. 129.)

The forms in *εὔ* instead of *ου* < *οο*, *οου* are due to the ignorance of grammarians who did not distinguish between Ionic *ου* < *οο*, *οου*, *οε* and Attic *ου* < *οο*, *οου*, *οε* and *εο*. *εὔ* thus seemed specifically Ionic. That *ου* < *οε* was not changed to *εὔ* in the archetype of Hdt. is evident from the fact that the comparison of an *-εω* verb¹ deserted the theorist. *ἐδικαίον* had to be compared with *ἐποίηι* (*-εε*), *δικαιοῦν* with *ποιεῖν* (*-εειν*) and not with **ἐποίευν*, **ποιεῦν*. The forms in those MSS. in which *οε* is contracted to *εὔ*, are merely analogues of those in which *οο*, *οου* became *εὔ* in the archetype.

¹ *ποιόσσι* (*ἐποίουν*): *ποιεῦσι* (*ἐποίευν*): *δικαιοῦσι* (*ἐδικαίουν*): *δικαίεῦσι* (*ἐδικαίευν*). The confusion may have been assisted by the knowledge that there did exist verbs in both *-οω* and *-εω*. Examples are: *κοινέω*, *κοινόω*, § 682, *δγκέω* Hippokr. IV 248, *δγκώω* Hdt. VI 125, *μαστιγέω* Hdt. I 114, *μαστιγώω* III 16. *ρίγέω*, *-όω* § 687, 3. For other doublets (factitives) in *-εω*, *-οω*, see von der Pfordten, *Denominativa* p. 121.

In three cases in Herodas *ευ* is written for *ου*: *χασκεύση* 412, *τεμεύσα* 450, *δραυεύσα* 531. This *ευ* stands for *εου* (*καλεύσα* &c.). The confusion is thus between *ευ* (= *εου*) and *ου*, and is different from that discussed above.

MI Conjugation.

In the following §§ attention is directed chiefly to the substitution of the *ω* inflection for that in *μ*. This substitution does not occur in the first person present indicative, and in general is such that the older co-exists with the younger conjugation, never abandoning the field to its successor.

691.] Indicative Present. 1. Second Person Singular: *διδούς* (Iliad I 164) Hdt. V 18, VIII 137. Theog. 1162 has the non-epic *δίδως*, according to the reading of Stobaios (*δίδου* Bergk). *ἀλλείης* Archil. 27, (the uncompounded verb is poetical in early Greek, and occurs in the present only), *προσαπολλύεις* Hdt. I 207. *περνᾶς* is a conjecture for *περνάς* in Hipponax 52 (cf. frag. 46 and Hesychios' *περνᾶς*). On *ἐξέπιπτεαι* Hdt. VII 104, 135, see §§ 605, 688, 1.

2. Third Person Singular: *τίθησι* (Δ 83) Sim. Amorg. 1₂, Theog. 589, Solon 4₃₄, 13₀₂, 26₂. *τιθεῖ* (N 732) Mimn. 1₀, 5₇, Theog. 282, Xenophan. 1₂ (conj.), Hdt. I 113, 133, IV 73 (*παρατιθεῖ* in *R*, other MSS. *-τίθησι* retained by Stein only), V 95, VII 35, Hippokr. I 622. Merzdorf's *τιθέει* is out of place in Hdt. and Homer never has *τιθέει*. An uncontracted form is unknown in those forms of *τίθημι* which represent the substitution of the *ω* for the *μ* conjugation.

ἴησι (η 130) Xenophan. 1₇. *ἀφήσι* Hippokr. II 38, 152, III 256, *μεθήσι* VIII 310; *ἀπήσι* Hdt. VI 42 in *ABCd* (*ἀπίει* Stein, Abicht, *ἀπιεῖ* Holder, Kallenberg). *ἴει* (*πρότει* B 752, *μεθειεῖ* or *-λεί* K 121) occurs in Hdt. as follows: *ἀνίει* II 113, III 109, IV 28, *ἀπίει* II 96, *ἐξίει* I 6, 180¹, 191, II 17, VI 20, VII 124, *κατίει* V 16, *μετίει* II 70, VI 37, 59. This, the traditional accentuation, is retained by Bekker, Gaisford, Dindorf, Stein, and Abicht. Holder, and Kallenberg (except in II 113) circumflex in the forms. The paroxytone accent is often found in the MSS. in the subjunctive. Hippocrates has *ἀφίει* I 616, VI 370, 474 (*ἀφήσιον* C), VII 56, 572, *ἐξανίει* VI 46, *αἴει* II 34 (Littre *αἴεῖ*), 38 (*αἴει* vulgo. *αἴεῖ* E, Littre; *ἀφήσιον* in the preceding line), V 492 (Littre *αἴεῖ*), *μετίει* VII 474, 572 *ter*.

ἴστησι Hdt. II 95, V 16, Hippokr. II 28, 32, V 608, 624, 710,

¹ Hence *ἀνή*, Caer 174₁ (Abu-Simbel), should not be changed to *ἀνίει* with Baumeek. *h. M.* XXXVII 472, who sees in this form the verb *ἴω* = *εἴμι*.

VI 558, 560, 566, 574; *ιστᾶ* Hdt. II 143 (*ἴσταται ABCd*, Dindorf, Abicht), IV 103. Bredow would adopt only *ἴστησι*.

κίρνᾳ (*ἐκίρνα η* 182) Hdt. IV 52, 66.

δίδωσι (*ρ* 287) Archil. eleg. 16, Solon 13₅₁, Theog. 149, Hippokr. V 684, VI 556, Pherek. Leros 48 (?), Hdt. II 2 (*-οῖ Rdz*), 154, VIII 24. Against 70 occurrences of *διδοῖ*, *δίδωσι* (Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, Holder) cannot maintain its ground in Herodotus¹. *διδοῖ* (I 519, *δ* 237, *ρ* 350²) Miletos 100₇, Samos 221₁₃, Mimn. 2₁₆, Sim. Amorg. 7₅₄, Hdt. II 29, 48, III 119, and often, Hippokr. II 54, 676 (*ἐπαναδίδοι A*), VII 8, VIII 282, Pherek. Leros 44, Aretaios 6, 108, Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 (*τίθησι* in same chapter).

ρήγγυσι Hippokr. I 616, III 196, VII 486; *πήγγυσι* II 410, VI 574 (*πηγγύουσι* same page), *ρώγγυσι* IX 98. *σβεβένυσι* Hippokr. VII 474 but *σβεβύνει* II 342 (*-υσιw R¹, S¹*, Galen).

δεικνύει (Hsd. *W. D.* 451) Hdt. VII 37.

3. Third Person Plural³: *τιθεῖσι* (II 262, *β* 125, and *Agamem.* 465, ch.) Hdt. I 20, II 91, 96, III 53 (*-έασι* Stob.), IV 34, 67, VII 197; Attic *συντιθέασι* IV 23 (*-τιθεῖσι R* and the editors), *προτιθέασι* V 8 (*-τιθεῖσι r*). Hippokr. has *τιθέουσι* II 66, 76, 84. In VI 12 *A* has *ἀνατίθησι* which suggests *ἀνατίθεισι*. Lukian *Astrol.* 7 has *τιθέασι*.

ιέσι (Γ 152) Hdt. I 133, II 36, 87, IV 30 &c., Attic *-ᾶσι* in *ἀπιᾶσι* I 194 (*Rdz*) and II 41 in all MSS. (rejected by all later editors except Dindorf). Hippokr. VI 368 has *ἀπιᾶσιw*, 488 *ἐνιᾶσιw* in *θ*, and so *vulgo* IX 332, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 *ἐνιᾶσι*, 58 *ἀπιᾶσι*, 60 *bis* *ἀπιᾶσι* or *ἀπιᾶσι* (in one case *ἀπιᾶσι* in *r*, in the other in *Aa*; Jacobitz edits both forms). In 29 the MSS. have *κατίᾶσι*. *ιστᾶσι* (N 336) Hdt. I 167, II 65, III 24, IV 160, V 16, 27, VI 38, but *ἀπιστέασι* V 79, in all MSS. (now rejected). Hippokr. V 68c has *ἐξιστᾶσι*, VI 374 *καθιστᾶσι* (*θ* has *καθίστασι*). Ktesias, *Pers.* 6, has *ιστᾶσι*, 52 *ἀπιστᾶσι* (cf. *qz* in Hdt. III 24, *d* in VI 38) with the same transference to the *-aw* conjugation that we observe in *παραπιτνᾶσι* Samos 220₂₀. *περνᾶσι* Theog. 1215, Hippon. trim. 46₁ (*περνᾶσι C*), cf. 52. On *πιμπλᾶσι* see below (note 4).

διδοῦσι (Γ 265, *a* 313) Theog. 446, 514, 575, 591, 861, Hdt. II 30, 89 &c., Demokr. 13. The solitary case of *-ασι* in Hdt.

¹ Cobet, *Mnem.* XI 124, says that in compounds we always have *-οῖ*, but the uncompounded *-σι* is sometimes found. *παράδιδωσι* VIII 24 is one of the few cases of *-σι*, and that in a compound.

² *διδοῖ* in Aeschylus' *Supplices* 1010 is the only occurrence in Attic. Kirchhoff thinks the verse is interpolated.

³ *τιθεῖσι*, *διδοῦσι*, *ζευγνῦσι*, *ιστᾶσι* Choibob. 859₂₈ (Hdn. II 833₃₁), 860₁₈=An. Ox. IV 356₃₂, 357₃₁. Because of the open *ea* the Attic forms in *-εασι* are called Ionic by Et. M. 177₁₆, Theodos. *Canon.* p. 841, Hilgard (Bekk. Anecd. 1046₃). This mistake was not made by Apollonios. A *ιέασι* is often assumed by the grammarians as Ionic.

(ἐκδιδόασι I 93 in all MSS.), in view of the occurrence of -οῦσι nineteen times, should not have been retained by Dindorf. διδοῦσι is found in Hippokr. II 80 (ἀποδιδόασιν Littré), VI 60 (διαδίδουσιν A, -όασι vulgo), VII 14, but διδόασι is certain in II 24c, VIII 48c. The Κοινή frequently adopted διδοῦσι (Lobeck on Phrynich. p. 244).

δεικνῦσι Hdt. I 171, IV 8, V 45; δεικνύουσι I 209, II 86 bis (-όασι ABC¹), III 119 (Rdz), IV 168, V 45.

ἀπολλῶσι Hdt. IV 69 but προσαπολλύουσι VI 138. ἐσεργνῦσι II 86 (-όουσι Rd; cf. δεικνύουσι II 86), κατεργνῦσι IV 69. ὀμνῦσι Hdt. IV 105 (-όουσι Rz), ὀμνύουσι IV 172, V 7. Cf. ὀμνέτω T 175, ὤμνε Ξ 278. ὤμνον appears in an Attic inscription after 336 B.C., but ὀμνῆναι is the regular form till the second century B.C. ὀμνυμι is the only -νυμι verb in Attic inscriptions before 200 B.C. that has passed into the -νω inflection. πηγνύουσι Hdt. IV 72 (-ῶσι R, Dindorf), Hippokr. VI 574. ῥηγνῦσι (P 751) Hdt. I 80 (this accent in CP only), -όουσι Hippokr. V 632. Eurip. *Elektra* 1323 (anap.) has ζεγγνῦσ'. Moiris and Thom. Mag. say that the forms in -όουσι are Κοινή.

1. Reference has been made in § 585 to -αται, -ατο for -νται, -ντο, and to -εαται, -εατο. After ν, Hdt. always has -νται, never -αται; -ατο is found once ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58), elsewhere -ντο. ἀπόλλυνται is found in Hippokr. V 676, *Syr. dea* 47, διασκεδαννύαται Euseb. Mynd. 63.

2. The accent of the 3 singular Present. In the above list of forms from post-Homeric Ionic the MS. accentuation has been retained. Barytone forms occur only in the compounds of ἴημι, as in Homer², who has ἀνίεις E 880, μεθίεις Z 523, δ 372, πρόει B 752 (and Hesiod frag. 202), μεθίει K 121 (Ven. A &c.), but τιθεῖ α 192, N 732 (τιθει has slight support), διδοῖς I 164 (Aristarchos), διδοῖ I 519, δ 237, δαμνᾶ λ 221. Later modern editors, where they do not adopt the μι forms, edit -εῖς, -εῖ, except in the case of μεθίεις δ 372 (La Roche, Ludwich).

Though there is no τιθῶ or ἰῶ. τιθεῖν in Theog. 286 and συντιεῖν in 565³ show that both verbs have passed into the -εω inflection⁴. The perispomenon accent should therefore be introduced in Ionic texts in all cases, even in that of ἴημι, as there is no good reason why the present should be formed from ἴω, while the imperfect is formed from ἰέω. The paroxytone⁵ forms

¹ Cf. Et. M. 177¹⁷. Athenag. and Thom. Mag. support δεικνύασι here.

² La Roche on E 880, H. T. K. 225, *Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn.* 1876, p. 584 ff., von Bamberg, *Zeitschr. f. Gymn.-Wesen* XXVIII 28, Ahrens, *Conjug. auf μι* § 8 (= *Kl. Schr.* I 14), Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 281, Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 18.

³ Also in 1237 by Lachmann's conjecture, adopted by Bergk.

⁴ Cf. also ἐτίθουν Gorgias 500 B (-ην is the better reading) and in late Greek.

⁵ G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 71, says merely that if ἀνίεις, ἀνίει are correct, their accents are due to those of φέρεεις, φέρει (cf. Modern Greek διῶ, διῶεις, διῶει). Blass, *Gram.* § 286, accepts only the paroxytone accent as correct, but his explanation is as faulty as that of Ahrens. That there should be any parallelism between τιθει, διδοῖ and the Aiolie forms, the latter should be τίθη, διῶφ (not τίθη, διῶφ as they are reported) in which the long vowel could be shortened. And σι, assimilated from τι, does not lose its σ. If the

may be explained as possibly due to one or more of several reasons, (1) Influence of the accent of *τίθης, ἔης* &c., supported by a misapplied reference to the fact of the late shifting between *η* (*ηι*) and *ει*. (2) Influence of the accent of *τίθεισι, ἔεισι*, supposing the survival of a knowledge of this original accentuation; see under 3 below. (3) The difference in the MSS. between the paroxytone accentuation of *ἔημι* and the perispomenon of other *μι* verbs might be explained as due to a mistaken tendency to equate the present with the imperfect; since these two tenses, in the case of *ἔημι* alone, are alike, apart from the quantity of the augmented syllable. Cf. *πρόλει* A 326 and 336, B 752 and F 118, imperfect and present. (4) Confusion with *εἶμι*¹ may have assisted the vicious accentuation in the singular. In the plural we find cases of *-ισσι* (*sic*) in Hippocrates (rarely), Lukian, and Athenaios. That the transformation of *ἔημι* to *ἔω* has been accomplished in late Greek is beyond doubt. Cf. *ἀφελόμεν = ἀφίλομεν* in the N. T. and on an inscription from Ampa, C. I. G. 2131 B 15. The difficulty lies in the substitution of *ἔω* for *ἔημι* in an early period of the language². *ἔέω* for *ἔημι* would be parallel to *ἔω* for *εἶμι*, but *ἔω* lacks analogies. If genuine, *ἔω* took its rise in the indicative, not in the optative; for, in Ionic at least, *ἀφιέοιτε* could suggest only *ἔέω*, not *ἔω* which might be sought in Attic *ἀφίλοιτε*. At all events the existence of *ἔω* once assumed, *ξύνιε* and *μεμετετιμένος* (§ 701, 3) were constructed from the stem *ι*, and eventually displaced the genuine *ξύνιε* and *μεμετετιμένος*. *ξυν-ίε-τε*, it may be remarked, could be analyzed as *ξυν-ί-ε-τε*.

3. The accent of the 3 plural Present. The original forms of the 3 plur. of *τίθημι* and *δίδωμι*, **τιθάτι* and **διδάτι* (cf. Skt. *dādhāti* and *dādāti*), were supplanted in primitive Greek by *τίθεντι* and *διδοντι* (retained in Doric). Their direct descendants would be *τίθεισι* and *δίδουσι*, which may have been thus accented in Homer³. So too *ῥήγνυσι* from **ῥήγνυντι*. When *-νυ-σσι* < *-νυ-αντι*⁴ had displaced the older ending of the verbs in *-νυμι*, *-άσι* was transferred thence to *τίθεισι* &c., and *τιθέάσι*, *διδόάσι*, **ιστάάσι* came into existence. **ιστάάσι* became *ιστάσι*, and in its train followed *τιθέσι*, *διδούσι*, *ῥηγνύσι*, i.e. the accent of *ιστάσι* was adopted, the form of *τίθεισι* &c. retained. See Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 289.

paroxytone forms are correct, I should find in *διδούσι* the cause of the perispomenon; for *διδούσι* is apparently = *δηλούσι*. Then *άνιει* could follow as an analogue of *διδού*.

¹ Frequent in cod. *C* of Hdt. in the imperfect. Cf. Hippokr. II 686 (*δίλει, διήει*), Hdt. V 107 (*άπεί, άπήει*) and in many other places. In the subjunctive the interchange of the forms of the two verbs is especially common in the MSS. The existence in late Greek of a present *ἔω* and *εἶω*, by-forms of *εἶμι*, also brought with it the possibility of confusion with *ἔημι*. Cf. the following glosses of Hesychios: *προσίει, άπεί, ύπαπεί, ύπεξεί, δίλειται, ἔεται, προσίμεν* and *πρόσιμεν*; *ένείτο* (Cauer¹, no. 30), *είσιεις* (C. I. G. IV 9540), *ένσειήμι = είσήμι* Gortyna Code, V 36. Homeric *λέλην*, though probably an analogue of *είδειήν*, presents a resemblance to *λέλην*. Scholars who accept *άπεί* in the present indic. in Hdt., accept, as a rule, *άπή* in the subj. But Bredow and Blass defend both *άπεί* and *άπιή*.

² *ξύνιον v. l.* A 273.

³ Holder adopts the proparoxytone accent even in Hdt. The MSS. of Homer (cf. Schol. Ven. A on F 152) and Hdt. have the circumflex forms. Traces of the acute are very slight. We are ignorant of the accent of the Homeric period, and when, if correct at all, *-είσι, -ουσι, -υσι* were changed to *-είσι* &c.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *-nū-anti*, and *nu-anti = νf-αντι*.

4. *πίμπλημι* has four sets of forms in Ionic. (1) *πίμπλημι* in *ἐμπίπλησι* Hippokr. VII 10, cf. Hesiod frag. 173₂ and W. D. 301 (MSS.) where *πιμπλήσι* is now unnecessarily read; *ἐμπιπλεῖς* Hippokr. VII 26, *πιμπλεῖσαι* in Hesiod, *Theog.* 880 is the preferable reading (*MC*) to *πιμπλεῖσαι* (*Va*) = *-έουσαι*. *ἐμπίπληθι* or *ἐμπίμπληθι* Φ 311 is formed like *διδάθι*. *πίπλη* was Doric and Attic (cf. Suidas s. v.). Forms containing *πλά*, weak ablaut form of *πλη*: *ἀναπίμπλαμεν* Hdt. VI 12, *πίμπλαται* Hesiod, *Scut.* 429, Hippokr. VII 8, 22, 30, 190, 244, Hdt. II 93, Aret. 111, *ἐπίμπλατο* Hdt. III 108 (*-έετο PRz*) as *πίμπλαντο* δ 662, κ 248, υ 349. (*ἐπιμπλέατο* for *-πλαντο* occurs in Hdt. III 88; Dindorf, *Abicht* *-πλατο*). *ἐμπιπλάσθω* Hippokr. VII 30, *πίμπλασθαι* Hdt. II 93, *ἐμπιπλάμενοι* I 212, VIII 117. Cf. *πιμπλάνεται* Iliad I 679. (2) *πίμπλάμι* in *πιμπλάσι* Φ 23, Hdt. II 40, *ἐμπιπλάσι* IV 72, *ἀποπιμπλάναυ* II 129. (3) *πιμπλάω* in *ἐμπιπλῶντα* Hippokr. VII 20 (*-άντα* in *θ*; cf. *Republic* 586 B), *πιμπλῶσαι* V 344. Cf. *πιμπλάω* in Plutarch, Diodoros, Dio Cass. (4) *πιμπλέω* in *ἐμπιπλεῖ* Hdt. VII 39 (*-έει R*, *-πίπλα* Stob., *-πιπλά* Maximus), Hippokr. VII 18 (*-πιπλά J supra lin.*), the same treatise as that containing *ἐμπιπλεῖς*, *ἐμπιπλῶντα* or *-άντα*. Some forms cannot be referred positively to one of the above classes, e. g. *πίμπληται* Hdt. VII 37 (*-ήται P corr., z*), *ἐμπίπληται* Hippokr. VII 30 (*θ*, *-ήται Littré*), *πιμπλῶνται* VI 202.

Whatever the relation of *πίμπλημι* (with pan-Hellenic *η*) and *πίμπλάμεν* to Skt. *pīrarmi*, *pīrmas*, and the probability or improbability of the existence in Indo-European of an inflection *-ημι*, *-άμεν*¹, there is no doubt that *πίμπλαμεν*, *ἐπίμπλατο* &c. were regarded as parallels of *ἴστᾰμεν*, *ἴστᾰτο*. Hence *πίμπλημι* = *ἴστημι*, with Ionic-Attic *η*, and *πιμπλάω* (*ἴστᾰ*). Dindorf indeed would adopt in Hdt. only the forms from *-άμι*, *-άω*. The analogy with *τίθημι*, on the other hand, led to the type *πιμπλέω* (*τιθεῖ*). The coexistence of *πιμπλέω* and *πιμπλάω* is therefore not to be explained on the principle mentioned in § 688, 1.

5. *πίμπρημι* is inflected like *ἴστημι* in *ἀνεπιμπρασαν* Hdt. V 102, *ἐπιμπράς* VIII 109, *ἐπιπιπραμένου* I 19. *ἐνεπιμπρη* I 17 recalls the v. l. *ἐμπιπρεῖς* (*AB*) in VIII 109 and *ἴστη*, which is not above suspicion. Dindorf (*Præfatio* XXXVIII) would read *-πίμπρα*.

692.] Imperfect. 1. *ὑπερετίθεα* (1 Person) Hdt. III 155. 2. Improper 'uncontracted' forms of the 3 Person are *προετίθεε* Hdt. I 206 (*R* alone has a different reading: *προετίθετο*), VIII 49. Following Bredow, the recent modern editors (Stein, Abicht, Kallenberg, and Holder) wrongly edit *περιετίθεε* in VI 69 against all the MSS. (*περιετίθει*: adopted by Dindorf). Homer has *ἐτίθει*, never *-εε*. *ἀνίεε* is found in IV 125 (*R* correctly *ἀνίει*, and so the editors), *ἀνίει* IV 152, *ἀπίει* IV 157, V 42, 107, *ἦνίει* Hippokr. V 414, *ἦφιει* V 228 (cf. *ἀφίει* C. I. A. II 306₁₅—287 B. C.).

ἴστα Hdt. II 106 (*R ἴστη*), VI 61, *κατίστα* VI 43, but *ἀνίστη* I 196, *ἐνίστη* II 102. Dindorf edits *ἴστα* throughout, Stein, Abicht (except in II 102), Kallenberg, Holder (*ἴστη* in II 106) retain the MS. readings. Bredow would adopt *ἴστη* throughout.

¹ Cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* I 44, *Gram.* § 115 c, *Grundr.* II, p. 935, Bechtel, *Lautlehre*, pp. 191, 242, Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 119, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 217 note.

Homer has ἀρίστη, but ἴστη and καθίστα in the imperative. A like variation is not to be denied to Herodotos.

ἐαῖδον Hdt. VI 86 a (first person), Hippokr. V 126, VIII 445 (third), ἐδίδον Theog. 916, Hdt. I 208, III 128 &c., Hippokr. V 158, IX 380, as C. I. A. II 811 C 110, 323 B. C. Homer has ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου.

ἐδείκνυε Hdt. I 112, II 162, IV 150, cf. § 699; ἐξεύγνυε (cf. T 393) Hdt. IV 89. The third plural has ἐτίθεσαν Hdt. I 144, ἔεσαν IX 135, Hippokr. III 94 &c., ἐδείκνυσαν Hdt. I 30, II 144, IX 80, not ἐδείκνυον, ἐξεύγνυσαν (Ω 783) VII 33, 36, ἐπεξεύγνυον VII 36, ἀπώλλυον Hippokr. VII 576.

693.] Aorist. 1. Forms with κ¹ are ἐθήκα Archil. 74₃, Solon 13₂₂, 36₁₃, Theog. 196, Sim. Keos 120₄ &c., Hdt. I 113, IV 196, ἀνέθηκαν Olbia 129₁₁ (late), Naukratis 139 C 3 (fourth century); ἐθήκαο Hdt. VII 15, -ατο I 26, V 69 (Lukian, *Syr. dia* 25), -αντο Hdt. II 160, IV 65, VI 21, 108, VII 125, IX 53, θηκάμενοι Theog. 1150. Cf. θήκατο K 31. ἐξυνήκεν Anakr. 146; cf. Alkaios ἐσυνήκε; ἐπήκαν Hdt. VII 176 &c., μεθήκε Hippokr. VII 570, μετήκαν Hdt. V 120. ἔδωκαν Hdt. I 89, Sim. Amorg. 72₂, Theog. 813, 1057.

2. Second Aorists are ἔθεσαν Archil. 9₆ eleg., Bechtel no. 261 of uncertain provenance, Miletos 93, 94, Keos 40 (ἀρΠΘσαν), Hippokr. VI 486, ἀνέθεν (poetical) Sim. Keos 134₂. ἔδουσαν Theog. 272, 463, Iasos 105₈, Hdt. VI 21. Middle ἔθεν Hdt. VII 209.

3. Aorist Passive: ἐθέθηρ Kumai, Roberts I 174 = ἐτέθηρ Hdt. IV 45, μετέθη I 114, ἀπέθηρ VII 122.

694.] Perfect. προέστατε Hdt. V 49 (-έατε z). ἐστᾶσι occurs over 20 times in Hdt. without any variant; hence we may correct ἀνεστέασι III 62, κατεστέασι I 196 (CP, other MSS. -εστέαται for -εστανται²), II 70 (-εᾶσι z), II 84 (-εᾶσιν O), IV 63 (-εᾶσι d). Mimn. 12₁₀ has ἐστᾶσι (-εσθήκασι 2₅) Pluperfect ἔστασαν Hdt. IV 79.

τέθειμαι (by analogy with εἶμαι) is foreign with Attic inscriptions; but in a Smyrnaian inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.* 171), we find συντέθειμαι l. 62, 71, 93, with which cf. Kretan προεκτεθειμεθα. The Smyrnaian inscription cannot be regarded as Ionic evidence, though it contains not a few non-Attic forms.

ἀνέωνται³ Hdt. II 165 contains the ω(η) ablaut of ἦμι trans-

¹ Attic inscriptions employ, with rare exceptions, till 300 B. C., the forms without κ in the dual and plural.

² ἔσταμαι is very unusual (Plato, Polybios).

³ Cf. Hdn. II 236₂ = Et. M. 176₁₅. The Et. M. and Et. Gud. 96₁₁ call the εω forms Attic. Suidas (s. v. ἀφείκα) says that ἀφείκα is Doric, but also used by the Ionians (Herodotos). Bekk. Anecd. 470₁₁ calls ἀφείκα Doric, ἀφείκατο Attic. Hdn. compares πέπτηκα πέπτωκα with ἔηκα ἔωκα. ἔωκα would be paralleled by τέθωκα, which might have been the exemplar for πέπτωκα.

ferred from the active *ἔωκα* to the middle. Cf. *ἀρέωσθαι* Herakl. Tables I 153, *ἀφρέωσθω* Arkadian C. D. I. 1222₁₄, *ἀφρέωνται* in Matthew IX 2, 5, Mark II 5, Luke V 23.

Hdt. has elsewhere -ει-: *ἀνείται* II 65 (Hrd. 4₅₆), *ἀπέιτο* VIII 49, *ἀνειμένος* II 167, VII 103, *μετέλω* IV 98 from **έ-ται* &c., but *μεμετιμένος* (§ 701, 3). Bredow regarded *ἀνείωνται* as a Dorism and wished to read *ἀνεϊνται*.

695.] **Subjunctive Present.** 1. Singular. The MSS. of Herodotus have -ίη, not -ιῆ, in the 3 sing. of *ἵημι* (*ἀπίη* IV 190, *ἐπίη* VII 161, *παπίη* III 72), and Hippokr. has *ἀφίη* VI 24, *μεθίη* VI 222, VII 474, *ἀνίη* VII 56 (-ίη *E II θ*, -ῆ *rvήσο*). The perispomenon accent is correct, since the plur. is *ἀπιέωσι*. In Attic there are a few instances of -ίη in the books. In Theog. 94 the MSS. have *ἵησι*, for which we substitute *ιῆσι* with Bekker, not *ιῆσι* with Bergk. Homer has *μεθίησι* N 234. *ἵστημι* yields *ἀπιστή* Hdt. VII 53. From *δίδωμι* we have *διδῶ* Theog. 186, Hdt. II 13 (MSS. -οί, cf. Hrd. 2₅₅, Aret. 26 where the analogy of the -όω verbs gives us *διδού*), Hippokr. II 142, 260, *ὀμνήη* Thasos, *J.H.S.* VIII 402, 15.

Middle: *ἐπίστηται* Hdt. VI 59, *παραδιδῶται* III 117 (-διδῶται *R*)¹. For *ρήνῆται* Hippokr. VII 26, the older form is *ρήγνῆται* Hipponax 194, the plural of which is *ρήγνῆνται* Hesiod *Scutum* 377. See § 618, 1, a.

2. Plural. *ἀπιέωσι* Hdt. VII 226 (*ἀφίωσι R*). Dindorf's *ἀπίωσι* is wide of the mark. *ἐπιέωσιν* Theog. 45, Hdt. III 45 &c.

Middle: *προσιθόμεθα* Hdt. V 18 in all MSS. (-εω-?), *ἀναπτῆσθε* IV 132 (*ἀνάπτ-* Holder), *ἐπιστέωνται* III 134, *ἀφιστέωνται* Hippokr. VIII 280, but *καθιστώνται* in *θ*, same page. On *δυνεώμεθα*, see § 618, 1, b.

696.] **Subjunctive Second Aorist.** 1. Singular. (1) *προσθῶ* Hdt. I 108, Hippokr. II 346, 358 (*θῶ* in Hrd. 5₁₂, 7₁₁₃ (?) should be *θῶω*), *ἀφῶ* Hipponax 75, Hrd. 5₇₄, *παραθῶ* Hdt. V 106. (2) *θῆς* Theog. 276, Hrd. 5₁₂, *ἀφῆς* Hippokr. VII 30, *βῆς* Theog. 244, *εῖς* Hdt. III 53. (3) *προθῆμι* Teos 158₇ (late), *προσθῆ* Hdt. VI 109, *μεθῆ* Hippokr. VII 570, 572, *ἀφῆ* 572, VIII 112, -*σθῆ* Hdt. VII 53, VIII 130, Hippokr. VI 368, -*βῆ* Theog. 974, 1014, Hdt. II 13, 68, VII 209, *θῶ* Theog. 1385, *γνῶ* 990, *άλῶ* Hdt. I 84. For *ῆν* . . . *ῶω* Hippokr. II 256 (cf. 318) read *εἰ* . . . *ῶω*.

(4) Middle: -*θῶμαι* Hdt. V 24 &c. (and so to be read Hrd. 8₉ for *θῶμαι*), -*θῆ* VI 109, -*θῆται* Halikarn. 238₃₃, Hdt. I 29, &c., -*ῶται* Erythr. 204₅.

2. Plural. (1) *θεώμεν* Hdt. III 81, *στέωμεν* Hdt. IV 115,

¹ In this accent nothing Ionic is to be sought: it is the ordinary variation from Herodian's rule.

² Cf. Hesychios s. v.

Hippokr. VI 112, -βέωμεν Hdt. VII 50, -δῶμεν V 91. (2) -δῶτε IX 87. (3) θέωσι IV 71, -στέωσι I 155, III 15 (but φῶσι IV 68), δῶσι Solon 139, Hdt. VI 133, &c., ἀλῶσι II 93.

(4) Middle: θῶμεθα Theog. 983 should be θεῶμεθα; -θείωται Hdt. I 194, VII 191, VIII 4.

697.] **Subjunctive Aorist Passive.** εω is left open in the 1 and 3 plural (exceptions are to be corrected, § 634, 2), while εη is always contracted in prose and poetry. Hippokrates agrees with Herodotos.

698.] **Optative.** διδοίη Hdt. I 86, Hippokr. II 168, VIII 480, -διδοίη VII 562; δοίην Hdt. IX 111, δοίη IX 94, δοίητε (not δοίτε) VII 135 (cf. φθαίητε VI 108), δοίην Hippokr. II 240 but δοίησαν Hrd. 31, γνοίη Hdt. I 134, IV 74, γνοίησαν Hippokr. I 622; ἐπέιη Hdt. III 113; ἀποδεικνύοιμεν II 15; καθεστῆκοι Hippokr. IX 380.

τιθείμην Tyrst. 121; προθείτο Hdt. III 148 is opposed by προσθέοιτο I 53 *bis*, ὑποθέοιτο VII 237. In III 41 Aldus' ὑποτίθειτο was adopted by Bredow, Dindorf, and Abicht. προθείτο is abandoned by Bredow, Krüger, Abicht, and Kallenberg, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Stein, and Holder, but not to the exclusion of -θείοιτο. The latter's εοι recalls Hom. εἰς, εἰοι, and ἐνέοι in Hdt. VII 6, where οἰ from the ω verbs is added to the stem. If Attic -θοίτο, &c. are formed, as Curtius, *Verbum* II 107, maintains, by the substitution of ο for ε, Attic and Ionic adopted different methods of breaking down the μ inflection. Rather than accept such a conclusion, we prefer to explain the Attic forms as arising from εοι.

ξυνιστῶτο occurs in Hippokr. VI 82. In Hdt. IV 166 Schweighäuser read ἐπανίσταιτο (for -έαιτο *AB*, -έαιτο *CPR*).

699.] **Imperative.** 1. Present. τίθει (A 509) Archil. 561 (*vulgo*), Hippokr. VII 440, VIII 170, 380. Archil. 43 has ἴστη as Φ 313 (καθίστα I 202); δίδου Theog. 4, 1303, Hdt. III 140. As if from ἴω, ξίριε Theog. 1240 (better ξυρίε, as a 271, Buttman, *Gram.* I 523), but ξυρίετε¹ Archil. 50, as Kratinos II 123, *Peace* 603. ὄλλυ' Archil. 272 shows that the μ form may be abandoned even before a short vowel².

Middle: τίθεσο Theog. 1096, ἐπίστασο Hdt. VII 39, 209.

2. Second Aorist. στήθι Theog. 1366, ἐπίβῃ 847, μέτες Hdt. I 37, 39.

¹ The long ι is due to the confusion, which began as early as Homer (Δ 234) with *φίεμαι* (Hdt. II 70, IX 78).

² Cf. *δείκνυε* Hesiod, *W. D.* 502, Plato, Xenoph., Demosth., *εδείκνυε*, *εξέγυννε* § 692, 2, *εδείκνυεν* Babrios 50, 10, Antiphon, &c., *ὀμνύετω* T 175, *ὀμνύονταν* Attic inscriptions (*ὀμνυθι* Theog. 1195), *ὀμνον* μ 303, ο 437, σ 58, Thukyd., Attic inscriptions, *ὀμνυε* κ 345, τ 288, Lysias, Babrios 50, 6.

Middle: ἔνθεο¹ Theog. 1321, ἔξεο Hdt. V 39.

3. Perfect. ἐστάτω Tyr. 11₂₈, μετέσθω Hdt. IV 98.

700.] Infinitive. 1. -ναι is the termination of the (a) *Present*, e.g. εἶναι (§ 709), τιθεῖναι, ἰέναι, ἰσθάναι &c., σβεννύναι Hdt. II 66, μυγύναι Hippokr. VII 142, VIII 502, ὀμύναι Hdt. IV 68, ζυγύναι IV 189, δεικνύναι II 148, Theog. 771, κινύναι Hippokr. VIII 244 (-ἄναι C G K). (b) *Second Aorist*. θείναι Hdt. IV 179, Theog. 577, κατεύναι Hdt. VII 35, δοῦναι Theog. 561, 861 (from θεφεῖναι, ἔφεναι, δοφεῖναι)²; -δρῆναι Aret. 112. (c) *Aorist Passive*. τεθῆναι Hdt. II 42, Iasos *Mitth.* XV 154, l. 2, 4, φανῆναι Hippokr. I 624. (d) *Perfect*. ἐστήκεναι (rare) Hippokr. VIII 498, in Demosthenes and Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 812 C 149). Older forms are: ἐστάναι Hdt. I 69, &c., Hippokr. III 324, -βεβάναι Hdt. III 146, V 86, τεθνάναι I 31, Sim. Amorg. 31 (the trimeter ends τεθνάναι χρόνος), Amphipolis 10₁₀.

In Mimn. 2₁₀ the MSS. have αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίωτος. Bergk, following Bach, read αὐτίκα τεθνάμεναι, Cobet (*Var. Lect.* 390, cf. *Mnem.* XI 124) suggested αὐτίκα δὴ θάνατος—not a felicitous emendation (cf. Tyr. 10₁). Stephanus conjectured τεθνᾶναι. It is, however, possible to retain the MS. reading, since, though *θν* usually makes position, it need not do so. Cf. Sim. Keos 99₃ (eleg.): οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετῇ καθύπερθεν and τεθνᾶσιν *Sepherm* 805. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* XIII 175. τεθνᾶναι is well supported in Theog. 181 (*dēhn*, -ἄναι *bcfjm*, -άμεναι *A*), and by a passage in the *Agamemnon* (539)³. (We demur to Fick's displacement of τεθνάμεναι, Tyr. 10₁, in favour of τεθνᾶναι. See below 3, note.) The evidence of the grammarians⁴ in favour of τεθνᾶναι is all late and therefore untrustworthy, but the form is nevertheless correct. τεθνᾶναι is from τεθνᾶ-φεναι (as ἀῆναι from ἀη-φεναι), not from τεθνᾶ-ναι (Renner) or τεθνη-εναι (Paley), both of which had given -ῆναι in Ionic. τεθνάναι is a younger form, since it contains the ending -ναι, which was abstracted from the forms containing -φεναι. No form in -ναι (present, aorist, or perfect) is archaic. -ναι usurped the place of the older -μεν.

2. -εἶν⁵ (by transference to the ω conjugation): τιθεῖν Theog. 286, Οροῖος 18₂₃, 11-12, συντιεῖν Theog. 565, and 1237 by Lachmann's

¹ Cf. Tzetz. *Exeg.* II. 118₃.

² From these aorists and from ἰέναι, the -ναι form spread, usurping the place of the older -μεν. Thus τιθέμεν preceded τιθεῖναι; otherwise we should have had a form τιθηῖναι.

³ χαίρω τι τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς, where Hermann has χαίρω θεοῖσι τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ, Dindorf χ. τι τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκέτι ἂ. θ.; Enger χ. γε &c. Ahrens, *Philologus*, Suppl. I 539, defends the genuineness of the MS. reading, which is not to be impeached because of the presence of this archaism.

⁴ Et. Gud. 637 (appendix), schol. *Frogs*, 1012, Thom. Mag. 355, Hort. Adon. 186, Drakon 39₁₃, 108₂₅. See Hermann on *Agam.* 517=539.

⁵ Whatever the relations of the inf. in -εἶν to that in -εῖν, the suffix -εἶν did not hold over into a later period of the dialect. Johansson's defence (*D. V. C.* 202) of I. E. *en* in Thasian ΟΦΕΙΑΕΝ (Bechtel, no. 71₁₁) is vitiated by the parallel ΑΦΟΑΔΞΕΝ C. I. A. II 804 A 33 (334-33 B. C.), the last Attic inscription containing E=εἶ.

conjecture for *συνιδέειν*; καθιστάν Hippokr. VIII 498 (cf. ἰστάν in Eust. on N 745), διδοῦν Orosios 18_{21, 32}, Theog. 132₂ (ιδόαντ' MSS., διδοῦν⁷ Hermann). ζωννύειν Hippokr. VIII 144. σφεννύειν Herakl. 103 (-ύναι Cobet) and in Diogenes' (IX) *Life of Herakleidos* § 2 (-ύνη L. -ύναι M. Cobet). In the aorist we have μετασοῦν Theog. 104 (Buttmann). We do not accept the elision, though it is indicated in many MSS. and attested elsewhere². When διδοῦν was substituted for διδόναι, δοῦναι gave way to δοῦν (cf. δόμεν. δόμεναι). δ' οῦν has been emended to δοῦν in Phoenix of Kolophon (1₂₀). Parmenides (66) has φῆν, an Erythraian inscription (*Berichte der Wiener Akademie* 1872, p. 335 f.) προστάν, Isyllos of Epidaurus ἐ[πι]θήν, Hesychios φῶν λέγειν³. ΕΙΔΕΙΝ, Epidaurus C. D. I. 3325₁₁₈, is regarded by Prellwitz as = εἰδόναι. We expect the aorist however. Cf. the Aiolic inf. pass. ἀντέθην, &c.⁴ On εἶν see § 709.

3. -μεναι is foreign to classic Ionic prose.

-μεναι is found occasionally in MSS. of Hdt., e. g. ἐστάμεναι I 17 (in all MSS. except A), ἀπιστάμεναι I 76 (Cāz), IV 189 συζευγνύμεναι (d). The pseudo-Ionists affect the form, e. g. Aretaios ἀπελθέμεναι 10, ἀνελθέμεναι 45, οἰδαλεθέμεναι 207, and in θέμεναι 332, where its appearance would be more justifiable. From εἶναι we have ἔμεναι 68, 75, ἔμμεναι 11, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 97, 151, and Lukian, *Syr. dea* 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 33, 35, 46, *Astrol.* 26. In fact, while Arrian refuses to adopt ἔμμεναι, both Aretaios and Lukian prefer it to εἶναι; thus making of it one of the most strongly marked hyper-Ionisms of the late Ionic literature. Apart from these traces in Ionic, -μεναι scarcely exists in prose: ἀλεξέμεναι in the Spartan treaty preserved in Thukyd. V 77 is a poetical, not a Lakonian prose form. Hesychios has γισάμεναι· εἰδέναι for which γισάμεν should be read. εἶμεναι in *Acharn.* 775 is not a Megarian prose form, whatever else it may be.

In the lyric (but not iambic) poets of Ionic birth -μεναι occurs rarely: ἔμμεναι Phokyl. 9, 14, 16 (εἶναι 12), ἔμεναι Evenos of Paros 9₁ (μείναι Fick) with εἶναι in verse 2, τιθέμεναι Anakr. 91₂ (-μενοι Götting, Hüller). Of the non-Ionic poets, Theognis uses -μεναι in θέμεναι 152, ἴομεναι 221, φυλασσέμεναι 866, τεθνάμεναι 181 (in A only). [Solon] 13₂₀, has ἔμμεναι. In 22₁ Bergk edits εἰπέμεναι, following the scholiast and Proklos on *Timaios* 25 F. Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 15, who also quotes the passage, has, however, εἰπέειν μοι (cf. Hdt. VIII 68 a), and this is correct. The longer form was taken from Ξ 501 (εἰπέμεναι μοι) and the pronoun

¹ διδοῦναι is an uncouth form handed down in Ω 425, where see Leaf. A parallel instance appears to be διδεῖναι· δῆσαι in Hesychios (διδεῖν?); but cf. διδέουσαι Delphi, Cauer 220₁₃.

² B. C. H. XIII 315, no. 22₆ (Paphlagonia): θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀποδοῦναι, οἱ ἐμὸν πότμον γοῶντες. In l. 5 ἰδέσθαι. Hesychios has ἀποδοῦν· ἀποδοῦναι.

³ On the range of these inf. in -ν, see Nauck *Mél. gréco-rom.* IV 29.

⁴ Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, p. 1417, thinks that δοῦν, εἶν, Aiolic -θην were originally locatives in -φεν.

omitted. Tyrtaios 10₁ has *τεθνήμεναι*, a conjectural form in Mimn. 2₁₀. Wherever *-μεναι* occurs it is an epic reminiscence¹.

According to Fick (*B. B.* XI 252, XIV 253, cf. *Class. Rev.* 1889, pp. 37, 91) *-μεναι* does not occur in the Ionic and Attic lyric before 540 B. C. This is true only if we expel *τεθνήμεναι* from Tyrtaios. See on *τεθνήναι* § 700, 1 (d).

4. *-μεν*² is not found except in poetry³: Theognis has *ἐνθέμεν* 435. *θέμεν* 845, 846, *δώμεν* 919. In 960 Bergk reads *εἶμεν* despite the fact that *Δ* has the more usual *ἦμεν*, a Doric form which reappears in the *Acharnians* 741, 771, though in the inscriptions the Megarian dialect has always *εἶμεν*. Dindorf has adopted *εἶμεν* in Aristophanes. *διδάσκέμεν* seems sufficiently well attested, Phokyl. 13. Sim. Keos 31₂ has *μυγνύμεν*. In Doric *-μεν* is widely used, but in the above mentioned poets it is an epic reminiscence.

701.] **Participle.** 1. *Present.* *τιθείς, ιείς* (*διείς* Hippokr. VIII 434, *διέντα* VIII 170, IV 162 are second aorists⁴), *ιστάς, διασκιδνάς* Hdt. II 25, *κιρνάς* Hippokr. VII 256, *ρήγνύς* Hdt. II 14, *ξενγνύς* I 206, but *-ύων* I 205, *δεικνύς* II 78 (*-δεκνύντες* Chios 174 B 14), but *-ύων* III 79, *-σβευνύων* Hippokr. VIII 162, *μυγνύς* VIII 504, *-μυγνύων* VIII 340, *-αγνύων* VII 530; *ὀμοῦντες* Hdt. I 153 should be *ὀμνύντες* (cf. II 118), and *ἐκκρεμανῦντα* Hippokr. VIII 482, *-αννύντα*. 2. *Aorist.* *θείς, εἶς, στάς, ἀποκλάς, δύς*. *ἀνασταθείσα* Hrd. 6₂ = *ἀναστᾶσα*, a use alien from prose. 3. *Perfect.* *ἔστεως* from **ἔστηψός* (Attic *ἔστώς* from **ἔσᾶψός*) Hdt. I 132, &c., Ion of Chios 1, *ἔστεωτος* < *-ηψότος*, Hdt. II 38, &c., Hippokr. III 288, *ἔστεωτα* Hdt. I 65, &c., Hippokr. VIII 50. Attic forms are found occasionally in the MSS., e.g. Demokr. 205. Neuter *ἔστεως* Hippokr. IV 298. Fem. *ἔστεωσα* Hdt. V 92 (δ) is probably an analogue of *τιμῶσα*. *ἔσταότες* Aret. 121 is one of the epic⁵ forms of late Ionic literature. On *τεθνεώς* (also Attic) and *τεθνηκώς*, &c., see § 604. The later perfect participle with *κ* is found in Halikarn. 238₂₈, Teos 158₅, Hdt. VI 140, VIII 79 (*-κότων*), II 126 (*-κνύαν*), Hippokr. II 44 (*-κνύων*, not *-κουσῶν*⁶ *vulgo*).

The perfect middle of *ἔημι* is regularly formed with *-ει-* < *εε* in all cases but two: *ἀφείωνται* § 694, and *μεμετιμένος* = Attic

¹ Ionic: An. Par. IV 145₁₃.

² The grammarians called *-μεν* either Ionic and Doric (An. Par. III 346₃, Et. Gud. 383₁₇) or Ionic and poetic (An. Ox. I 132₇, cf. 131₂₃, Et. Gud. 220₁₆).

³ *εἶμεν* in Bywater's Herakl. (81) cannot be the original reading. *εἶναι* in frag. 1 is a correct conjecture.

⁴ So *διέσθαι* VIII 504 (Littre *διέσθαι*).

⁵ Ionic: Choirob. 829₁₂.

⁶ Older Ionic did not develop a present *ἔστήκω*. Note *ἐνστήκη* Aret. 282.

μεθειμένος, Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229. Apart from the irregular reduplication¹, μεμετιμένος is difficult because of the form of the radical. In view of the existence of ἀνειμένους (II 167, VII 103) we are tempted to read -ειμένους with *ABC* in V 108. But this form is not elsewhere directly supported (-ημένος *Ppp. dr* V 108, *Rd* VI 1, where *ABC P corr.* have -ίμενος, *d* VII 229). As it stands therefore, the form in -ίμενος is from the perplexing ἴω (§ 691, note 2).

702.] οἶδα. οἶδα Archil. 77₂₂, Hdt. I 209; οἶδας (*a* 337) Theog. 491, 957, Hippocr. 89, Hdt. III 72 (*R*), Hippokr. II 370: οἶσθα (*A* 85, &c.) Theog. 375, Hippokr. IX 332; οἶσθας² Hrd. 255; οἶδαμεν³ Hdt. II 17, IV 46 (same chapter as ἴδμεν), VII 214, IX 60, Hippokr. I 622, V 196, VI 120; Antiphon II A 3 an Ionizing tetralogy. ἴδμεν (Hom.), Hdt. I 6, 142, 178, IV 46, &c. (over 30 times, with an occasional *v. l.* ἴσμεν, *e.g.* II 12): ἴσσε Tyr. 117, Hdt. IX 42; οἶδασι⁴ Hdt. II 43; ἴσσει (Hom.) Theog. 598, Sim. Keos (?) 85₁₁.

Subjunctive. εἰδέω⁵ Hdt. III 140 (correct -ῶ II 114 to -έω), εἰδέης Theog. 963, εἰδέωσι Halikarn. 238₂₁ (fifth century), Demokr. 87. The Attic contraction appears in εἰδῶσι Ephesos 147₁₇, 300 B. C., and perhaps εἰδῶ Hrd. 6₁₅ (Crusius, -ήσω Bücheler). *Optative.* εἰδέης Theog. 641, Hdt. I 206, εἰδέει Theog. 770, Hippokr. I 624 (not -οίη with Littré), εἰδέειν Hdt. IX 42 (-οίει *z*), -εἰήσαν III 61 (-οἰήσαν *z*). *Imperat. &c.* ἴσθι Anacr. 75₃, Hdt. VII 159, εἰδέαι Anacr. 75₂, Hdt. III 21, Hippokr. I 622 (ἴδμεναι Hom., Theog. 221), εἰδῶς Theog. 193, Hdt. VIII 13. *Pluperfect.* ἤδεα⁶ (Hom.) Theog. 853, Hdt. II 150. ἤδεν is Attic in Theog. 667 (unless we read ἤδεα, or ἤδη since *A* has ἤδη) and Hippokr. III 500. ἤδεε⁷ (Hom.) Hdt. II 100, IX 94, &c. (ἤδει?). Later Ionic does not use the Homeric forms in ἡειδ- (*v. l.* Hdt. I 45). συνῆδατε Hdt. IX 58; ἡδεσαν Theog. 54, Hdt. VII 175, VIII 78.

¹ ἐμετίετο *v. l.* I 12, ἐμετείθη *v. l.* I 114 are accepted by none.

² Hesychios calls both οἶσθας and οἶδας Attic. Moiris calls οἶσθα Attic, οἶδας Hellenic. Cf. Rutherford's *Phrynich.* 227, and above § 584, 2.

³ Kirchhoff thinks οἶδαμεν in Hdt. is an importation from post-classical Greek. οἶδας occurs in tragedy, comedy, and Xenophon.

⁴ κοινῶς Moiris.

⁵ In Homer we should read, with Tyrannio and Fick, *Feiδω*, -ης, -ωσι &c., not the forms with the circumflex, because *εω* is not contracted after consonants. See W. Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 251.

⁶ Apoll. *Adv.* 1917 Schn., Hdn. II 310₁₆ = Choirob. 561₁₈ (cf. 602₁₄ = An. Ox. IV 417₁₈), II 326₇, Et. Gud. 236₂₆, An. Ox. I 68₂₉, An. Par. III 297₈, 326₂, Eust. 50₃₀, 718₁₇, 881₆₂, 1946₂₂. ἤδεες is a figment in An. Ox. I 68₃₁, An. Par. III 297₈ (cf. ἡδεῖς *a* 237 Zenodotos, and now removed from Attic poets to the advantage of ἡδησθα. Demosthenes has however ἡδεῖς).

⁷ Hdn. II 310₁₉ = Choirob. 561₂₇, II 326₇ = Choirob. 562₂₆, An. Ox. I 69₂, IV 186₁₆.

$\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ is generally explained with Brugmann, *M. U.* III 16 ff., as an aorist = * $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ ¹, of which $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ < * $\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ is the subj. (cf. *videro*), $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu$ < * $\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\eta\nu$, $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ < * $\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ the optative (cf. *viderimus*). This explanation supposes that the ϵ before $\sigma\alpha$ is the minimum (*schwa*) vowel. A simpler means of dealing with the form is to hold to its pluperfect character. In Homeric $\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ < * $\phi\iota\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$, - σ - was added directly to the weak stem, in $\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ - $\epsilon\sigma$ - was added, as in the 3 sing. of the pluperfect (- $\epsilon\iota$ < - $\epsilon\sigma$ - ϵ). $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ is from * $\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$, and as its analogue appears $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ for original * $\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$. $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ have their - $\epsilon\omega$ -, - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ as the rest of the pluperfects. Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 266, XXIX 126.

To the above may be added the formations from the stem $\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma$. *Peccare* $\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\eta\sigma\omega$ (Hom.) Theog. 814, Hdt. VII 234, Hippokr. VII 476, VIII 430, Herodas 578 and *Aorist* $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\sigma\alpha$ Hippokr. II 43^b, V 352, IX 230. $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (Hom.) is also Hippocratic (I 622, 626).

703.] $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$. I. 1. *Present Indic.* $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ (Hom.) Theog. 579, 1203, Anacr. 34; $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ not attested in later Ionic (Hesiod *W. D.* 208, $\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ Hom.); $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 774, Theog. 1204, Hdt. VII 107, Hippokr. VIII 148, Hrd. 278: $\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ ² in $\epsilon\pi[\epsilon]\iota\omicron\nu\tau\iota[r]$ Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 64; $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ (Hom.) Theog. 844, Hdt. IX 42, $\iota\alpha\sigma\iota$ ³ (Hom.) Hdt. VIII 60, for * $\alpha\sigma\iota$ < * $\alpha\tau\iota$ = Skt. *y-dati*. $\iota\alpha\sigma\iota$ is - $\alpha\sigma\iota$ plus the ι of $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\iota\tau\epsilon$. $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ *eunt*, Hesiod *Scutum* 113, Theog. 716, is too uncertain to be made the basis of conjectures as to the primitive form of the 3 Plur. in Greek (Osthoff. *M. U.* IV 288 ff., Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 591). 2. *Subj.* $\iota\omega$ (Hom.) Theog. 912, instead of * $\epsilon(\iota)\omega$ (cf. Skt. *āyāni*). $\iota\omega$, with the ι of $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, follows the thematic conjugation; $\iota\eta\varsigma$ Theog. 566; $\iota\eta$ Olynthos 8 A 6, B 17, Hdt. II 41, &c., Hippokr. IV 268, practical $\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ (Hom.) Solon 25; $\iota\omega\sigma\iota$ Samos 221²⁰, Hdt. I 67, &c. 3. *Optat.* $\iota\omicron\iota$ (Hom.) Hdt. II 108, &c. (for old * $\iota\eta$: * $\iota\text{-}\eta\text{-}r$ = Skt. *-iyān*): $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu$ IV 120. 4. *Imperat.* $\iota\omega\iota$ (Hom.) Hippon. 152, Hdt. VII 234. 5. *Infinit.* $\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ (Hom.) Theog. 352, &c., Hdt. VI 134 &c. 6. *Particip.* $\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Hom.) Tyrnt. 11²⁰, Theog. 71, &c. Hippon 422, Hrd. 441, 45, Hdt. III 25. $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\iota\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ Hippokr. IX 340 is a mistake for - $\omega\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ (in many MSS.). Cf. Herodas' $\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\alpha$, &c.

II. Imperfect⁴.

1 Sing. $\eta\eta\alpha$ (Attic) Hdt. I 111 ($\eta\eta\alpha$ A B, $\eta\eta\alpha$ C), IV 82 ($\eta\eta\alpha$ A B, $\eta\eta\alpha$ C d), I 42 ($\eta\eta\alpha$ B). In V 62 all MSS. have $\eta\eta\alpha$, which is the

¹ $\eta\phi\epsilon\iota$ contracted to η as * $\epsilon\pi\eta\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon$ to $\epsilon\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$ Hdt. IX 93 A B C, Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252.

² On $\epsilon\iota\omega$ for $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$, see Baunack in Curtius' *Studien* X 97, *R. M.* XXXVII (1882) 472.

³ An. Ox. I 128²⁰, Et. M. 301²¹, Ionic for $\iota\sigma\iota$ (cf. Hdn. II 828¹² = Choroib. 849¹¹). Brunek and Hermann read $\iota\sigma\iota$ in Theog. 716.

⁴ See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 265, *Philol. Anzeiger* XVII 239, Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, § 836.

reading in I 42, 111 of the MSS. not mentioned above. The editors read ἦμα, the form found δ 427, 433, 572, κ 309¹. ἦειν Hippokr. IX 350. ἦιον *Syr. dea* 25 (ἦιον B, ἦον A, ἦον a). Cf. ἀρήϊωv κ 146, 274, 446, a form for which Nauck² substitutes ἦμα.

3 Sing. ἦε (M 371, σ 257, ἦεν σ 253, τ 126, υ 89), though the correct form in Hdt., is but poorly supported: I 111 (ἦε A B, ἦε C), VIII 37 (C), V 12 (-ἦε B). ἦει (θ 290, K 286, N 247) Archil. 89₃, though ἦε would suit the verse, Hippokr. V 388, δωῖε II 686, 688, 692, 694, 704, III 94, 128, 142, 144. V 164, ὑπῆει V 232, -ἦει Hdt. I 116 (-ἦει CP, -ἦει z, -ἦει A B R d), 192 (-ἦει CP according to Stein, -ἦει reliqui, -ἦε Holder) and *v. l.* in some other places (I 109, III 90, 91, 96, V 12 (Suidas), 32, VI 46). ἦε (A 47 and very often) Hdt. I 119, II 26, V 51, &c. (about 50 times without *v. l.*), ἦεν *Syr. dea* 24 (ἦεν E, ἦεν A a, ἦε reliqui). The editors of Hdt. adopt ἦε everywhere.

3 Plur. ἦσαν (ἐπιῆσαν τ 445, μετῆσαν *Knights* 605) is the correct form in Archil. 81 (Meineke, ἦσαν *vulgo*). In Hdt., though in the MSS. of the latter it occurs (in exactly this form) only in II 163 (in all MSS. except A B, which have ἦσαν). ἦσαν is found in all MSS. I 62, III 19, VIII 129. In III 14 all have -ῆσαν except R (-ῆεσαν), and in IV 123 ῆσαν is found in B R. Elsewhere³ support for the genuine form may be sought in the reading ἦσαν (or ῆσαν) varying with ῆσαν. We cannot believe with Bredow that the latter reading is due to a confusion with the imperfect of εἶμι (*constructio praeagnans*). ῆσαν also occurs in the MSS. of Attic writers (Thukyd. I 1). ῆεσαν⁴ Xenophon. 3₃, where Bergk adopts ἦσαν with Meineke and Renner; ἐπεξῆεσαν Hippokr. II 226 in many MSS., ῆεσαν IX 340, as Arrian 36₉, ἐπιῆεσαν Arrian 247. Attic ῆεσαν (or ῆεσαν) is a *v. l.* in Hdt. (I 80, 158, 191, III 14, 76, IV 201, 203, V 92 (η), 108, VII 210, 211, 223, VIII 130, 138, IX 5). ἦσαν (τ 436 and in 7 other passages) Hdt. I 43 (in over 10 passages without *v. l.*), Hippokr. III 212 (*vulgo* εῆσαν, Scaliger εἰσῆεσαν, Littré and Ermerins ἦσαν). The editors of Hdt. adopt ἦσαν⁴ throughout. ῆεσαν *Syr. dea* 28 (cf. cod. d Hdt. IV 123, VII 211, 223, 233).

The original inflection (A) in the 1 Sing. was ῆα = I. E. *έιm*, whose direct descendant would have been *ῆα. This, after passing into *ῆα, regained its *ι* from that of the plural⁵. ῆ, the 3 Sing., has been lost and in its stead we have ῆε, inflected like a thematic verb. ῆσαν from augment + *ε* + *σαν*, is the

¹ For ῆειν, by Ionic διάλυσις Eust. 50₂₉. Suidas s. v. ῆα calls ῆα Ionic, and s. v. τριτημοσις cites Hdt. VII 121 with ῆε.

² *Mél. gréco-rom.* III 255.

³ Cf. I 105, III 28, IV 140, VII 71, 178, VIII 130, 138, IX 5, 56. Here A B generally have ῆσαν, C (sometimes P and d) ῆσαν.

⁴ Suidas s. v. ῆα, calls ῆεσαν and ῆσαν Ionic.

⁵ On the η of ῆμεν, see Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, § 481, note 1.

most ancient form of the 3 Plur. As old as Homer is (B) a second formation of a pluperfect (or aoristic)¹ character, the mark of which is -εσ-α added to the verbal stem: ἤεα (or perhaps ἤεα &c.) from augment + ε(ι) + ε(σ)α, ἤεε (ἤει), ἤεσαν. Of these forms one only (ἤεε, in ἤει) has been preserved. (C) ἤιον in Hom. 1 Sing. 3 Plur. has passed into the thematic conjugation. ἤια, ἤιε, ἤισαν in Homer, Herodotos and elsewhere² are vicious forms. Augment + the verbal stem ει cannot become ἤι, because an hiatus is thereby created which is opposed to the laws of the language³ (ἤια &c. would be conceivable only if the present were εἶμι, a form as impossible as Herodian's οἶδα). For the misshapen words ἤια, ἤιε, ἤισαν in the text of Homer we must substitute, when we need trisyllabic forms, ἤεα (or ἤεα &c.) ἤεε (= ἤει N 247), ἤεσαν (and ἤεον for ἤον). For these archaisms⁴ were substituted in course of time ἤα, ἤε, ἤσαν, which, to conform to the verse, suffered a 'distraction' that had the advantage of apparently restoring the radical vowel ι (γ-μεν &c.). The text of Hdt. with its ἤα, ἤε, ἤσαν was then equated with that of Homer, διάλυσις being a chief feature of the later, as of the older, dialect according to the grammarians⁵. A similar case of the disturbance of tradition is that of ἐπήϊσε Hdt. IX 93. Here the genuine reading (in ABC) is ἐπήϊσε which was lengthened to -ηισε in order to show Ionic diaeresis. Just so Apoll. Rhod. I 1023 &c. introduced diaeresis in ἐπήϊσα⁶.

ἤει and ἤεσαν, having apparently pluperfect endings, ἤειν and ἤεισαν were constructed to fill out the type.

704.] φημί. This verb presents few noteworthy forms. φῆς (Hom.) occurs in Hdt. I 39, where AB have φῆις; Hrd. I₄₆ φῆ[ς]? Anakr. 41 has φῆ (σι⁷) For φησί (Hdt., Hippokr. c. γ. IX 360); subj. φῆσι sic Hrd. 2₄₄ = φῆ Hippokr. VII 422; φῶσι Hdt. IV 68; φαίεν Hippokr. II 242; φάναι Hdt. I 27, &c., Hippokr. VII 222, φάς (Hom.) Hdt. I 111, &c., Hippokr. IV 78., Zelaia II 3₁; ἔφασαν Hdt. II 118; φήσω II 49; ἔφησαν Hippokr. IX 358, subj. φήσω VI 36; φάσθαι Xenophon. 6₇, φάμενος (Hom.) Hdt. II 18, Hippokr. VI 342, ἐφάμεν⁸ (Hom.) Hdt. VI 69.

εἶμι.

705.] Present Indicative. εἶμι Archil. I₁, Hippon. 8₃₂, Anakr. 15, Theog. 314, &c., Hdt. VI 86 (a), &c. εἶς⁹ (Hom.)

¹ The type is represented by ἤδεα < *ἤφειδεσα; cf. § 702, note. Hdn. II 79₂₀ called ἤα perfect, ἤειν pluperfect.

² EIE, Gortyna Code II 47, is either ἤε or ἤει, not ἤιε. ἤια is even found in the MSS. Xenophon, Κύροβ. V 4.

³ Cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXIV 304, note.

⁴ ἤει was retained because of its (apparently) modern look. Nauck would displace ἤει, which occurs at the verse end, by ἤεν.

⁵ Cf. Eust. 50₂₃.

⁶ See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252.

⁷ Cf. Apollon. Adv. 13₃₆ Schn., Hdn. I 43₁₉, II 210₈ (Joh. Alex. 21₄).

⁸ ἔφαο Ionic; Choirob. 88₂₅ = An. Ox. IV 378₂₃; so too imperat. φάο An. Ox. IV 213₁₈, Choirob. 88₂₆.

⁹ In Hrd. 3₇₁ the grave accent appears in the papyrus. On this accentuation in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 131₁₇, 140₁₅, La Roche, H. T. K. 241. In Hamer εἶσ' can be read everywhere except in ρ 388.

Archil. 107 (MSS. εἶς), Hrd. 15, 374, 705, Hdt. III 71, &c., and perhaps in Anakr. 7 (MSS. ἦς).

Attic εἰ (morphologically an older form than εἶς; cf. φή-ς for *φησι) has been introduced into Theog. 456, Anakr. 57, Hrd. 520, Hdt. III 140, 142 &c., Hippokr. IX 338, Ion 1.

ἔσσι Homeric and Syrakusan, not later Ionic, Theog. 875 (epic reminiscence). ἐστί Archil. 391, Anakr. 92, Theog. 376, &c. εἰμέρ Hdt. VII 9, &c., Hrd. 670 (εἰ[ῖ]μέρ). Attic ἐσμέρ is to be displaced in Archil. 592, Diog. Apoll. 6. ἐστέ Tyrt. II 1, Anakr. 84, Hrd. 21. εἶσί (Hom.) Hippokrat. 291, Hrd. 11, Archil. 31, Theog. 163, Phokyl. 151, Hdt., Hippokr., &c. εἶσι¹ (Hom.) Xenophan. 71, Theog. 623, Hrd. 481 (the only example in Hrd., and that in the prayer of the temple custodian), not in Hdt. (*v. l.* I 125), but often in the pseudo-Ionists (Aretaios at least 12 times, Euseb. Mynd. no. 58).

706.] **Subjunctive.** ἔω (Hom.) Hdt. IV 98. ἦς Theog. 1208, Hdt. VIII 102, Hippokr. IX 338. ἦ (ἦσι Hom.) Kallin. 13, Xenophan. 130 (conj.), 51, Phokyl. 10, Theog. 154 and 10 times elsewhere, Solon 430, Sim. Amorg. 769, Sim. Keos (?) 8510, Ananios 56, Hrd. 27, 345, 88, 792, Hdt. IV 66, &c., Hippokr. II 14, 368, III 236, 240, 506, IX 480, &c., Aret. 35, 36, 46, 59. Always in the inscriptions: ἦ Halik. 238⁵⁷, εἶ Oropos 18^{26, 34} (εἶ < ἦ < ἦτι, cf. § 239), παρ(ἦ) Chios, Paspates 911. εἷ in the subjunctive was contracted in all branches of the later Ionic. The uncontracted form ἔῃ (Hom.) is found in Theog. 466, 1354, as an epic reminiscence. It has been wrongly introduced into Hippokr. *v. g.* I 606, IV 80, V 482, VI 62, and Aret. 5, 158 (ἦ same page) and very often elsewhere. ὤμερ Theog. 595, 597, 1243 (ἔωμεν?). ἔωσι (Hom.) Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 4, Hdt. II 39, IV 66, &c., Demokr. 205, Hippokr. II 18, 20, 58, 66, 74, 142, 156, 232, 266, 730. III 236, V 730. Aret. 37, 74, 106, 158. For ὤσι (Hom.) in Hdt. II 89 read ἔωσι. ὤσι occurs in pseudo-Hippocratic treatises (VII 422, ἔωσι same page).

707.] **Optative.** εἴην (Hom.) Theog. 653, εἴης (Hom.) Theog. 1177, εἴησθα Theog. 715, εἴη (Hom.) Xenophan. 2, 10, Tyrt. 125. Theog. 349, 979, 1153, &c., Archil. 583, Hdt., &c., but ἐρέοι Hdt. VII 6 (the only case in Hdt.), ἐοι Aret. 169 (cf. Hom. εἶος, ἐοι), εἶεν (Hom.) Theog. 327, Hdt. I 63, 170, &c. εἴησαν Hdt. I 2, II 6, 102, IV 46, &c., Hippokr. II 16, 88. The -ησαν form becomes more frequent after the time of Hdt. In early Attic poetry it is nowhere metrically certain.

708.] **Imperative.** On Hekataios' ἔσθι, see § 144, 1; ἴσθι

¹ An. Ox. I 130¹⁰, 162³, Choirob. 860²⁰ = An. Ox. IV 357²¹.

Theog. 301, Hdt. I 118. ἦτω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340 (where θ, C, H have ἔστω) and Aretaios 203. It is not Ionic, only late Greek (N. T., &c.). Curtius, *Verbum* I 177, regarded it as contracted from *ἔάτω¹. It is rather a 'springing' analogical form (cf. ἦτω, ἔστω with ἦστην or ἦτην, ἐστόν). εα would not have been contracted in Ionic. ἔστω Olynthos 8 B 1, Chios 174 A 15, ἔστων Chalkidian 137, Chios 174 A 21, Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 6, 9. Attic ἔστωσαν appears in the MSS. in Hdt. I 147, Hippokr. VII 222.

709.] Infinitive. εἶναι Eretria, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1890-1, pp. 195-6, Erythr. 199. 10, Amphip. 1C₁₂ and often, Mimn. 53, Phokyl. 41, Anakr. 73, Solon 279, Theog. 129, 405, 1283, Hdt., &c. εἶν in Eretria, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, p. 77, l. 10, Olynthos 8 A 3, ἐξείν Oropos 18₃₀₋₃₁ (εἶναι l. 32). For εἶναι πεφνεύειν in Hesychios, Baunaek in his *Studien* I 176 happily suggests that we read εἶν. This form is an analogue of δοῦν, &c., § 700, 2. On ἔμμεναι, see § 700, 3; on εἶμεν § 700, 4.

710.] Participle². 1. *Inscriptions*. ἐών Arkesine 35 twice (metrical), Paros 58, ἐόντος Oropos 18_{12, 24}, Halikarn. 238₂₈, ἐόντι Zelia 114 C 3, ἐόν[τα] Halikarn. 238₃₇, ἐόντες Chios 174 B 26, ἐόντας Thasos 718; ἐούσης Mylasa 248 C 5.

Attic ὦν appears in Thasos 72 (after 300 B. C.), ὦντι Mylasa 248 A 6 (367-66 B. C.), ὦντας Halikarn. 240 A 6 (fifth century³); οὔσα Erythr. 206 C 40 (after 278 B. C.).

2. *Lyric Poets*. ἐών Kallin. 1₂₁, Tyr. 10₃₀, 12₃₂, Mimn. 31, 72, Solon [13₃₉], 27_{1, 18}, Theog. 28, 122, 570, 866, &c. ἐών Xenophan. 2₁₁, Hrd. 2₃₃; ἐόντος Theog. 21; ἐόντι Theog. 1060; ἐόντα Archil. 80, Phokyl. 13, Solon 4₁₅ (neuter), Theog. 502, 1368, Hrd. 7₁₀₀; ἐόντες Phokyl. 9, ἐόντες Hrd. 2₃₁, the only case in Hrd. of the writing εο when εο is closed (elsewhere ευ), εὔρωω Hrd. 2₈₅, 6₂₅ with an unusual ευ; ἐούσα Archil. 31, Theog. 267, Hrd. 6₃₂; ἐούσαν Theog. 193.

Forms from the monosyllabic stem: ὦν Theog. 92, 102, 407, 516, 666, 668, 916, 1118, 1380, Hrd. 5_{16, 78} (read ἐών)⁴; ὦντα Sim. Amorg. 7₃₁, Theog. 98, ὦνταν Theog. 515, 517; οὔσι Theog. 1133, εὔσαν Hrd. 16 (?), 516, οὔσας Solon 49. Homer has only two cases of the shorter form: ὦντας η 94, οὔσης τ 489.

¹ So too Brugmann in Curtius' *Studien* IX 310 (1876).

² Greg. Kor. § 17, Tzetz. Ex. II. 11₅₁₅.

³ Dittenberger (no. 6) places this document only slightly later than the Lygdamis inscription (Bechtel 238) which is earlier than 454 B. C. Other scholars do not regard no. 240 as so old. In any case this instance of ὦντας is the earliest in the inscriptions.

⁴ ὦν in Hrd. VI is now shown to be wrong (cf. 1₁₅).

3. *Prose.* ἐών, ἐόντος, ἐούσα &c., are the proper¹ forms in Hdt. (cf. Lukian *de Domo* 20), Herakl. 2, 7, 62, 92, Anaxag. 1, 4, 6, &c., Melissos, 1, 2, &c., Diog. Apoll. 2, 6, Demokr. 20⁷, 12², 21, 31, 214, Hekat. 362, Ion 1, Hippokr. II 68, 78, 238, 256, 334, 626, 690, 698, III 36, 50, 72, 190, 222, Menekrates (Dion. Halik. I 77). In the pseudo-Ionists we find the same forms: Lukian 33 times, Arrian 13, Abydenos 2, Eusebios once, Euseb. Mynd. 17, *Vita Hom.* 18, Aret. very often. Attic εῶν in Lukian 7 times, Arrian 11, Euseb. Mynd. 2, *Vita Hom.* 2.

711.] *Imperfect.* 1. εἶα² (Hom.) Hdt. II 19 is derived from Hom. ἦα (= I. E. *ēsū*) by shortening of the latter's η, not by *metathesis quantitatis*, though in Hom. the a of εἶα appears to be long (Δ 31, E 887, ξ 222³, 352). Contracted from εἶα is Attic ἦ which appears in Hrd. 514, where we may read εἶγ, perhaps the original reading in the intention of the copyist. 2. εἶας Hdt. I 187 and εἶατε are later forms constructed from εἶα. Cf. εἶχας, εἶχάτε. ἦς Anakr. 7 (εἶς?). ἦσθα (Hom.) Theog. 1314 is a perfect form. 3. ἦν Theog. 700, 788, 900, Archil. 32, 115, 126, 139, Sim. Amorg. 16², Hippon. 38, 514, Hdt., &c. εἶν⁴ in an epigram of the fifth century, Chios 175, is a poetical (Homeric) form which was adopted in the late Ionic, e.g. Lukian *Syr. dea* 18, Aret. 43; it is out of place in Hdt., though found in all MSS. VII 143. Hom. ἦεν is also foreign to New Ionic. εἶσκε⁵ (Hom.) Mimm. 14¹⁰, Hdt. 4. ἦμεν Hippokr. IX 340, 350. 5. εἶατε Hdt. IV 119, V 92 (a). 6. ἦσαν (Hom.) Xenophan. 32, 73, Anakr. 85, Hdt. (Hom. εἶσαν often in Aldus). εἶσκον Hdt.

712.] *Future.* εἶσομαι Theog. 872, 878; εἶσση (cf. Hom. εἶσσει) Theog. 239, 252, εἶσει⁶ (Hom.) 884, Hdt. II 5, 78, &c., Lukian *V. A.* 4, 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63; εἶση (Hom.) Theog. 1106, 1242; εἶσται (Hom.) Kumai, Roberts I 173, Hdt. III 134, Theog. 659, 1048, Solon 13²⁸; εἶσεται (Hom.) Kallin. 1, Tyr. 10⁷, Theog. 801, 1280, Archil. eleg. 33, Hrd. 211, *Syr. dea* 20; εἶσεται 19, 25; εἶσομένα Theog. 1246; εἶσονται Hdt. III 134, Theog. (Mimm.) 877; εἶσοιτο Hdt. VII 226; εἶσεσθαι VII 219, Hippokr. II 42, Theog. 1077; εἶσομέουσω (Hom.) Theog. 251.

713.] κείμαι.

1. *Present (Perfect) Indicative.* From the analogy of Sanskrit

¹ Attic forms occur as *v. l.* in Hdt. I 20 &c., Hippokr. III 88, VII 450 (next line εἶουσιν). *ὄντων* is cited from Protagoras.

² Hdn. II 53³⁵ (Schol. Ven. A on E 887), 326³⁰, cf. Choirob. 601³ and 564²⁹, 602²³, 866²⁵; Eust. 618¹³, 1759¹⁰ ff. (Herakleides), 1761⁵¹ and 477¹, 883¹⁸.

³ See Monro, *H. G.* § 12.

⁴ Of obscure origin: generally compared with *cram.* Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 164, derives it from *έσησ-*.

⁵ An. Ox. I 159²⁹.

⁶ Et. M. 381²¹.

we expect in Greek two types of inflection: (1) κείται = *gētē*, with a surprising retention of the strong stem, (2) κέεται < κέ(ι)εται = *gētā*. Whether Hom. κέονται (= Vedic *gāyanti*) and the New Ionic forms with *εε* are a direct inheritance representing the second type of inflection, or whether they are innovations within Greek itself, cannot be determined beyond doubt. The fact that Homer rejects κέεται¹ and κέεσθαι makes for the view that these two forms at least are late analogues of κέονται. κέονται itself is suspicious for the additional reason that it occurs only at the verse end²; but it will have to stand. Cf. *ἔοι, ἔών* with thematic vowel. Nauck's κέενται occurs in Aretaios 141, but it is there a *vox nihili*, made from κείνται to match κέεται and show Ionic διάλυσις. After its appearance in Homer, κέονται does not occur again until Hippokrates.

1 Singular: κείμαι Hdt. IV 11.

2 Singular: κείσαι (Hom.) Hrd. 4₇, 5₃. πρόκειαι epist. Thales is an error for -κειαι or -κεισαι. In the Hymn to Hermes 254 all MSS. have κατάκειαι, which Gemoll emends to -κεισαι.

3 Singular: κείται (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 7₄ (cf. Sim. Keos (?) 85₁₁). Hrd. 7₁₂, and without a variant in the following chapters of Hdt.:—I 9, 50, 51, II 123, IV 18, 22, 99, VII 198, 200, 216, VIII 60. In II 149, 155, III 57, VII 11 κείται is supported by *ABR*, in VIII 135 by *ABCd*, in IV 45, 59, VIII 138 by *AB*, in IV 62 by *R*, &c. In Hippokr. III 190, V 674 Littré and Ermerins adopt κείται. In the letters IX 322, 338, 416, 418, 422, 424 κείται may be Attic.

κέεται occurs in the MSS. of Hdt. over 30 times without a variant, *e.g.* I 14, 118, 142, 178, 181 *bis*, 183, II 17, 34, 38, 83 *bis*. Littré adopts it in Hippokr. II 12, 14, 54, 70, 90, &c. But in II 14, 54, 70 (*L.*) Ermerins reads κείται. κέεται occurs in Lukian *Syr. dea* 39 (*v.l.* κέαται), Arrian 31₁, Aret. 3, 15, 60, 251, 282.

κέαται in the 3 Sing. is a mistaken form, found in the MSS. of Hdt. (I 183, II 83, III 31, IV 62, 64)³, and frequent in Lukian: *Syr. dea* 6, 8, 27, 30; in 28, 29, 35, and 45 there is found the *v.l.* κέεται. In 10, 28, 51 a neuter plural is the subject.

3 Plural: κείνται, the original and Attic form, does not appear in Ionic until Hippokrates, where in II 24 codex *E* and the vulgate adopt it (Littré κέονται). Cf. VII 442, IX 406 epist. (*v.l.* κέονται). It also occurs in Hrd. 320, 460.

¹ The indicative κείται never has its penult in the thesis. The only possible occurrence of *εε* in Homer is where, for κῆται or κείται of the MSS., κέεται may be read. This is however the subjunctive; see below. κέσκειτο is not from κέεσκειτο according to Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 381.

² X 510, λ 341, π 232.

³ κέεται is even written for κέαται (plural) in *R* in Hdt. VIII 27; and in Hippokr. II 22 one MS. has κείται for the plural.

κέαται = κε(ι) + αται for -νται (§ 612) appears in Homer, Archil. 169, Hdt. I 14, 105, 133, VI 58, VIII 27, Lukian *Astrol.* 3, Aretaios 295 (276 ?), Euseb. *Μυnd.* 63.

κείαται (Hom.) is found in Mimn. 116. It is a later form than κέαται, its ι having been reinstated from the analogy of κείται, κείμεθα, κείσθε.

κείνται (Hom.) Hippokr. II 18, 22 *bis*, 24, 48, Aretaios 51, 131. Ermerins reads κέαται, not κείνται, in Hippokrates.

False forms are κέανται *v. l.* Hdt. I 133, a supposed plural to κέαται (cf. § 585), and κέενται Aretaios 141 (see above).

2. **Subjunctive.** κήηται¹ occurs in Hippokr. VII 40. 206, but κείηται in IX 40, 50 as in T 32, Ω 554, β 102, τ 147, ω 137, and according to Hermann in ε 395. Here κήηται is usually read since the time of Wolf, except by Ludwig who adopts κείηται. κήηται has the support of Ven. A in the passages from the Iliad, but is not well attested in those from the Odyssey. Curtius regarded κείηται as contracted from κέηηται (*Studien* VII 100, *Verbum* II 85; cf. Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 11). It is better to explain it as representing an older κέηηται. κείητ' would seem to be required in Ω 554, where the verse begins with κείηται ἐνί. Its position here is however due to a late shifting of the word from the place in the verse where it might stand with propriety.

κείωνται² Hippokr. III 438, Aretaios 19, 147. In 220 Aretaios has κέηηται (*G V*, κήηται *H*).

3. **Optative.** κείοιτο³ Hdt. I 67, Hippokr. IV 122.

4. **Imperative.** κείσθω Hdt. II 171 *bis*.

5. **Infinitive.** κείσθαι (Hom.) Hdt. II 127, IV 22, VI 57, IX 105 in all MSS., and to be adopted in II 2 (so *R d*), III 34 (*R*), IV 11, 195 (*A B R*) where κέεσθαι is found in some MSS. This holds even in III 22, where no MS. has κείσθαι. Littré accepts κείσθαι in Hippokr. III 438, V 694 *bis*, but κέεσθαι II 24, 118 (*vulgo* κείσθαι). Aretaios certainly has κέεσθαι 9, 49, 214, 236, 285.

6. **Participle.** κείμενος in Hdt., Hippokr., &c., Aretaios 237, 317, 318 has κέόμενος but κείμενος 53.

7. **Imperfect (Pluperfect).** ἔκειτο (Hom.) is found nearly 20 times in Hdt. without any variant, *e.g.* I 119, 123, VII 158, VIII 41, IX 40. ἔκέετο is generally not well supported: I 51 (all MSS. except *A c*), 196 (*C*), III 12 (all except *R* which has κέεται), VI 61 (—κέετο *A B C d*), VII 36 (*R*). Hippokrates has

¹ The open vowels do not here violate the laws of contraction. When a non-thematic verb passes into the Ω conjugation, contraction need not ensue.

² Cf. παρακείμεθα ἔγκείμενοι ὄμειν in Hesychios.

³ προσκείοιτο προκείμενος εἴη, Hesychios.

ἐκέιτο often, *c.g.* II 644, 650, 666, 694, 698, 704, 712, 716, III 32, 46, 56, 58, 62, 102, 112, 122, 124, 142; *Arct.* 184, *Arrian* 28.

ἐκέατο (Hom.) *Hdt.* I 167, III 83, VI 49, VII 229, VIII 25, 84, IX 22, 57 without variation. In *Lukian's Syr. dea* 20, 45, this form is used in the singular. Cf. *v. l.* *Hdt.* VI 61.

ἐκειντο (Hom.) *Hippokr.* II 660.

8. **Futuro.** (κείσεται Hom.) κείσεται is to be read in *Hippokr.* III 438 where *Littre* has κείσεται.

Great inconsistency exists in the recent editions of *Hdt.* in respect of the inflection of κείμαι.

κέεται only, S (Stein), K (Kallenberg), and B (Brodow); κέεται and κείται II (Holder), A (Abicht); ἐκέετο only, A B; ἐκειτο only, K; ἐκέετο and ἐκειτο S H; κείσθω B S H K, κείσθω A; κείσθαι only, B; κείσθαι and κέεσθαι S H A K. *Dindorf* admits no variation from κεί-.

The only objection to the adoption throughout of κεί- which we favour, is the preponderance of κέεται over κείται. It looks as if the open forms were due to the grammarians¹ who, misled by κείονται and the open subjunctive and optative forms, regarded κεί- as contracted from κεί-².

714.] ἦμαι.

1. **Present Indicative.** κάθημαι *Archil.* 87₃, *Theog.* 1281, κάτῃσαι *Hdt.* III 134 (καθ- A B d), ἦσαι (Hom.) *Hdt.* IX 57, κάθηται *Hrd.* 341, ἔαται (Hom.) *Hrd.* 747 (?), κατέαται *Hdt.* I 199, II 86, IV 66, 196. εἶαται K 100 (where ἦαται³ is correct) has forced an entrance into *Lukian's Syr. dea* 31.

κάθημαι is from *κάθησ-μαι, κάτῃσαι from *κάθησ-σαι; but κάθηται follows the analogy of κάθημαι. We should expect κάθησαι. ἔαται represents ἦαται < ἦσ-νται, *Skt. ásaté*; § 612, 1.

2. **Imperative.** κάθησο (Hom.) *Hrd.* 61, *Hippokr.* IX 354.

3. **Participle.** κατήμενος *Hdt.* VIII 73, καθ- *Eusebios* §§ 8, 9.

4. **Imperfect.** καθῆστο in all MSS., *Hdt.* I 46, III 83 where καθ- is now generally adopted⁴. So too καθῆστο *Hippokr.* IX 350. *Hdt.* does not use the later form καθῆτο. In the plural (see § 616, 3) we find -εατο in κατέατο III 144, VIII 73, IX 90, περικατέατο

¹ *Apollonios Dyskolos Adv.* (Bekk. *Anecd.* II 553₂₅) cites κέω; but it is a figment.

² κέεσθαι has even been introduced into the text of *Archimedes* (II 142, 18, cf. 168, 12) and of the pseudo-Pythagoreans.

³ Reported as Ionic: *Gram. Vat.* 694, *Eust.* 189₅₄₆ (from *Herakleides*).

⁴ On the uncertainty in reference to the breathing in such compounds, see §§ 406, 407. Homer has καθῆστο A 569, κατήμενος Ξ 5. The unoriginal asper is due to association with ἐξέσθαι, ἴζειν, ἴζεσθαι which complement the inflection.

VI 23, VIII 111, though the MSS. often have the augmented forms (all MSS. in III 144, VI 23, VIII 73) and θ for τ . Homer has $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\omicron$ II 414, and Eusebios § 8 *προσεκατέετο* according to Müller. Epic $\acute{\eta}\mu\tau\omicron$ (footnote 2, p. 513) and Attic *καθήμτο* do not appear in Hdt.

Prepositions.

715.] $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$. The form with apocope appears in $\acute{\alpha}\mu$ *πεδίον* Mimn. 14₄ and in $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$ 12₃₀. Homer uses neither *ἀναπαύομαι* nor *ἀμπαύομαι*, but Hdt. (§ 322) has the latter as well as other words with $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ -. Solon has *ἀνταράξας* (Λθ. πολ. 12, 5), Herodas *ἀστηθι* 8_{1, 11} but *ἀνασταθείσα* 6₂, *ἀναστήση* 14₃₃. Forms showing the disappearance of ν before σ occur as *v. l.* in K 32, 176 (cf. B 398, 694) and in the dialects of Attika, Boiotia and Argos. *ἄμπωσις* (cf. § 367) is found once in Arrian (21₃) who usually employs the form without apocope (29₉, 30₈, 37₆). *ἄμπωσις* is frequent in late literature (Dio Cass., Longinos), and, in fact, is more common than *ἀνάπωσις*¹. Even in the dialogue parts of tragedy we meet with apocope, which occurs in Xenophon alone of the classic Attic prose writers (*ἄμπωσις*, *ἀμβολάς*, &c.).

$\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$ of space, Hdt. II 138, Hrd. 114, Chios 174 A 3-4, of time Solon 13₃₅, Hrd. 741. From the prepositional use has been developed the use as a conjunction (Hdt., Hippokr., Hrd. 3_{3, 88}). In all the above passages Hrd. has *ἄχρῖς* (cf. § 366). *ἄχρῖ οὐ* or *ἄχρῖ* as a conjunction appears neither on Attic nor Ionic inscriptions. *μέχρῖ* is preferred to *ἄχρῖ* in the inscriptions and in Herodotos.

$\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, Archil. 5 (one MS. *διέκ*), 164 before a consonant; cf. *πάρεξ*.

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ takes the form $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$ *Μακεδονίης* Olynthos 8 B 9, the stone-cutter having first engraved $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$, and then bethought himself of the pronunciation. Cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$ *Μαγνησίας* Smyrna, Dittenb. *Syll.* 171_{106, 108}, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$ *Ναυπάκτου* Delphi, *ibid.* 189₈, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma\delta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ Lampsakos, 200₁₂ (but *ἐγδημίτας* l. 15). On $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ - for $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 351, 1, on $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ - for $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 411. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ *Σαλ-*, Priene 141₁, an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect. $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ is not used when σ follows.

$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ occurs first in Pindar, *Isthm.* VIII (VII) 35, and in fact as a conjunction ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ *πεπρωμέρον ἦν*), where we do not hesitate to accept Donaldson's *οὐνέκεν*. No passage before the Alexandrian period which contains the conjunction in any of its various forms

¹ See Lobbeck's *Platonicus*, p. 340. *ἄνθεσαν* (*παρ*, *κατ*-) are Ionic: Bekk. An. 719₃.

is free from error. See below. As a preposition, *εἴνεκεν* occurs nearly 30 times in Herodotos without a variant. In about 40 passages it varies with *εἴνεκα*, the advantage being on the side of the form in *-εν*¹. Bredow contended that *εἴνεκεν* alone was correct in Hdt., and Dindorf and Abicht adopt it throughout. Hippokrates uses it in II 270 (*εἴνεκεν D S¹ K R¹*), 290 (*A S¹ K, εἴνεκα F¹ v. l., εἴνεκεν vulgo*) according to Littré. There are also traces of its presence in IX 404 (epist.). Aretaios adopts it in 94, 102, 178, 333, 344; so too Archimedes II 294, 6 according to the MSS.

εἴνεκεν is found on very late metrical inscriptions from Attika: 'Αθην. VIII 531, Kaibel, *Epigram.*, 1528 eleg., 953 trim. Epigrams in iambs of the imperial period do not hesitate to introduce a form that belongs properly to the elegiac epigram. In Demosth. 45, 11 it is not to be adopted. Attic prose inscriptions have no trace of its occurrence till a very late date: C. I. A. III 697, 9, 1218, 5. *εἴνεκεν* was elsewhere used in very late prose inscriptions (Siphnos, C. I. G. 2423 b, 3, Thespiai l. l. 1630, 2, Lakonia 1445, 6, Kephallenia 1929, 7; and in Keil's *Anall.* p. 96 ff., l. 8). In all these cases it owes its presence to the influence of Ionic upon the Κοινή.

εἴνεκε is probably a mistaken form in Aret. 201, v. l. Hdt. VII 133 (so Aldus I 73, 80), though it is paralleled by *εἴνεκε*.

*εἴνεκα*² is employed by Homer, Hesiod, Theog. 46, 730, 1202, Sim. Amorg. 7118 (*εἴνεκ'*), Anakr. 451, [Sim. Keos] 1841. It is found in Herodotos about 80 times without any variant. Stein confesses his inability to decide whether *εἴνεκα* or *εἴνεκεν* is more in harmony with the genius of the dialect, and gives a place to both forms; a procedure adopted by Kallenberg and Holder. *εἴνεκα* is found in Demokr. 184 and in *A* in Hippokrates II 248 (Littré *εἴνεκεν*; some MSS. *εἴνεκα*). In Hippokr. epist. 1719 Ermerins adopts *εἴνεκα*. Hercher *εἴνεκεν* (the word is omitted by Littré IX 358). In IX 328, 356 Littré adopts *εἴνεκα* despite variants, and this form is read by Kühn in Aret. 288. Lukian's *Syr. dea* has 9 cases of *εἴνεκα* in all MSS., Arrian only one (333), and Euseb. Mynd. one (frag. 24).

Aischylos has *εἴνεκα* in *Prometh.* 395, *Suppl.* 188, but 4 cases of *οὔνεκα* in *M*; Sophokles has not a single case of *εἴνεκα*, 25 of *οὔνεκα* in *L*; in Euripides *εἴνεκα* rests on the evidence of inferior MSS.; Aristophanes and the other comic dramatists have 12 cases of *εἴνεκα* to 30 of *οὔνεκα* (apart from 11 cases of fluctuation). Undoubtedly *εἴνεκα* has usurped the place of *οὔνεκα* in tragedy. In Attic metrical inscriptions *εἴνεκα* may be followed from 450 B. C. to the empire. In Attic prose *οὔνεκα* prevails except in Demosthenes, but there are sporadic occurrences of *εἴνεκα* in Thukydides, Xenophon, Antiphon, Plato, Isaios, &c. When Demosthenes desires to avoid the tribrach form he prefers

¹ On the terminations *-εν*, *-ε*, *-α*, see under *ἐπιτε*, § 716.

² On this form in its relation to *οὔνεκα*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 109 ff.

ἐνεκα (at least 20 times in Σ) to οὐνεκα. ἐνεκα does not make its appearance on an Attic prose inscription till 30 B. C.—68 A. D. (C. I. A. III 785, 3, where νεκα is written), nor on a Lakonian inscription till the period of the empire (C. I. G. 1446, 17). In Attic prose the presence of the non-Attic form, if correct at all, can be explained only as an indirect reflection, through tragedy, of the epic. In the language of the Κοινή it is borrowed from the Ionic dialect represented by the prose writers of the fifth century.

ἐνεκεν appears in Homer (twice only: *p* 288, 310) and in Pindar (except *Isthm.* VIII (VII) 35, *Ol.* II 5). On an inscription from Erythrai (204), slightly older than the oldest Attic epigraphical document containing the form (see the note), we find ἐνεκεν. This form reappears in Thasos 72₆ (300–250 B. C.) and in Priene 141₆ (metrical), an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect. Neither of the two inscriptions in dialect is free from Atticisms; and the initial ε for ει makes for the conclusion that ἐνεκεν is one of these Atticisms. It is immaterial whether a vowel or consonant follows the form. It is also an occasional *v. l.* in Hdt. (I 80), and was adopted by Littré in Hippokr. II 248, IX 320, 360 (both letters).

The oldest occurrence of ἐνεκεν in Attic inscriptions is C. I. A. II 987 A 2 (ἐνεκα l. 5) dating after 350 B. C. The next oldest is Dittenb. *Syll.* 427₃₇ (302 B. C.). Both documents deal with the religious affairs of the *Θιασώται*. In the third century ἐνεκεν first appears in state decrees and in the following century is three times as frequent as ἐνεκα. It is not in good odour in Attic prose, but as it occurs on fourth century inscriptions, we see no reason to reject it. Aristophanes uses ἐνεκα often, and Euripides in anapaests and lyric measures. ἐνεκεν (and ἐνεκα) appears on late Doric inscriptions: Astypalaia, C. I. G. 2488₅, Kalymna 267₁₁₀, Kalaurea, C. D. I. 3379₁.

ἐνεκε is known from a Samian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 132₁₅ (from about 302 B. C.) whence it may be read in *Mith.* IX 196 l. 7 (322 B. C.) though only the final letter is to be seen on the stone. It also appears in Kyzikos (C. I. G. 3655₁₃, second or third century B. C.) and in a Spartan document (*l. l.* 1347₆₋₇ whence it is conjectured in 1404). None of the inscriptions from Ionia contain any trace of Ionism. Only late literature admits the presence of ἐνεκε.

ἐνεκα is used by Homer¹, Theog. 518, [Sim. Keos] 186. In Ionic prose it is to be regarded as an Attic intruder: Hippokr. II 248—see under ἐνεκα—, epist. IX 428 (ἐνεκα C), epist. Herakl. in Diogenes' Life § 14, Lukian *Astrol.* 27, Arrian 15₅, 23₄ (Eberhard ἐν-), Euseb. Mynd. 5 times.

¹ Because his theory of the Homeric dialect will not permit the coexistence of ἐνεκα and ἐνεκα from ἐνϛ-, Schulze in his *Quaest. Hom.* pp. 135, 494 conjectures νεκα in place of ἐνεκα (about 30 times in Homer). ἐνεκα is simply not Ionic.

In connection with the above we may here mention *οὔνεκα* and *οὔνεκα*, both preposition and conjunction. As a preposition *οὔνεκα* took its rise from such combinations as *ἐκεινοῦνεκα*, *ἐμοῦνεκα*, *ἰ. ε. ἐκείνου + ἔνεκα*, &c., and in contradistinction to *ἔνεκα* is postpositive. The forms in Ionic are derived from the contraction of *-ov + εἰ* (spurious). The conjunction *οὔνεκα* is formed from *οὔ + ἔνεκα*, as *τοὔνεκα* from *τοῦ (= τοῦτου) + ἔνεκα*. As *οὔνεκα* as a preposition usurped the function of *ἔνεκα*, &c., so *ἔνεκα* and *ἔνεκα* finally usurped that of *οὔνεκα* the conjunction¹ in Kallimachos frag. 287 and 471. Cf. *μέχρι* as preposition and conjunction. *οὔνεκα* (1) prep.² Hrd. 184, Demosth. 289 (322) epigram l. 5, and even in prose: *Phaidros* 259 D according to three MSS. followed by Bekker where the Bodleian, according to Thompson, has *οὔν ἔνεκα*. (2) conj. Pindar, Hrd. 221, 615, Aret. 102. Cf. *δοὔνεκα* Hrd. 7103 with Attic *ov* for *ev* (cf. 440), *Prometh.* 330 *δοῦνεκα*. *τοὔνεκα* Xenophan. 219, Sim. Keos 515. *οὔνεκα* (1) as a prep. occurs in the drama (see under *ἔνεκα*) and Attic prose. On poetical inscriptions we find it in C. I. A. IV b, 422, no. 4 (perhaps before 600 B. C.), IV b, 491, 8 (fifth century). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* II 83) alluding to the fact that the last named inscription has reference to an hetaera, regards *οὔνεκα* as plebeian. It is used by Solon (375, trim.), and in Kaibel 241 a, 12, 8216, 8691, 888 a, 6 (Roman). (2) conj. Homer, Pindar, tragedy, Theog. 854, 1349, Hippokr. As a conjunction *οὔνεκα* is very rare in ordinary Attic. *τοὔνεκα* Theog. 488, Lukian *Syr. dea* 33, 39, 54; cf. *δοὔνεκα* Hrd. 520, 622, 745 which is probably for *-νεκα*, not *-νεκα*.

ἐς, *εἰς*³. The question arises whether only one of these forms is Ionic, or whether both are the property of the dialect.

1. *Inscriptions*: On the inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Asiatic mainland and neighbouring islands we find *ΕΣ* invariably before 400 B. C. A (metrical). Samos 2152, a certain example of *ἐς*. B (Prose). Naxos 26, Keos 4314, Prokonnesos 1038, Ephesos 1456, Teos 156 A 6, 7, 10, Chios 174 A 2, 4, 8 (*ἔσω*), B 3, 8, Halikarn. 23810. In those later inscriptions in which *ΕΙ* represents the spurious diphthong *εἰ*, *ΕΣ* may be transcribed *ἐς*: Olynthos 8 A 6 (389–383 B. C.), Amphipolis 1017 (*ἔστηλην*; 357 B. C.), Erythrai 20218 (*ἔστηλην*; about 350 B. C.), 20219, 2032, 9 (about 350 B. C.), 20431 (*ἔστηλην*; not much earlier than

¹ Cf. Apoll. Dysk. 239, Sehn. and Kallimachos I 187, Schneider. In the ancient grammarians there is scarcely a trace of the preposition *οὔνεκα*.

² L. & S. are in error when they deny the existence of *οὔνεκα* as a preposition.

³ *ἐς* is Ionic, Attic, and Doric, according to Greg. Kor. § 13, but *εἰσω* is Ionic according to Joh. Gram. 241.

345 B. C.¹), Mylasa 248 B 5 (361 B. C.), Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292_{8, 12, 16}, but [ε]ιστρ[ε]φ[ε]ιν, l. 9 (perhaps before 350 B. C., but referred to the early Hellenistic period by its editor). The other example of EI=spurious ει in this document is EΙvai, a word which was so written at an early date (§ 224, 10). Less certain is the transcription of EΣ in Keos 47₁₀ (about 400 B. C.), because of φερΕν and the Attic ἐνοικῶντα and Ποιασσίων. While the document has μΗ=μῆ, the fact that it still preserves two cases of E=pan-Hellenic η (§ 166), may justify the form εῖς². Another doubtful transcription is the EΣ of Zeleia 113_{25, 34, 36, 33} (after 334 B. C.), because the adulterine ει is represented by E as well as EI. We find εῖς (EΙΣ) in Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 401, 16 (an inscription referring to the oligarchy of 411 B. C.), Iasos, Bechtel 105₁₀ (about the end of the fourth century), Oropos 18_{2, 13, 20, 23} (411-402 or 387-377 B. C.), Erythrai 201_{2, 5, 12, 17, 21, 23, 24} (400-350 B. C.), Samos 221_{17, 19, 31, 36} (after 322 B. C.), Priene 144₃ (εῖς στήλην),⁵ (about 350 B. C.), Ephesos 147_{4, 5, 12, 13, 11, 16} (about 300 B. C.), Teos 158_{9, 10, 23} (very late), Chios, in Paspates' *Chian Glossary*, 9_{4, 8, 12}.

From the foregoing it appears that EΣ disappears after 350 B. C., and that EΙΣ, which is occasionally found before that date³, supplants the spelling with E. The transcription of EΣ in the oldest inscriptions by εῖς is supported by the ῆ's of Chios 174 A 2 (cf. μῆ λάσσονες Chios 174 B 24), though ῆ's in *Progs* 86 should warn against attaching undue importance to cases of aphaeresis. Aristophanes usually has εῖς. No difference in the treatment of the two forms is noticeable in respect of their occurrence before vowels or consonants.

As regards the date of the occurrence of EΙΣ in the inscriptions, we may observe that the earliest cases do not occur on the Ionic mainland. The two instances of EΙΣ that deserve notice are those in Oropos and Thasos. In all the others Attic influence cannot be gainsaid. Since the Oropian document has EI throughout, it is more probable that the later (387-377 B. C.), and not the earlier date (411-402 B. C.), is correct. The same inscription contains several spellings that recall those that came into vogue in Attika

¹ EΣ in an Aiolic inscription, C. D. I. 215₃₁ (about 150 B. C.), in honour of Erythrai, may possibly be Ionic, because of the Aiolic EΙΣ in lines 15, 21, 48. But εῖς occurs in Aiolic Pordoselena as early as 319-317 B. C., where it is probably Hellenistic. It should be noted that εῖς in Aiolic has a genuine, Ionic-Attic εῖς a spurious, diphthong.

² In the contemporary inscription from Oropos (no. 18) we have EΙΣ.

³ The Thasian EΙΣ is the only certain case of this writing before 400 B. C. either in Ionic or Attic. Though this spelling is unusually early, it must not be forgotten that we find EΙNAI in Bechtel 71_{5, 6}, an inscription which cannot be placed much later than the fourth century, because of ΟΦΕΙΛΕΝ, and that in the Thasian inscription containing εῖς, the hybrid ει is everywhere represented by EI; cf. also (δ)ήμοι l. 21, Κλεοδήμοι l. 23.

about 380 B. C. The Thasian decree is noteworthy because of ΕΙΩΣ = εἶωσ, l. 12, and other fourth century spellings. The glide *iota* (§ 22c) does not appear on any Attic¹ or Ionic inscription before 400 B. C.

The construction *θεῖναι ἐς* (ἰερόν) occurs in Zeleia 113₃₆, Erythrai 202₁₉, 203₉. *παπαρομέω ἐς* occurs in Hdt. VII 238, Mylasa 248 B 5.

2. *Lyric Poetry*: **A.** ἐς in the thesis before vowels occurs as follows. (1) Iambographs: Hrd. 3₉₅, Phoinix 2₂₂, Aischrion 1₆; (2) elegists: Archil. 5, 9₇, Mimnerm. 5₂, 12₉, Tyr. 11₃₇, Simon. Keos 174₁, Solon 27₁₂ (Clemens), Theog. 58, 127, 386, 426, 630, 780, 858, 863, &c. (sixteen times in all); (3) melic: Anakr. 20₂, 25₁, 34, 43₅, Simon. Keos 58₄. **B.** Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find ἐς as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 52 (tetram.), Simon. Amorg. 71₀₅, 106₇, Hipponax 6, 20₂, 66, Herodas 17₃, 25₉, 378, &c. (in all twenty-two times); (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 9₃, Tyr. 11₁₂, Theog. 12, 16, 136 &c. (in all twenty-four times in Bergk's text²); (3) melic: Anakr. 1₆, 19₂. **C.** Before vowels and in the arsis we find εἰς as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 74₆ (tetram.), 78_{2, 5} (tetram.), Hrd. 1₂₃, 75₅, Solon 36₁₇; (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 2₁₄, 12₁, Xenophanes 3_{2, 1}, Tyr. 10₁₂ (*ru/go*), 12₃₈, Solon 27₁₀, Theognis 162, 194, 244, &c. (thirteen times in all, including εἶσω 917, 1001)³. **D.** Before vowels and in the thesis there is one instance: Tyr. 12₄₃, where we read εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι. Cf. Hesiod *W. D.* 291 εἰς ἄκρον ἰκῆται and εἰς ἄκρον Hipponax 48 (see under **E**). **E.** Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find εἰς as follows: (1) Iambographs: Hipponax 46₂, 48 εἰς ἄκρον at the beginning of the choliambus, Herodas 17₇, 2₂, 37₇, 44, 58₂ (cf. ἐς 53₁), 766. *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 25, Solon 36₆, Phoinix 1_{12, 13}; (2) elegists: Tyr. 11_{4, 10}, Solon 35, 41₈, 9₂₃, Theog. 311, 372, 1359 in Bergk's text. See the footnote to **B** (above) for the *v. l.* εἰς before consonants.

From the foregoing it is evident that the iambographers and elegists of Ionic birth used both ἐς and εἰς, but that the latter is employed only before a vowel, and in the arsis. The use of εἰς in thesis seems foreign to pure Ionic lyric. ἐς is to be adopted before consonants, and before vowels when either a short or a long syllable is possible. Hipponax 46₂, 48, as well as the seven passages in Herodas, are to be freed from the Attic εἰς.

¹ *Νηλείας*, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161-162 (418 B. C.) is a blunder. *Δαμππρείας*, C. I. A. IV B 491, 35, b 1, is regarded by Kirchhoff as dating from the fifth century. This is, we think, doubtful.

² The variant εἰς occurs in 175, 404, 563, 588 (well supported), 607, 755, 783, 974, 1105 (all MSS.).

³ To be noted are the cases of ἐς in one or more MSS.: 566 (but *οἶκον* follows), 726, 1054.

Solon used *ἐς* except when *ἐς* was called for in thesis. Theognis used *ἐς* or *εἰς* before vowels as the metre required, and seems to have almost excluded *εἰς* before consonants.

Homer has both *ἐς* and *εἰς*, the former more frequently than the latter according to the received text, and usually before consonants; *εἶσω* in Homer is almost eight times more common than *ἔσω*. Fick's attempt (*Ilias* 537 ff.) to exclude the Ionic *ἐς* from the Homeric epos is a failure. His allegiance to an Aiolic *εἰς* is purchased at the price of emending many passages in the (*se jussive*) older books, and by regarding the unassailable cases of *ἐς* as substitutes for an (original) Kyprian *iv*. Wecklein *Civae epigraph.* 59 concludes that Homer and the other epic poets have *εἰς* in passages metrically authoritative.

3. *Prose authors*: Herodotos adopts *ἐς*, though *εἰς* occurs frequently as a variant (*εἰσάγεται* III 70 in all MSS.), and likewise *ἔσω* (*εἶσω* *A B C d* VI 36). *ἐς* and *ἔσω* are also Hippocratic according to Littré, I 494, who shows that *εἰς*, *εἶσω* are far less frequent. *ἐς* is found in II 92, 130, 156, 252, III 134, 298, V 598, 600, and often where the vulgate has *εἰς*, e.g. II 68, 70, 76, 128, 234; cf. also II 282, III 96, 140. Littré reads *ἔσωθεν* III 84, *εἶσωθεν* V 606. The oldest MS. (*θ*) pronounces in favour of *ἐς*, e.g. VI 366; but all MSS. have *εἰς* in V 662. Pherekydes of Leros 33 *h* has *ἐς*, Ion 1 *εἰς*. In Lukian's *Vita auct.* we have twenty-four cases of *ἐς* to two of *εἰς*, in the *Syr. dea A* has twelve cases of *εἰς*, the remaining MSS. 134 of *ἐς*; in Arrian's *Indikè* there are 232 occurrences of *ἐς*, nine of *εἰς*, and three places where the MSS. vary; Eusebios has *ἐς* three times; Eusebios Myndios sixteen cases of *ἐς*, and but two of *εἰς*; Abydenos three cases of *εἰς*. Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) has *ἐς*. In the Ionic letters we have *ἐς* at least 76 times, *εἰς* 18 times. In the *Vita Homeri* the proportion is 50 to 20. Aretaios adopts *ἐς*.

1. The form *ἐς* is the result of a displacement of *ἐνς* (= *ἐν* + *ς* as *ἐξ* = *ἐκ* + *ς*) when followed (in primitive Greek) by a consonant; whereas *εἰς* arose from *ἐνς* before a vowel¹. Later on either form was used before vowels or consonants. If Attic adopted *λόγους* < **λόγους* before vowels, and abandoned *λόγος* < **λόγους* before consonants, it may be asked why *εἰς* is not the only form of the preposition. Because the preposition, as a proclitic, could not attain the same fixity of form as the accusative, which may stand in a free position. *εἰς* cannot exist in absolute 'pause.' See Brugmann *Grundr.* I 485 ff. It is incautious to say, with Rutherford *New Phrynichus* p. 432, that *ἐς* is the older, *εἰς* the younger, Attic form. All we know is that **ΕΣ** is written in the fifth, **ΕΙΣ** in the fourth century. The difference, as will be stated in note 2, may be one of spelling, not of pronunciation. The supposed rule that *ἐς* appears before consonants, *εἰς* before vowels, is not borne out by the inscriptions. *εἶσω*, from **ἐνσω*, is an analogue of *ἔξω*, and not from **ἐντιω* (Bezenberger in *B. B.* IX 334). *ἔσω* was formed from *ἐς*.

¹ Cf. Brugmann *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell.* 1883, pp. 181 ff. The Gortyna code has *ἐς* before consonants, *ἐνς* before vowels.

2. *εἰς*. *ἔς* in Attic. Solon seems to prefer *εἰς* to *ἔς* even before consonants, adopting the latter form only when he needs a short syllable. In tragedy *εἰς* is more frequent than *ἔς* before vowels, but before consonants we find it impossible to formulate any rule (see Dindorf's and Ellendt's Lexicons). **ΕΣ** was written, and no one but the dramatist himself can tell us whether he meant *εἰς* or *ἔς*. That the form of popular speech was in general *εἰς* may be inferred from two facts: (1) that Aristophanes avoids *ἔς* except in para-tragedic passages and when he adopts the form with aphaeresis (*ς* before vowels or consonants), and (2) that the inscriptions, which uniformly have **ΕΣ** in the fifth century, adopt **ΕΙΣ** as soon as the new orthography has an opportunity to display the pronunciation. In fact by 350 B.C. **ΕΣ** was practically an obsolete spelling. Meisterhans (note 1459 a) argues from the spelling in the Ionic and Attic inscriptions that *εἰς* is the only form proper to Ionic and Attic prose; and even asserts that, from the point of view of morphology, *ἔς* can be only a Doric form. Kaibel's *Epigram* 26 is no doubt a Doricizing inscription (*ἔς* in l. 6, but *εἰς* l. 9) of the fourth century, but C. I. A. IV 477 C 2, of the sixth century, contains an indisputable case of *ἔς*, which Meisterhans cannot explain away. And, apart from the *ἔς* of tragedy, it is impossible that *ἔς* in late Aiolic inscriptions should be anything but an Hellenistic form¹. Furthermore, the existence of *ἔς* in Attic is guaranteed by *σκορακίζειν* < *ἔς κόρακας*, and rendered probable by the phrase *ἔς μακαρίαν*. It is stated by many scholars that Thukydides used *ἔς* only². Heretofore, we believe, this form has been regarded simply as one of two forms current in the fifth century. Admitting Thukydides' exclusion of *εἰς*, another explanation presents itself of the contrast between his diction and that of Aristophanes. In discussions upon the Attic *εἰς*, *ἔς* it has been overlooked that in the exclusive adoption of *ἔς*, nascent Attic prose may have followed the same literary convention that has introduced, through tragedy, forms unfamiliar to the ordinary language of the fifth century.

κατά. From the scant occurrence of the apocope of *κατά* in the poetry representing popular speech, it may be inferred that the ordinary dialect used only the full form. The only example in point is *κατθανοῦσι* Archil. 64, which is trochaic tetrameter (cf. § 52). Here *κατθαν-* is possible (cf. 66₂). Anakr. 80 has *καὸ ἐέ*, but the fragment contains *μέεσσην* which is not a prose form (cf. § 373). In the elegy, where Homeric³ forms are reproduced, we find *κάλλιπον* Archil. 6₂, and *κακκείμενος* Tyrt. II₁₉ (*κατακει-* has MS. support).

¹ Perhaps derived, like so many other Hellenistic forms, from Ionic.

² Thukydides wrote **ΕΣ** invariably. If the *ἔς* of the MSS. is correct, their archetype may be derived either (1) from a MS. in the older orthography, or (2) from an unknown source which was informed of the historian's distaste to *εἰς*. Plato doubtless used **ΕΙΣ** after he grew to manhood, and his MSS. have the form *εἰς* almost invariably. To Isokrates and Demosthenes **ΕΣ** must have seemed an old-fashioned spelling; and their MSS. have *εἰς*. The genuineness of the MS. orthography is, however, doubtful in the case of the tragic poets, if we suppose the archetype was made from a pre-Eukleideian text. The constant variation between *εἰς* and *ἔς* before consonants looks more like an arbitrary variation than the reproduction of an official state text dating between 400 and 350 B.C.

³ Joh. Gram. 241 B cites *κάππεσον* as Ionic, Bekk. Anecd. 719, *κάτθεσαν*.

μέσφι Aret. 167, 297 prep. with the genitive, also used by Aret. as a conjunction (342).

μετά is frequent in the inscriptions, e.g. Mylasa 248 C 12 (cf. *σὺν τῶι Διδί* l. 6), Erythr. 204₂₂, Teos 158₁₉ (late).

μέχρι. Oropos 18_{3, 10, 15}, Chios 174 A 5 (ἄχρι A 4), Keos 43₁₁ (μ. ἐπί) before vowels and consonants, Hdt. e.g. III 5 (local) 10 (temporal), and as a conjunction IV 119 (without ἄν). μέχρι οὖ I 181, II 19 &c., is the only case, beside οὐνεκα, in which a preposition + a dependent relative is used as a preposition. Cf. μέχρι and μέχρι οὖ in Thukydides as conjunctions. Hdt. has μέχρι and no case in all the MSS. of μέχρις, whereas Homer has both. Hrd. uses μέχρι as a preposition in 8₁, μέχρις οὖ in 2₄₃, and both forms as conjunctions in 7₇, 8_{3, 8}. Theognis has μέχρι 1299, Kallinos μέχρις 1₁ (prep.). In reference to the statement of Meisterhans (p. 209, cf. Schmidt *Neutra* p. 349) that in Attic ἄχρι ἄν (μέχρι ἄν) occurs only in poetry, it may be said that we find μέχρις ἄν ἡλίου δύη (= μέχρι ἡλίου δυσμένου C. I. A. IV 2 A 4) in C. I. G. 2360₁₇, an inscription from Keos entirely Attic in form. Inscriptions from Attika have only the form μέχρι (preposition), and this form occurs in the Keian document, l. 26.

παρά. The form with apocope¹ occurs in Παρμένων, name of a Thasian, Roberts I 21. Cf. Styrian Παραμένων, Bechtel 19_{77, 78}. Cf. Πάρφορος, Παρμείων, Περγένης, Περκλειίδης and Baunack *Studia Nicolaitana* p. 53.

παραί. It is not clear whether παραί in Homer is Aeolic or Ionic. It is probably a form of both dialects. *παραίβατης* (cf. Ψ 132) was possibly a cult word in Ionic. At least we find it in an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 5₁ (500-456 B. C.) dealing with religious matters. Such inscriptions are prone to take cult words from Ionic (cf. ξυρός C. I. A. I 2 C 16, according to Meisterhans). The Aischyleian *παραίβασία* is not sufficient to account for the presence of παραί in a prose inscription.

πάρεξ is used before consonants in A 486, μ 276, 443, ξ 168 (where some modern editors read παρέκ), Hdt. I 14 &c., Kyzikos 108 B 4, an archaistic inscription of the first century B. C. Cf. διέξ. On the accent, § 125.

πέριξ occurs in Hdt. with genitive and accusative.

πετά, by-form of μετά and πεδά, is found in πέτευρον Oropos 18₄₂ (§ 249).

ποτί, if Ionic in Homer, has passed out of use in the later dialect. Cf. § 368.

σύν, not ξύν, is the Ionic form. Cf. § 380, to which may be

¹ *πάρθεσαν* is Ionic: Bekk. Anecd. 719₃.

added that Herodas has *σύρ* invariably (nine times). *ξύν* in Archil. 86₃, Solon 19₃ and Theog. 106₃ [Mimnerm.] is not an Ionism. In Solon *ξύν* may be Old Attic. In inscriptions we find only *σύρ*, e. g. Chios 174 A 6, Halikarn. 238₁, ₄₁, Oropos 18₁₂, Mylasa 248 C 6 (*σὺν τῶι Δίι*, cf. *μετὰ Μανίτα* l. 12), Olbia 129₁₂.

Ηυπό, for *ὑπό*, occurring twice on an inscription from Kyme, Bechtel 3 A = Roberts I 177 A, shows that, of the Ionians, the Chalkidians at least held fast to the I.E. pronunciation of *υ*. Cf. also the use of *κορρη* before *υ* on Chalkidian vases (*Ούφρονος*, *λήφουθος*) and the modern names *Κυμι* = *Κύμη*, *Stura* = *Στύρα*, in the old home of the Chalkidians. It was from the Chalkidians of Kyme that the Italicans derived their V (Υ). See Blass *Ausspr.* 38. The proximity of Boiotia is no cause for refusing to credit the Chalkidians with the retention of the ancient pronunciation of *υ*.

χάρω does not occur in the lyric poets, except in Simon. Amorg. 7₁₀₄. In Hdt. V 99 we find a strained use of *χάρω* with the article (*οὐ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάρω ἐστρατεύοντο*), a usage rare even with the pronoun (cf. *τὴν σὴν χάρω* in Sophokles). We have met with *χάρω* on no prose inscription that contains a vestige of the Ionic dialect. No. 261 is metrical. Its prose use in Attic is confined to the period of the empire. In Sterrett's collections of inscriptions from Asia Minor, *χάρω* is a favourite word in the language of memorialists. *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἑοῦ Στρατοπέικου χάρω* Paros 67 (very late), is a step towards the common use of *χάρω* in the latest period. Other impure prepositions are *δίκην* Simon. Amorg. 12 and *μοῖραν* 7₁₀₄.

Conjunctions, Adverbs, Particles.

716.] The inscriptions afford us very slight information as to the conduct of the final and other conjunctions. Such as it is, the evidence has been adduced below.

ἀγχοῦ Hom., Hdt., not used in Attic prose, which employs *ἐγγύς*. On *ἀγχιστα*, see Rutherford *Phrygichus* p. 21.

ἀδηρέως Chios 174 B 12 (*κηρυσσόντων καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀδηρέως γεγωνέοντες*) which Roehl regards as = *ἄδην* (*quantum opus erit*). Cf. *καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηρέως* Hdt. III 122. Haussoullier, *B. C. H.* III 23, refers to Hesychios' *ἀδηρέως*: *ἀδόλως, ἀπλῶς, χωρὶς βουλήs* which gives a preferable sense. He might have added Bekk. Anecd. I 341, where the word is glossed by *ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως, κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν δηρέων καὶ μεριμνῶν*. Hesychios

has also ἀδηγής· ἄκακος and ἀδηνείη· ἀπειρία. His ἀδηνέως is ascribed to Hippokrates by M. Schmidt. ἀδηνής, the conjecture of Valckenaer in Sim. Amorg. 7₅₃, is inferior to Bergk's ἀληγής. L. & S. derivation of ἀδηνής from δῆω is incorrect.

On αἰί, αἰεί, see § 209, to which may be added that Hrd. 5₆ has αἰί, 6₈₀ [α]ιεί, the latter of which forms is Ionic. On αἰῶων, see § 275.

ἄλιος (*vulgo* ἄλιος) = ἄλις, Hipponax 101. ἄλιος (*sic*) is read by Dindorf in *Ion* 723 (chorus). For the ending, cf. ἀτρέμας, ἠρέμας, &c. Hdt. uses ἄλις (IX 27).

ἄλλη Zeleia 113₃₀, Teos 158₂₈, Hdt. I 46, &c.

ἄμβολάδην Hom., Hdt. IV 181 (cf. § 715).

ἄμισθί, Archil. 41 and in a late inscription from Teos (Dittenb. *Syll.* 126₆), does not owe its ῖ to a reduction of εἰ or ῑ, but to analogy, a principle that will explain the apparent cases of ι from εἰ in the paper *A. J. P.* VI 419 ff.

ἄν is the conditional particle in the Ionic inscriptions and literature free from Homeric influence. Mullach (*Vulgarsprache* p. 89) asserts that κε is actually in use in the modern Chian dialect. As this assertion, if true, might be tortured into evidence for the Ionic character of κε, it may be stated that Mullach is in error¹. A genuine instance of the retention of an Homeric word by the Chians of the fifth century B. C. is γεγωνέοντες (174 B 13). The omission of ἄν in ὄσοι ξωσιw, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, 4 may be noted because of its rarity.

ἀνακῶς *carefully*, Hdt. I 24, VIII 109, Hippokr. VIII 614, also in Thuk. VIII 102, and Plato, the comic poet (II 687 Meineke). The word is called Doric by Erotian, p. 66. Stein, Abicht, and L. & S. refer it to ἀναξ, ἀνακός; an etymology which is not to be supported by the *ad hoc* definition βασιλικῶς in Suidas and Bekk. Anecd. I 391. The word is obscure despite the attempt of Baumack in his *Studien* I 256 to connect it with ἀσκέω.

ἀπαντίον Hdt. VII 34 (ἐναντία VI 32); cf. καταπτίον VI 103.

ἄρα, see under ἦρα.

ἄσποιδεί Erythr. 202₉, 203₅, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, and to be restored in Amorgos in *Mitth.* XI 106, 10 (late).

ἄστραβδα Hrd. 3₄ (the papyrus ἄστράβδ'). In the dispute whether the word was oxytone or proparoxytone, Apollonios and Herodian decided in favour of the latter.

ἄσυλεῖ Erythr. 202₈, 203₄₋₅, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, Pantikapaion in Latyshev II 1₉, Amorgos in *Mitth.* XI 106,

¹ For this information I am indebted to the kindness of G. N. Hatzidakis.

ιο (late). On this word and on ἀσπονδέι, see *A. J. P.* VI 428, where it is shown that the spelling with -ει is correct, and that -ι is itacistic. Hdt. has παρδημεί.

ἀτάρ Hdt., Hippokr. *e.g.* II 650. ἀτὰρ ἡδέ is peculiar to Aretaios (133, 139, 140, 303).

αὔτις, see § 355. Hdt. has μεταὔτις I 62 which is unknown to Attic prose.

ἄχρι, see § 715.

βύξην *confertim* (with ζ from σδ), Hippokr. VIII 28 and Thukydides.

δεῦτε Hrd. 4₁₁, Homeric, rare in tragedy.

δημοσίη Mylasa 248 B 11 (-η C 15, cf. § 240). Attic δημοσίαι is found in 261.

δηῦτε, § 320.

-δον. Adverbs in -δον are frequent in Hdt. (διακριδόν, ἔνδον, ἡβηδόν, κρεουργηδόν, κτηνηδόν, ὄρχηδόν, περισταδόν).

εάν, see under ἦν.

ἐθειλοντήν Hdt. I 5, VI 25 (in Hdt. only).

εἶτεν is Ionic according to Ailius Dionysios *apud* Eust. 1158₃₉, and as such used by Herodotos. But Herodotos uses neither εἶτεν nor εἶτα, the latter of which forms is not Homeric or Pindaric, but occurs in Hippokr. III 240, Aretaios 56, 57, 81. In Skymnos *Descript. orbis* εἶτεν is used both before vowels (468, 802) and before consonants (330, 502, 597, 643, 676), sometimes when the other form was metrically possible. εἶτα occurs in 275, 590, 879. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, makes frequent use of εἶτεν and εἶτα. That the former form was a favourite in the Κοινή appears from the injunction of Phrynichos (p. 204 Ruth.): εἶτεν καὶ ἔπειτεν ἐσχάτως βάρβαρα. See under ἔπειτεν.

ἔμπλην *except*, Archil. 111. The inscriptions have πλήν, *e.g.* Erythr. 204₅.

ἐνδόσε Keos 43₁₄, a new word.

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, § 356; ἐντοῦθα, § 256.

ἐνιαχῆ Hdt. I 199, not -χῆ as L. & S.

ἐξαπίνης Hdt. I 74, ἐξαίφνης IX 45, the latter from -αφνι-; cf. ἄφνω in Hesychios.

ἐπειδάν makes its appearance once in Homer (N 285), where the recent editors adopt various conjectures to displace the later form. In Ionic inscriptions it occurs in Oropos 18₃, Zeleia 113₂₄ (after 334 B.C.), and in Erythr. 204₇ (before 345-344 B.C.), documents containing traces of Attic influence. Attic inscriptions of the fourth, as well as the fifth, century show ἐπειδάν. In Hdt. we find the form in all MSS. in VIII 144 (ἐπειδάν τάχιστα),

where it is rejected by Abicht, Holder, and Kallenberg. The phrase was used by Xenophon *Anab.* III 1, 9 (cf. ἐπειδὴν θάπτον *Protag.* 325 C). In I 193 (ἐπειδὴν A) and IV 61 (C d), Stein adopts ἐπειδάν, but rejects it III 21 (C P z), 117 (C), IV 22 (R z). Hippokr. employs it II 12, 34, 78 (ἐπειδ' ἄν, treated as ὅτ' ἄν), III 238, 258, &c., Arrian 105, 308. In tragedy the word is rare and does not often occur in positions to show the quantity of the final syllable. But in *Septem* 734 (ch.), we scan υ - υ (Verrall ἐπεὶ δ' ἄν), and so in *Rhesos* 469 (trim.). The short ultima is surprising in view of ἄν, Sophokles' *Elektra*, 314 (L). Cf. the MS. ἐπειδ' ἄν in Hippokr.

ἐπειτα Keos 4316, Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391₁₂¹, Archil. 564, Tyrnt. 45, Theog. 735, 742, 747, 869, Herodotos over ninety times, Hippokr. II 12, 78, III 254, 310, IV 204 (-τερ Dietz), VI 140, IX 350 and very often, Aretaios 42, 51, *Syr. dea* 20. New Ionic has also the Homeric μετέπειτα, which is not Attic before Aristotle. ἐπειτε Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391₂, of the fourth century (εἰς τὸν ἐπειτε χρόνον, whereas in l. 12 we read εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον), in Hdt. only as a *v. l.*, e. g. II 52 (A B C), VI 83 (ἐπεὶ τε R), 91 (ἐπειτε A B¹ d, ἐπεὶ τέ C), IX 98 (ἐπεὶ τε R). ἐπειτεν is explicitly stated to be Ionic and Herodoteian by Ailios Dionysios in Eust. 1158₃₀. Theognostos (An. Ox. II 161₂₃) does not refer the form to any dialect. The statement of Ailios, who is generally trustworthy, is, however, vitiated (1) by the fact that, in all the occurrences (about 100) of the adverb in Hdt., there is no MS. authority whatever for ἐπειτεν, and (2) by the avoidance on the part of Hdt. of εἶτερ, a word which Ailios says was used (in this form) by the historian.

If Ailios' statement has any foundation, he must have read ἐπειτεν where the MSS. have ἐπειτα or ἐπεὶ τε (cf. I 146, II 52, IX 84, 98). Ailios might have been misled by the occurrence of ἐπειτεν in the *Koinῆ* into regarding it, like so many other *Koinῆ* forms, as Ionic; and εἶτερ was then rashly included because of ἐπειτεν². See under εἶτερ.

ἐπειτεν appears before the *Koinῆ* in Pindar *Pyth.* IV 211, *Nem.* III 54, *Isthm.* VII (VI) 20 and perhaps *Nem.* III 49, Aristophanes *Acharn.* 745 in the mouth of a Megarian. In later poetry it occurs in Skymnos *Descript. orbis* 569, and perhaps in 947 where ἐπειτα δ' is foreign to the author's style, though ἐπειτα occurs, e. g. 461, 661, 709; in Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 116 (ἐπειτα 3 times), and in Machon *apud Athen.* 581 F (by Porson's certain emendation.)

¹ Rhegion 51 should not be regarded as certainly Ionic.

² In his paper on the adverbs in -τεν, Usener (*Jahrbücher*, 1878, p. 62) thinks that ἐπειτεν is to be sought in the reading ἐπεὶ τε. It should be noted, however, that when the copyists misunderstand the forms in -τεν, they divide thus: ἐπειτ' ἐν Pind. *Isthm.* VII (VI) 20, *Pyth.* IV 211, εἶτ' ἐν, &c.

That the form was frequent in the Κοινή is evident from Phrynichos, quoted above under *εἴτεν*.

Of all the *curtissima vestigia* of *ἔπειτεν* (Dindorf *Praef.* XXXVI) in the MSS., not one is certain. Rather all speak for *ἔπειτε*. Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, and Holder adopt Reiz's *ἔπειτεν* in I 146, where the MSS. have *ἐπέτε*. Whenever the form *ἔπειτα* is not supported by all the MSS., the only variant found is *ἔπειτε* (*ἐπέτε*, or possibly *ἐπέτε* even when the adverb is called for). *ἔπειτε*, as well as *ἔπειτα*, is certainly Ionic, because attested in the inscriptions. To be distinguished from *ἔπειτε* = *ἔπειτα* is *ἐπέτε*¹ = *ἐπέτε* in VIII 22, IX 84, 93 *bis*, in one case the MSS. have *ἔπειτα*). A single occurrence of *ἔπειτεν* in the MSS. of Ionic prose is *ἔπειτεν* (*sic θ*) in Hippokr. VII 332.

ἐπεξῆς Ephesos 148₃₄, Hdt. II 77, V 18, &c.

ἐπήν, see under ἦν.

ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125, Hippokr. VIII 28.

ἔστε (preposition and conjunction) is used by Theog. 959 (cf. *v. l.* 394), Hdt. VII 141, 158, 171, VIII 4, 142, Hippokr. II 138, IV 220, Arrian 20₁, 5 (*ἔστε ἐπί*), Aret. 52, 86, *Syr. dea* 12. Whether Eleian *ἔστα* stands for *ἔστε* or represents an original form with *-τα*, as Kretan *μέστα*, is uncertain. The nearest analogue in other dialects is *ἐντε*, occurring in Lokrian, Delphic, and Boiotian (*ἔττε*). This *ἐντε* may, however, be due to form-association and therefore a combination of *ἐν* + *τε*, or it may be the equivalent of Gothic *und* < *uté*, which has the same meaning as the Greek conjunction².

In Archil. 14 we meet with the peculiar form *ἔσκε*, whose *-κε*, if correct, cannot be the equivalent of the Homeric *κε*, because of *ἔστε κε* in Theokr. V 22, VI 32. So far as we are aware, *ἔσκε* occurs in only one other passage: Anthol. VII 727 *ἔσκε θάνη*. Both passages should probably be corrected to *ἔστε*, unless the analogy of Thessal. *κίς, τίς, quis*, and *καί, τε, que* is sufficient to prove the genuineness of the *-κε* form. *ἔστε* is not from *ἐνς τε* because of Eleian *ἔστα*, that dialect using *ἐν*, not *ἐς*, with the accusative. The congeners of *ἔστε* are Skt. *áčchā*, Slav. *čste*, Lat. *usque*³.

εὔτε (Hom.) Hdt. II 63, VI 27, VII 209, *Syr. dea* 25, 36, 55, Aret. 62, 89 (*εὔτε ὄταν*).

ἔως οὖ Hdt. II 143, where many editors adopt Struve's *ἐς ὄ* (§ 569). *ἔως οὖ* might be defended by the analogy of *μεχρὶ οὖ*⁴

¹ Greg. Kor. § 26.

² Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 333.

³ Cf. Burda in Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beiträge* VI 89 ff., Bloomfield *A. J. P.* VI 41, Wheeler *Nominalaccent* 22, and also Zubaty *K. Z.* XXXI 12, cf. 61. The last-named scholar would connect *ἔσχατος*, on the etymology of which see Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXII 40. The etymology in the text disposes of Meisterhans' objection (note 1682) to the Attic character of the word. *Et. Mag.* 382₂ refers *ἔστε* to the Dorians.

⁴ Meister, *Zum eleischen, arkadischen, und kyprischen Dialekte* p. 42, would retain *ἐς οὖ* in Hdt. I 67, 98, III 31 &c., where *ἐς ὄ* is adopted, and finds here a genitive of limit. See his *Dialekte* II 298 ff.

and *οὐνεκα*. *ἕως* with the genitive occurs in a decree in *De corona* 108 and in Aristotle. Cf. *ἔστω* with the genitive in late Greek. *ἕως* as a conjunction occurs in Hdt. III 134 (cf. *v. l.* I 86, 94, II 169, all MSS. VIII 74) and often in Hippokr. *e. g.* II 22 (subj.), 66 *bis* and IV 222 (*ἄν* with subj.).

ἤδέ in late prose, Aretaios 337, also after *ἀτάρ* (303).

ἤμός, see under *ὁτήμος*.

ἦν (*ἐπήν*), *εἰάν* (*ἐπεάν*), *ἄν*. I. *Inscriptions*. *ἦν* occurs as follows: Amphip. 107, 18, Thasos 714, 8, Miletos 1001, 2, 5 *vv*, 61 Zeleia 11318 (*εἰάν* l. 20, 39), Ephesos 1451, 2, 7, 8, Teos 1582, 13 (a very late document with *εἰάν*, l. 2, 31), Chios 174 A 9, 16, 20, B 16, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1194, Halikarn. 23810, 33, 37, Iasos in *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 6, 7 (*εἰάν* l. 2, 3), *κἄν* Ephesos 1453, 4, Chios 174 C 5 stands for *καὶ + ἦν* (by crasis through contraction, not elision, as *κῆν* in Herodas and Hippokrates). In an epigram, Kaibel 1106 IV, where the original has *κἄν*, the Anthol. Pal. IX 75 has *κῆν*.

ἐπήν is found in Keos 4317, Chios 174 C 10. *ἐπεάν*, which is preferred to *ἐπήν* in Hdt., does not occur in the Ionic inscriptions.

εἰάν appears in Olynthos 8 B 17 and thence to be supplied in 8 A 5, B 14 (between 389 and 383 B. C.). This inscription is almost entirely free from Atticisms (*ἀμφοτέροις*, *μίας*). Furthermore in Teos 1582, 31 (first century B. C.), Erythr. 20412 (not much before 345-344 B. C.), in a West-Ionic document (no. 22, found south of Eretria) which is almost entirely Attic, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (910). *εἰάν* appears in Zeleia 11320, 30 (shortly after 334 B. C.), with *ἦν* in l. 18, in Teos, *Mith.* XVI, 292, 19, an inscription perhaps as old as 350 B. C., and in Iasos, *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 2, 3. Cf. § 220.

ἄν occurs in Oropos 180, 12, 14, 19 (between 411-402 or, more probably, 387-377 B. C.), Keos 477 (about same date as Oropos 18: both inscriptions contain traces of Atticism), Paros in Ross's *Inscr. ined.* 148, Thasos 7215, 16 (300-250 B. C.), in an Asiatic Ionic inscription (2633) found in Lykia and probably of the fourth century, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (96).

Both *εἰάν* and *ἄν* are Atticisms, and there is no inscripational evidence that does not admit of *εἰάν* being likewise regarded as Attic.

With the above we may compare the testimony of the Attic stone records. Before 400 B. C. *εἰάν* is the invariable form with only two exceptions in favour of *ἄν*. In the fourth century we find, besides *εἰάν*, the forms *εἰάν* (between 387-350), and *ἄν* twice, and in the third century *εἰάν*, and *ἄν* once. *ἦν* and *ἐπήν* are foreign to all Attic inscriptions. *ἐπᾶν* occurs first in the third century (265 B. C.).

2. *Lyric poets.* ἦν, the Homeric form, is found in Sim. Amorg. 7¹⁵, 25, 60, 97, Hipponax 43, 46, 49₆, Herodas (thirty times, with no case of ἐάν), Theognis 35, 109, 186, &c., Kritias of Chios. In crasis Hrd. uses only κῆν (2₅₁, 3₁₀, &c.). ἐπήν (Hom.) occurs in Theog. 299, Hrd. 2₄₆, 3₄₅, 5₂₇, 6₆₁, but ἐπεάν 3₃₀, 4₃, 5₈₄. Homer has ἐπεὶ ἄν in Z 412 (cf. Eust.), I 304, P 489, ἐπεὶ κε often. Cf. ἐπέτερε ἄν Hdt. I 200.

3. *Prose writers.* ἦν is the form adopted by Herodotos, Hippokrates, e.g. II 18, III 194, 206 (ἦνπερ), V 660, VI 142 (θ), 148, VII 174, Aretaios, e.g. 50, 112, 258, 259, 288, Lukian *Syr. dea* 47, *Vl. anat.* 6, epistle of Pherekydes (twice), epistle of Thales I (twice), epistles of Hippokrates (three times). Noteworthy is the crasis κῆν, Hippokr. II 48, III 192, Aret. 258, 259, 261, 293, 337 (κᾶν 60), because of κᾶν in inscriptions. See above under 1. Attic ἐάν appears in Bywater's Herakleitos 7, 113, Hippokr. II 78, III 236 (Littré and Ermerins), Lukian *Syr. dea* 52; ἄν in Hippokr. III 232 (cf. ἦν 234), in *A V* 604, in *B M N* III 218. In the tractate *περὶ κεφαλῆς τρωμάτων* Littré edits ἦν, ἐάν, ἄν.

ἐπήν is best supported in Hdt. in V 35 (all MSS. except *P* and *z*), IV 134 (*A B C D*), not so well in II 40 (*P*). We find it rarely in Hippokr., e.g. III 248, VI 140, VII 474, VIII 306 (θ), 320, 334, and in Aret. 42, 296, 303, 337. In the spurious letters of Hippokr. it occurs once, and also in the epistle of Pherekydes. ἐπεάν occurs almost fifty times in Hdt.¹ without a variant. Lukian has it in the *Syr. dea* 6, 29, 49, 51, 57, 60, Arrian 13₇, 14₇, 15₂, 16₉, 12, 25₇, 29₁₁, Euseb. Mynd. 53, 63. ἐπᾶν, not ἐπεάν, is used by Hippokrates according to Littré (I 483), and is often written ἐπ' ἄν or ἐπᾶν in the MSS. The Attic form was used by Aretaios in 288, &c.

1. The position occupied by ἐπεάν in Hdt. and his imitators is peculiar from the fact that in all the other monuments of Ionic literature from Homer to Herodas (who has however three cases of ἐπεάν) and in all the inscriptions ἐπᾶν is the only form. (Hippokrates, we venture to believe, did not adopt ἐπᾶν, which is a relatively late Attic production.) If ἐάν appeared in any Ionic document anterior to, or contemporaneous with, Hdt., or if any case of ἐάν in the inscriptions were certainly Ionic, the coexistence of ἐπεάν on the one hand, and of ἦν on the other, would present little difficulty. It would be simply the coexistence of an older and younger form which is common enough in Greek and other languages. Compare, for example, the use of *zif* and *if* (the latter after *but*, *at*s) in the Ormulum (*zif* 111, 139, 145, *if* 603, 3164) and of *zif* and *if* in the General Prologue of the Canterbury Tales (*zif* 144, *if* 148, of the Lansdowne MS.). As it is, the retention of the uncontracted form in ἐπεάν does not carry with it the existence of an open ἐάν. In a much used word such as ἐάν the tendency towards contraction would be

¹ Cited as Ionic from Hdt. by Greg. Kor. § 55. ἐπεάν is mentioned, but not as dialectal, by Apollon. *Conjug.* 215, Schn.

great (cf. § 444), though $\epsilon + \alpha$ rarely unite in Ionic. We are tempted to regard $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as due to μεταχαρακτηρισμός.

2. In respect of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ it should be noticed that the ordinary explanation (from $\epsilon\iota + \acute{\alpha}\nu$) fails to account for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in *O. K.* 1407, *Wasps* 288¹. If we adopt the explanation which sees in Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ the union of $\eta^2 + \acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$, in Ionic $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$, was constructed after $\acute{\alpha}$ had ceased to pass into η , or the Ionic form is $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ derived from $\eta + \acute{\alpha}\nu$ by shortening of the η before a vowel (cf. Ionic βασιλέᾱ, Attic βασιλέᾱ). If $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ existed alongside of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Attic or elsewhere, we must, at any rate, adopt a different explanation in the case of each form.

3. In the enormous preponderance of $\eta\nu$ over $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Aristophanes (268: 69 according to Sobolewski's enumeration), it is difficult not to see a fact necessitating the assumption that $\eta\nu$ is a form native to the ordinary speech of the Athenians (cf. § 75). We can discern no principle making for a difference in Aristophanes between the two forms in respect of their use, e. g. a paratragic preference for $\eta\nu$, a legal preference for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in the *Wasps* ($\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 9 times, $\eta\nu$ 37) or in the *Lysistrata* (11: 29), or in the chronological order of the comedies. The proportion of $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ to $\eta\nu$ in the *Knights* is 78 %₀, but in the *Clouds* only 9 %₀. Petri *De enuntiatorum condicionalium apud A. formis et usu* p. 31 erred in thinking that there was a steady growth of $\eta\nu$. See Sobolewski *Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta* p. 14.

4. To § 75 may be added a statement in reference to the use of $\eta\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Euripides. When the metre permits, the former is invariably employed. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ occurs in *Hel.* 1071, *El.* 954, *Herakleid.* 256, 516, *Ion* 425, *Kykl.* 427, *Med.* 727, *Troad.* 713, *Phoin.* 757, *Rhes.* 143, frag. 294₃. In the above passages $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is followed by a consonant. In *I. A.* 1193 for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, Hartung's $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ is generally adopted. In *Herakleid.* 1020 Elmsley restored $\eta\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, in *Herakleid.* 263 Kirchhoff emended $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\varsigma$ to $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\varsigma$ (Nauck read $\eta\nu$), in *Suppl.* 180 Scaliger read $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\eta$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$. For $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ Dindorf read $\eta\nu$ in frag. 379₁. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with subjunctive also occurs, e. g. frag. 345₃, 364₁₇. All the passages cited occur in dialogue parts. Cf. Johnson *De conjunctivi et optativi usu Euripideo in enuntiativis finalibus et condicionalibus* (1893) p. 48.

$\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ (§ 283)². Archilochos is the first Greek author to make use of the asseverative $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha < \eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ found Σ 429 ($\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ σ 357). Hippokrates and Herodas are the only authors writing in Ionic who use $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$: thus placing Ionic in the position of being the only dialect having both forms. In Doric and Aiolic we have $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$, in Attic³ and the Κοινή, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$. In *Hrd.* 4₂₁ $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ is = $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, in 5₁ it is the interrogative. Cf. the like use of $\eta\acute{\rho}$ as an asseverative and as

¹ See Dindorf *ad loc.*, who proposes to delete $\gamma\epsilon$ in several passages, thus making $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ possible (*Plutus* 126, 481, *Wasps* 1231, and in the post-Aristophanic comic poets). Cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* 954₁₆.

² $\eta\acute{\rho}$ occurs in inscriptions from Krete and Kypros. It is perhaps identical with η , the interrogative in indirect questions, which appears in inscriptions from Herakleia, Dodona, and Astypalain.

³ Cf. also scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. *Anecd.* II 968₂₇, and Ahrens *Kleine Schriften* I 60.

⁴ Attic has the epic $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ followed by $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ in *Persai* 633, 637 (ch.). $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ occurs also in *Aias* 172, 954 (ch.). Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* XI 38, IV 57 affirmative, *Isthm.* VI (VII) 3, *Pyth.* IX 37 interrogative. With the last example, cf. *Batrach.* 174 ($\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ postponed).

an interrogative particle. In Hippokrates there exists considerable variation between the two forms of the interrogative. In the *Προρρητικός I* we have noted, after a rough count, in Littré's text: *ἄρα* two times, *ἄρά γε* 10, *ἦρα* 4, *ἦρά γε* 16; in the *Κωακαὶ παραγράμματα*: *ἄρα* 13, *ἄρά γε* 2, *ἄρά τι* 1, *ἦρα* 4, *ἦρά γε* 9, *ἦρά τι* 3. In V 278 we find *πότερον ἦρα . . . ἦ* (cf. Pindar *Pyth.* IX 37). The MSS. vary constantly. Hdt. has *ἄρα*, *v.g.* VII 17, *ἄρα* IV 64. Littré's *ἄρα* V 554 is not to be defended.

ἦχοι where Oropos 18₁₆, a new word, comparable to Homeric *ἦχι* A 607, &c. The evidence of the Oropean inscription should settle the question as to the orthography of the Homeric form in favour of Aristarchos' *ἦχι* (against the MS. tradition, followed by Apollonios). Cf. Hdn. I 50₅₁₈, where the Doric form is said to be *ἦχι*¹, La Roche *II. T. K.* 278, and Roseher, in Curtius' *Studien* III 143. We accentuate the locative *ἦχοι* on the analogy of *Ἐρυστοῖ*, *πανταχοῖ*, *ἐνθαυτοῖ*² (C. I. A. IV B 27 b 13, from 439 B.C.), rather than as a paroxytone, like *οἴκοι*.

-*θε(v)*. Local adverbs which have almost, if not entirely, lost the original *whence* idea, may, if not formed from substantives, lose their *-v* in Homer³. In the inscriptions we find *ὄπισθε* (before a consonant) in Halikarn. 240₆₅ (fifth century according to Dittenberger), Samos 220₂₇ (346-345 B.C.), Erythrai 201₁₈ (fourth century). Herodas 2₆₉ has *κάτωθε κἄνωθεν*, Theognis and Tyrtaios *πρόσθε* and *πρόσθεν*, Sim. Keos 163 (eleg.) *πρόσθε*, 37₉ (threnos) *ὑπερθε vulgo*, Tyrtaios 11_{17, 20} *ὄπισθε*. Elsewhere the poets have *-θεν*. In Herodotos we find *-θεν* except in *πρόσθε*, *ἔμπροσθε*, *ὑπερθε*, *κατύπερθε*, *ὄπισθε*, *ἐνερθε*, and perhaps in *πέρηθε*⁴. Hippokrates, on the other hand, always adopts *-θεν*, *e.g.* *πρόσθεν* III 192, *ἑμπρόσθεν* 68 (Hippokratic only), *ἀπόπροσθεν* 212 (also in Plato *Epin.* 987 A), *ἔμπροσθεν* 74, 192, 194, *ὄπισθεν* II 78, III 72, 182, 184, 190, 192. Aretaios has *πρόσθεν*, *e.g.* 76, *ὑπερθεν* 52, *κέρθεν* 28, but Lukian *Syr. dea* 29 has *πρόσθε*. Of the adverbs in *-θε* in Hdt., *πρόσθε* and *ἔμπροσθε* are occasionally well supported in the MSS. of Plato, Isokrates, and Demosthenes. So too *ἐπίπροσθε* in Plato (*-εν* Aret. 69), but *ὄπισθε*, *κατόπισθε*, *ἐξόπισθε*, *ἔξωθε*, and *ἄλλοθε* in that author occur only in inferior MSS. *ἔμπροσθε*, *κατύπερθε*, and *ὄπισθε* are found in Attic inscriptions between 350-317 B.C., and even *Μουνηχίαθε*, *Ἄλω-*

¹ But cf. Et. Mag. 417₃: *ἄχι* *ἔπου*, and Dionysios in schol. B. L. on A 607.

² In Plato *ἐνταυθί* should not displace *ἐνταυθοῖ*.

³ *ἀπάνευθε*, Tzetz. Ex. II. 90_{9π}.

⁴ In VI 33 *περθε* is the reading of the best MSS., adopted by Stein, Holder and Kallenberg, but rejected by Abicht for the *πέρηθεν* of B² s_z. In VI 128 there is no authority for *ἀνέκαθεν* — *ἄνωθεν* in Attic prose, except Aldus, who is followed by the recent German editors because the *-θεν* idea is still unobscured. *ἔμπροσθε* in VII 126 occurs in AB only, *ὄπισθε* in II 96 in z only.

πεκῆθε occur in the fourth century. On the occurrences of πρόσθε, &c., in late prose, see Lobeck *Elementa* II 153.

-θε occurs also in Thessalian ἀνευθε, Aiolic πρόσθε. Aiolic has in addition to -θε, both -θεν and -θα, which are likewise Doric. It is still a moot point whether -θεν (-θε), -θα are independent suffixes, whether -θα represents θη, and -θε a contamination of -θεν and -θα, or whether -θα is original and the other forms analogues of κέν, κεί¹. The same uncertainty exists in the case of ἔπειτεν, ἔπειτε, ἔπειτα, εἴνεκεν, εἴνεκε, εἴνεκα. That -α and -ε may be distinct formations, not derived from a parent-form with sonant nasal, may be inferred from -τε and -τα (ῥτε, Aiolic ῥτα), γέ and γά (Epeirotic γέν, if correct, being a late formation), -δε and -δα (Arkadian θύρδα).

-θι occurs much more frequently in Ionic than in Attic prose. οὐδαμόθι is found only in Hdt. VII 49. αὐτόθι and αὐτοῦ occur in both dialects (Hdt. II 44, Hippokr. II 24, *Syr. dea* 45, Arrian 26₁₀); so too ἄλλοθι Hdt. III 73, *Syr. dea* 29.

ἰδίηι appears in the weakened form ἰδίει, Oropos 18₁₄. In Thasos 72₅ (300-250 B. C.) and Iasos 105₁ (end of the fourth century) we find the Attic ἰδαί.

ἰός Ephesos 145₇, cf. Hdt. ἰός, ἰού, ἰέως and see § 198.

ἴνα, the particle that in Herodotos occurs more than twice as frequently as all the other final particles combined, is, but for a single instance, excluded from the language of the inscriptions; a matter of no surprise, when we remember the preference of the Attic inscriptional documents for ὅπως ἄν. I have noted ἴνα ἄν in Thasos 72₁₀, from the first half of the third century. In fifth century Attic inscriptions we find ἴνα twice, in the fourth century never, in the third century twice. The genuine Hippokrates never uses ἴνα in complete final sentences, of which he has exceedingly few. It occurs in Theog. 776, Hrd. IX.

The phrase ἐπ' ἴσηι καὶ ὁμοίηι (Hdt. IX 7) is frequently used in Ionic decrees: Samos 221₂₇₋₂₈, Ephesos 147₁₁, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, appendix 2, no. 2, 10, 18, 19, 21, 22. In the Ephesian documents we have ἐφ' not ἐπ'.

ἰσσαί is an interjection like αἰαί, and derived from ἴσσα (Plato in Meineke II 637, 4, Menander IV 80, 6). In § 395 end, ἴρ' ἄν was wrongly suggested as the reading in the passage from Herodas 393, where ἰσσαί should be adopted with Meister.

καθότι Samos 221₃₂ (cf. Hdt. VII 2).

καθώς Hdt. IX 82.

κάρτα = λίαν (Greg. Kor. § 58), Hippon. 17, Hdt., Hippokr., Aretaios, Lukian.

κατά = καθά appears in Hdt. I 208, II 6, 116, III 86. In VII 199 κατ' ἄ is = τῆι where. See appendix to § 406, 2.

¹ Cf. Osthoff *Perfect* 332 ff., G. Meyer *Gram.* 30.

κατάντη (ἐς τὰ κ.) Hippokr. III 298.

κατάπερ Hdt. I 170, &c., Priene 144₉, Halikarn. 238₁₉, καθάπερ Ephesos 147₁₁ (about 300 B. C.), Teos 158_{4, 25} (first century B. C.). Cf. § 369. In Halikarn. 238₄₃ we find καθάπερ (§ 132). See appendix to § 406, 2.

κατότι Hdt. VII 2.

κεῖ Archil. 170 = κείθι Archil. 132, Hdt. II 122.

κῆ, κου, &c., § 342.

λείως *completely, at all*, Archil. 112 (MSS. λειωι corrected by Porson). Cf. Hesychios λείως (MSS. λείρω) ῥαδίως, σφόδρα, τελείως, καλῶς, part of which gloss might be explanatory of λείως *Theaitetos* 144 B, from λείως *smooth*. Elsewhere the grammarians (Apollon. *Pronom.* 58₁₂ Schn., Et. Mag. 560₃₁, Photios 218₃) refer to the form either as λείως¹, usually explaining it as derived from τελέως (Hdt., Hippokr.²) by hyphaeresis³, or as λίως, Erotian 240. The same stem appears in the Hesychian λεώλης· τελείως ἐξώλης (cf. λειώλης on a Rhodian inscription, *Mitth.* XVI 112); λεώλεθρος· παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος; λειοκόνιτος· ἢ τελείωσις (*sic* MSS.), ὡς κόνις διαλελυμένη, λείως γὰρ τελείως; λειοκόρη· (*sic* MSS. λειω- Voss) ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαυμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχωρ, with which cf. λεωκόρητος· ὁ ἐξωλοθρευμένος Photios 218₃, λεωκόνιτος· ἢ λεωκόρητος (*sic* MSS.) παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος Hesychios, and λεωκόρητος ὁ ἐφθαρμένος Theognostos (An. Ox. II 9₃₂).

The etymological connection of λείως with Attic and Ionic λειργός, defended by L. & S. and Wecklein on *Prometh.* 5, would be easier, did we not have reported λαοργός· ἀνόσιος, Σικελοί in Hesychios and λειουργός as Doric in Photios. Curtius, *Et.* p. 361, derives λειργός from λᾱ from λᾶ(σο)-φοργός, which suits the meaning, but λᾱ- as a compressed stem from λᾶσο- is difficult. Fo may be dropped when it is the final syllable of the first part of a compound whose second part begins with F-, e. g. Αἷ[fo]ῤῥάκης, Αἷ[fo]ῤῥαξ, Κλε[fo]ῤῥαξ = Λεῦδης, Λεῦναξ, Κλεῦναξ, and perhaps in να[fo]φορός = ναρός and ναυρός. But we desiderate examples of λα(σο)-Fo-. The λᾱ of λάμαχος, λακαταπύγων, λακατάρατος, if genuine Attic, is difficult, and not comparable to the λe- of λείως.

λίην (Horn.) Archil. 66₆, Hdt. IV 96, Hippokr. III 94, Aret. 34. Hesychios' λίην was formerly read by Bergk in Theog. 352.

¹ Galen, Gloss. p. 514, has λεῶς· παντελῶς, ἅπαν.

² L. & S. say that διὰ τέλους serves as the adverb of διατελής. But A has διατελείως, Hippokr. III 324, and Littré adopts it in III 48 (where τελέως also occurs); διὰ τέλους 38, 62, 132, &c.

³ So even Kühner-Blass I 286. The hyphaeresis cannot be defended by (τέ)πράπεζα.

μᾶ occurs frequently in Herodas (4₂₀, 33, 43, 51₃, 56, &c.) as an interjection employed by women to express astonishment or indignation. The scholiast on Theokr. XV 89 errs in restricting the word to the dialect of Syracuse and in limiting the range of its use to vexation. It is doubtless the same as *μᾶ*, Aischylos' *Syrph.* 890. Meister *Herodas* p. 684 sees in the word (originally) an invocation to the *μεγάλη μήτηρ*. Cf. English *marry!*

μὲν = *μήν*, § 139.

μесеργύ (Hom., Theog.) in Ionic prose occurs in Hippokr. only,

μέχρι, see § 715.

μηδαμά Halikarn. 238₃₃₋₄₀, Hdt. I 68, II 91, III 65, VII 50, not *-μᾶ* with Aldus, *d*, and once in *R* and *B*. Jacobitz' *-μᾶ* in Lukian's *Syr. dea* 21, 22, 23 is not Ionic. *οὐδαμά* appears twelve times in Hdt. with *-μᾶ* in Aldus and often in *R b d*. *οὐδαμῆ* occurs in Anakr. 50, Theog. 1363, 1373. Hdt. has also *οὐδαμῆ* I 24, 34, 56, II 43, 116 (*οὐδαμῆ* Aret. 25). *μηδαμῶς* and *οὐδαμῶς* are also Herodoteian.

μήκοτε *perhaps* (?), Hrd. 317.

ναί in *ναί μᾶ* (Hom.) Archil. 108. Anan. 4, Theog. 1047, Hrd. 106, 771, 90, *ναί Δημήτρι* 180, *ναί Μοῦσαν* *Class. Rec.* V 481, frag. 61 (*νῆ Δί'* 281 is Attic).

νέωτα, cf. § 289, 1.

νηποιεῖ Amphip. 1010, and so to be read in Andokides, Plato, and Demosthenes. Cf. *ἀσπονδέι*, *ἀσυλεῖ* above.

νυ (Hom.) occurs in Aret. 171.

νυνί Hdt. VII 229 (*R v̄ν*), is excluded from the language of tragedy and history (except Xenophon), but used by the orators and Plato. Lukian has *ταντί*, *Syr. dea* 23.

ὄπου, *που*, &c. are the regular forms in the inscriptions, which never have *ὄκου*, *κου*, &c. Cf. § 342. In Keos 43₂₃ we find *ὄπου ἄν* with the subjunctive, elsewhere *ὄπου* is followed by the indicative.

ὄπως is frequent in Ionic inscriptions considering the chances for its occurrence. It is found with the subjunctive in Thasos 71₆, Ephesos 147₁₇¹, with the optative in Samos 221₁₀, with the future indicative in Samos 221₁₈. Herodotos has no liking for *ὄκως* (twelve times) or for *ὄκως ἄν* (five times) in the pure final sentence, though he allows greater scope for the *ὄκως* of incomplete finality. The imperative *ὄκως* occurs once (III 142). Hippokrates uses *ὄκως* with the subjunctive in II 64 *bis*, III 242, VII 230, *ὄκως ἄν* II 74, III 254, IV 228, VII 212 (*ὄκως*

¹ *ὄπως ἄν* is probably Attic in an Ephesian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 1345, 9.

ἀν δοκέη and ὡς ἀν δοκέη VIII 498), ὄκως with the optative I 634 and Lukian *Syr. dea* 26, 27. In complete final sentences the poets use ὄπως twice only (Hipponax 85₃ hexam., Anakr. 63₂). Exclusive of Pindar, ὄπως (and ὡς) in these sentences occur chiefly in Hipponax and Anakreon; a fact which may have its explanation in local preferences (Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* IV 432). In the incomplete final sentence ὄπως appears in Sim. Amorg. 780, who also uses ὄπως with the future (15).

ὄημος Hrd. 355 may contain a prefixed ὀ-, as in ὀκοῖος, ὀπηνίκα. When ὄτε and ἴμος are conjoined, the latter precedes as in Apoll. Rh. IV 267, 452, 1310, Anthol. Pal. app. 51₂₅ (cf. εὔτε ὄταν Aret. 89, ξὼς ὄτε Zosimos I 5, 3, if not in Thuk. IV 117, Xenoph. *Kyrop.* V 1, 25, &c.). Both Hdt. and Hippokr. use ἴμος. That τῆμος was not restricted to poetry is clear from Thessalian τᾶμον. In Hippokr. IX 14 Littré reads τ' ἴμος, where some MSS. have τῆμος.

οὔδαμά, see under μηδαμά.

οὔνεκα, see § 715.

οὔτω, οὔτως. To § 366 may be added that in Herodas οὔτω occurs before consonants and at the end of the verse, οὔτως only before vowels. In 471 οὔτως ἐπιλοξοῖ of the MSS. is metrically inferior to οὔτω ἐπιλοξοῖ. But in 671 we have another case of the anapaest in the second foot (or shall we write μαλκός with Meister?). In the fourth foot we find the anapaest in 231, 655.

ὄφρα was not used by any post-Homeric writer of Ionic stock. It occurs four times in Theognis.

πάγχυ (Homer) Hdt. I 31, IV 135, and in tragedy (*Septem* 641). In *Irgos* 1531 it occurs in hexameters. Attic prose uses πᾶν instead.

πάλιν (cf. p. 289, note 4): in Hrd. 252 πάλι[ν] μνην is preferable to πάλι, whose nasal may have been omitted because of the μ. Before other consonants than μ we find πάλιν (447, 798). Kallimachos epigr. 12₂ uses πάλι to obtain a pyrrhic. In Homer we find παλιώξισ.

πάξ interjection, Hrd. 7114 ('it fits,' also 'enough'). διαμπάξ, ἀπόπαξ, ἐπίπαξ, ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125 (cf. *ein-fach*), are from the same root (πᾶγ-, cf. πήγνυμι). Cf. ἀναμίξ Hdt. I 103 and σύμμιγα VI 58, ἐναλλάξ III 40, Hippokr. V 728.

πέρ occurs often in Hdt. and Hippokr., where Attic prose has καίπερ.

πέρην Hdt. VI 44, 97, &c., Hippokr. IV 380 (*right through* of καῦσις). The word is connected with περάω, πόρος, not with πέρας. There is no form πέρη = Attic πέρᾱ, but Hdt. VI 33 has πέρηθε.

πλεόνως occurs only in Hdt. (III 34, V 18).

πρίν in Ionic inscriptions is found with the infinitive, Olynth. 8 B 5. πρίν ἤ with the infinitive in C. I. A. IV B 53 a 9 is probably Ionic, as the document deals with matters pertaining to cult. πρίν ἤ is a specific peculiarity of Ionic, since it occurs in Homer (E 288 = X 266), then in Herodotos and Hippokrates, while no Attic poet or prose writer uses the locution. In the pseudo-Hippokratic works πρίν ἤ (ten times) is much less frequent than πρίν (twenty times) with the infinitive; a sign of the decline of the former construction. Hippokrates uses πρίν ἤ with the subjunctive once (III 248) in a genuine treatise, whereas in the spurious works it occurs eight times¹. With the subjunctive, the genuine Hippokrates omits ἄν twice (II 52, 330), his imitators insert it six times.

πρόίξ, see § 298.

πρόκα = εὐθύς, παραχρήμα in Hdt. I 111, &c., is always followed by τε (πρόκατε). Cf. αὐτίκα, ἡνίκα for the extension of πρό by -κα.

πρώην (Homer²), Hdt. II 53, also Attic (though some texts have πρῶην), is contracted to πρῶν in Hrd. 5³²². As Doric πρῶ(φ)ᾶν Theokr. VIII 23, XIV 5, or πρῶ(φ)ᾶν, Theokr. IV 60, V 4, XV 15, became πρῶν³, so Ionic and Attic πρῶ(φ)ᾶν became πρῶν in Herodas. In Kallimachos' choliambics (frag. 84, Schm.) we find πρῶν according to Joh. Alex. 32, (Hdt. I 494,). It would seem therefore that Herodas' πρῶν is wrong (πρῶν Bucheler), or that Kallimachos' πρῶν is a mistake (πρῶν, Meister *Herodas* p. 775). The fact that Joh. Alex. gives as the full form πρῶην, not πρῶην or πρῶϊν as Lentz writes, inclines us to the view that we should read πρῶν in Kallimachos. Both Joh. Alex. and Suidas regard πρῶ⁴ as the base of the word⁴. An enlarged form of the same word is πρῶφιος (cf. Skt. *pr̥v̥v̥iya*, Slav. *pr̥v̥v̥ŭ*, 'the first') which becomes πρῶιος (Hdt. VIII 130, πρῶϊην VIII 6; cf. Hom. πρῶϊον adv.) and πρῶος in Attic.

σύνεγγυς (of place) Hrd. I 43, Hippokr. IV 180.

τε is separated from its pronoun, after the epic fashion, in τὰ πέρ τε Hdt. I 74. Noteworthy uses in New Ionic are ἐπέτετε or

¹ On πρίν &c. in Ionic writers, see Sturm's treatise, pp. 73 ff. and the works there cited.

² The schol. Ven. A on O 470 reports that Zenodotos wrote πρῶην and that Aristarchos knew of this reading. In E 832 nearly all the MSS. have πρῶην (*A G πρῶην*), in Ω 500 πρῶην is supported by Eustathios alone.

³ This accent is found in *p*, Theokr. V 132, in *h* in VII 51. If the vulgate πρᾶν in seven other passages is correct, we must suppose a form πρῶφᾶν, which ill suits the traditionary accent of πρῶην. πρῶην could not become πρᾶν in Doric as L. & S. state.

⁴ Apart from the difficulty in the way of a paragogic *v*, the Ionic form is however open; πρῶί Hdt. IX 101, Hippokr. II 682, III 46 (cf. Hom. πρῶί, πρῶί(α), πρῶιαιτερον Arrian 26₁).

ἐπεὶ τε, ῥῆν τε I 125, VIII 101. In I 58, ἐμοί τε, quoted by L. & S. as another example, is now changed to ἐμολύε with Reiske. Ionic has ἄτε *quippe* (Hdt. I 154, Hippokr. IV 224) as other dialects.

τέως¹ in Herodotos is most frequent in the sense of *for a time* (I 11, 82, 86, 94, II 169, VI 83, VIII 74 where all MSS. have ἔως). In VI 112 it means *up to this time*. In IV 165 all MSS. have τέως *the while*, which is retained by Holder, abandoned by Stein and other recent editors for ἔως. In the spurious tractates of Hippokrates we observe a like usage (VI 180 where *θ* has ἔως, VII 232, VIII 344, 596 *bis*, 602). Cf. Galen *gloss.* p. 578. This use of τέως is now regarded by editors of the Attic prose writers as due to the Alexandrians, who used it as a relative. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has τέως μὲν . . . ἐπεὶ δέ, whereas Hdt. uses τέλος δέ, ἔπειτα δέ, or μετὰ δέ in apodosis. τέως occurs on Attic inscriptions.

τῆ *there!* Hrd. I 82 (τῆ, πῖθι, with which cf. ι 347 τῆ, πῖε οἶνον). τῆ is the instrumental (cf. Lith. *tė*), τῆ the dative. Cf. Kyprian τᾶ, τᾶδε, Doric τᾶδε, Attic and Ionic τῆδε, Attic τηδί.

-τι. Adverbs in -τι occur in ἐγκυτί Archil. (Et. Mag. 311₄₀), ἀμαχητί, ἀνωμοτί, ἀπαρτί, ἀπονητί, ἀπιωρητί (Hdt.); -σσι in μεγαλωστί, νεωστί, Σκυθιστί (Hdt.). Cf. *A. J. P.* VI 429. Where -τῖ takes the place of -ται it is not derived from it, at least in the classical period of the language.

τοι may be noted in ἐπεὶ τοι, Hippokr. IV 216.

τουτέι, adverbial locative, Kyme 3 A, is also Doric (Theokr. V 33, 45, 103).

χαλκίονδα reported by Hesychios (τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεῖν) appears in Hrd. 36.

-χου occurs *e.g.* in Hdt. in τριχοῦ (and τρίχα), διχοῦ (and δίχα), πολλαχοῦ (and πολλαχῆ), πενταχοῦ (III 117, not πανταχοῦ for which we have πανταχῆ).

χωρίς. To § 366 we may add that in Olynthos 8 B 13 we find [χωρί]ς ἑκατέρους, in Miletos 100., Hippokr. II 18 χωρίς + consonant, in V 668 χωρίς followed by a comma.

ᾧδε *hither*, Hippokr. VI 476, 478 as *Protag.* 328 D and the tragedians. Aristarchos denied that this use obtains in Homer.

ᾧν and οᾧν. To § 206 may be added that ὄτρωιοῦν occurs in Amphip. 10₂₁, ἡιοῦν in Teos 158_{E, 28} (late). In respect of the etymological relation of the two words (§ 252), Meister (*Herodas* p. 867) suggests that ᾧν is to be derived from ἡ οᾧν, as ἄρα and ἦρα from ἡ ἄρα, and μᾶν from μῆ οᾧν². If ᾧν is from ἡ οᾧν, it

¹ Cf. the story in the schol. on Plato's *Hipparchos* p. 335 in reference to τέως from τῆως.

² So Hdn. I 516₂₁, II 332₂₁ (Joh. Alex. 40₂₆), schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. Anecd. II 969₁₁, who assume a Doric change of ου to ω, which is out of

must, like η , have once been interrogative and asseverative. Meister quotes *Philokt.* 121 (η μνημονεύεις οὖν ἄ σοι παρήνεσα) as an example of η οὖν interrogative. Here, however, the words are separated and each has its own peculiar function. As a particle of asseveration, ω v < η οὖν became (we must assume) postpositive, usurping the place of οὖν (cf. the postpositive η ρα, α ρα). That ω v could in course of time be regarded as an uncompounded particle (cf. γ ων), and thus vacate its proper functions, is less difficult to understand when we observe the use of μ ων in *Choerph.* 177 μ ων οὖν Ὀρέστου κρύβδα δῶρον η ν τόδε; *Androm.* 82 μ ων οὖν δοκεῖς σοῦ φροντίσαι τιν' ἀγγέλων; *Sophist.* 250 D μ ων οὖν ἐν ἐλάττορι τιμῇ γῆρ ἐσμεν ἀπορία περὶ τὸ ἄν; and *Lucas* 966 B. Cf. also μ ων μή *Rep.* 351 E, &c., and such cases as η . . . α ρα (from η α ρα) in *Soph.* frag. 670. But where ω v is interposed between preposition and verb, as is frequently the case in *Hdt.* (e.g. II 47. 85, 86, 96, IV 60: cf. Homeric οὖν in the relative member) it is not easy to believe that it is derived from η οὖν. Meister is forced to admit that ω v may have been forced into the MSS. of *Hdt.* at the expense of οὖν.

Adverbs from -εs stems regularly end in -έως, not -ῶς (§ 284, 2), except when the stem form is preserved, as in ἐπίτηδες in *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.* ἀκλεῶς and ἀδεῶς should probably be written -έως.

ὡς ἄν appears in Zeleia 113_{13, 35} (after 334 B. C.), whereas in Attic inscriptions it does not occur with any frequency till the first century B. C. In *Hdt.* ὡς and ὡς ἄν are more frequent than ὅκως and ὅκως ἄν in the complete final sentence, though ὡς and ὅκως are more common than ὡς ἄν and ὅκως ἄν. In *Hippocrates* (according to Weber *Absichtssätze* p. 138) in complete final sentences we find ὡς only (e.g. III 256, 258). See on ὄπως. *Hipponax* 43₃, *Archil.* 109 have ὡς ἄν, *Anakreon* 62₃, 63₅, *Hipponax* 19₄ have ὡς.

the question in an Attic word. Perhaps *Hdn.* had in mind such cases as Doric λόγως, ἐπαινῶμεν. To the above etymology Tryphon objected (1) that the two particles, whose contraction was assumed, differed widely in meaning, (2) that μ ων was prepositive, οὖν postpositive, and (3) that the loss of the υ was inexplicable. Apollon. (*de Conj.* 228₁₁ Sehn.) meets the phonetic objection by the statement that, though some regard the loss of the υ as due to euphony, the truth is that μ ων is from μή ἄν, ἄν being also Attic, as that dialect is Ionic δυνάμει. So far from defending the derivation from μή οὖν (as Meister states), by equating Attic with Ionic, he deliberately avoids the point raised by Tryphon in respect of the υ . If the υ of οὖν is a genuine diphthong Tryphon was correct, α v, ϵ v, \omicron v retaining their υ in crasis in all dialects; but if the υ is adulterine, Tryphon was wrong and Meister may be correct. Spurious υ is retained in crasis only when actual contraction does not take place (e.g. αἰροφύλακες = αἰ ἀροφ., *Chios* 174 A 15-16). Its υ of course disappears in genuine contraction (e.g. Attic τῆμῶ). If we regard the υ of οὖν as a spurious diphthong, I see no objection, on the score of phonetics, to the crasis ω < η + υ v, though no other example is at hand. Cf. μεμνῶμεν < μεμνηοίμεν.

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS



17 13 f. b. (from below): on ἀτελέη see add. to p. 175. 32 9 f. b.: read μῆνις. 33 f. n. l. 2: read 4 for 6. 45 (§ 42): add Meister *Die Mimiamben des Herodus* 1893, Preger *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae* 1891 (see the review by Kaibel in *G. G. A.* 1892, p. 89). 47 7: on the contraction to η of α + ε, see additions to p. 242. 51 8 (and 58 note 1): the probability of such an anacrusis is doubtful. The statement in the text is made on the authority of Rossbach *Griechische Metrik* 233. 56 21: κούραι, C. I. A. IV B 373¹⁰⁹, is not Attic. The inscription is furthermore noteworthy from the fact that it presents the only example of σωζ- for σωιζ- in an early document found on Attic soil. The inscription is earlier than 400 B. C. 67 15: it may here be mentioned that some scholars still hold that there are cases of ā in tragic trimeters which are heirlooms of the period when ā, even after other sounds than ε, ι, υ, ρ, had not become η. So Wecklein regards βαλόν *Choeph.* 571, γαθούση 772 as Old Attic. Verrall justifies the irregular ā by assuming that the words in question are due to literary association. 57 12: ὀρέων, see add. p. 225. 69 26: dele (§ 428). 70 7 f. b. note 1: etymological considerations speak in favour of deriving πᾶνός, μᾶνός and perhaps ἀδολέσχης in Attic from *πανφός, *μανφός and ἀδφ-, but the whole trend of the dialect is against compensatory lengthening upon the loss of φ. These Attic forms, like Ionic ὄλος, are a stumbling-block to the uniformists. Kretschmer's theory, mentioned in note 2, will not hold ground in the face of Ἄπατοῦρια, which contains a non-Attic ου. Ἄπατοριος appears in C. I. A. IV B 462 d 11 an archaic inscription, Ἄπατοῦριος in III 2499, 2594 and perhaps 1057 (all late). On Ionic soil we find Ἄπατοῦρι in Phanagoreia, Bechtel 1643, and also in Amorgos B. C. II. XIII 344, no. 2, though the document has Ἄπατοριῶνος and also κλευδίκοῦ. A Sarmatian inscription, I. G. A. 350, contains Ἄπατορο. The word is from Ἄπατορφ- with the 'copulative' α (cf. ὀμοπάτρια). Boiotian Μωνυχίαν C. D. I. 7127 does not prove that the Attic Μουνιχία is the direct result of the loss of the spirant in μωνφ-. As Schulze *Q. E.* 79, 514 suggests, it is possible that Boiotian Μων- may be a dialectal echo of Μουν-. The υ of the Boiotian form is noteworthy, not only because of its appearance in that dialect, but because Μωνυ- occurs only three times in all the Attic inscriptions (once in the

fourth century, twice in the period of the empire). It may be regarded as certain that other causes than the desire to avoid a succession of short syllables produced the diphthongal forms Ἀπατούρια, Μουνιχία in Attic. Keller in his *Lateinische Volksetymologie* derives Μουνιχία from a Semitic source, on grounds that seem insufficient, so far as I am able to judge of their value. 71 12: compare the variation between κόρα l. 1 and κόρη l. 5 in a Thessalian epigram, Kaibel no. 505; notes 1 and 2: see § 716. 75 16: In *Prometh.* 353 the MSS. have ἑκατοντακάρηνον with α written over the η. 78 8 f. b.: νένωται Soph. frag. 191 (§ 296), cf. Dindorf's ἐπιβῶ *Persai* 1054. 79 note 2: read *Meinke*. *Kock* (elsewhere so spelled) is misprinted four times on p. 79, and p. 140 n. 1. 91: add the following treatises on the Dialect of Herodotos: Bumke: *De augmento verbi Herodotei*, 1835. Förstemann: *De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poetis*, 1892. Kloppe: *De augmento Herodoteo*, 1848. Molhem: *De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu*, 1876. Norén's treatise was published in 1876 (Upsala). 93 22: for V, S, read v, s and so in the note below. Holder uses the signs V, S; 25: for the *Florentine MS.* (A) of the tenth, read (C) of the eleventh. 95 note 1: Maunde Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1893, p. 119) thinks the papyrus is at least as old as 250 B. C. 100 6: for specifically read specially, as a κ form has appeared in Aiolie. See additions to p. 290. The statement on p. 26, l. 6 must also conform to the new evidence presented. 101 8: add vol. X, xxxii, 1861. 101 note 2, l. 2: read 57 for 56, and add τέλεως Kos 37₆₁, 38_{11, 16}, 40 A 5 (Paton and Hicks) to the list of Koan Ionisms. 104 16, 17: dele ὕταν, ὕθεν. 106: add to the list of differences between Hdt. and Hippokr.: -θε Hdt., -θεν Hippokr. § 716; δυσί Hippokr., not in Hdt.; the inflection of κέρas, § 544. 117 22: Kabbadias in *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολ.* 1891, p. 129 refers the inscription in question to the first century before Christ. 129 20: the grammarians usually accent ὀστέον without reference to the dialects. In Theokr. k has ὀστίον, Ahrens ὄστιον. In Hrd. 4_{62, 65} (cf. p. 256, 8 f. b.) we find ἀργυρεν which I have written -εῦν, though this accent is quite uncertain; last line: add Ἀμολγος Arkadios 47₁₇, Ἀμοργός Steph. Byz. 130 17 f. b.: for πήχεων the MSS. of Hdt. usually have πηχέων, e. g. I 178. 131 (§ 126): on the accent of the forms from ἰέω, τιθέω &c., see § 691, and note 2. 132 20: after κρατερός, insert καρτερός. 133 16: for τρέψω, στρέψω read τρέφω, στρέφω; 21: after 'α form' add: apart from the doubtful ἐτραπόμην. These cases occur in II 80, IV 60, V 15, VI 33, 119, VII 18. In the active, τράπω is found in all the MSS. only once (III 81), whereas τρέπω occurs 18 times without a v. l. When there is variation in the MSS., ABCd have τρέπω (VI 26, VII 52), except in II 92 where d alone supports the ε form. In the middle τρέπεσθαι occurs in V 86 (ABCd), τρέπονται V 61, τρέπεται I 117, II 17 in all MSS. ἐτραπόμην &c. (20 times) is certain and the aoristic use is not difficult in many cases. It is a significant fact that τράπεσθαι, the reading of all the recent German editors in the present, is never without the v. l. τραπέσθαι (I 11, III 157, VI 52, VIII 16). The adoption of τράπω throughout involves the assumption that at least in the active the original form has been almost completely obliterated. On the other hand, it should be stated that a τράπω alongside of τρέψω, ἔτρεψα &c. is an unusual, and therefore, a probable form. Homer has τραπ- only in the denominative τραπέω K 421, η 125; 3 f. b.: καρδίη Theog. 366, 1236, Hrd. I₂₇, καρδιηβόλει 432. Homer has θρασυκάρδιος. 134 20: Hrd. has τεμείν 6₁₁, 7₁₁₇, τεμείσα 4₆₉. τέμνω appears in the Hymn to Demeter 384, Solon 1347. 135 3: ἀρωδιός

Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 54 = Attic *ἐρφιδίος* Babrios 94₂ without the *iota*. 130 14: read *καταλελάβηκε*. 140 7: Schmidt has now discussed in full the question of the assimilation of vowels in *K. Z.* XXXII 321 ff. To the examples mentioned by me (*ἐρετή*, *ἔρσην*, *ἀππέλεβος*, *Ἐρμώνσσσα*, *ὀβολός*, *Τορώνη*, *τέσσερες*, *ἄρρωδέω*, *ἕτερος*, *μέγεθος*), Schmidt adds many others, e. g. *Ἀπόλλων*, *ἀδάξομαι*, *ἄστακός*, *γόργυρα*, *-κόντορος* p. 142, *κρόμμου*, *οὐλαί*, *ψακάς*. *ῥαφάνις* p. 141 might be added to the list. 141 19 f. b.: in opposition to this dissimilation, see now footnote 3 to p. 566; 4 f. b.: cf. also *ἄλετριβανος* Hdn. II 259₄, Eust. 183₁₀ for *ἄλο*, *Ἀνδρέαιος* Thessalian, C. D. I. 326 III 10, *Ἵορσεάς* in Pindar. 143 3 f. b.: Hrd. has *ἔσσωμαι*, *Class. Rev.* V 480, I 16. 144 5: the analogy of *σῆσος*, *σῆσις* is defective. See *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* IV 602; 21: Hrd. has *ἴλεως* 411, 25. *Ἰλαθι*, on a late metrical inscription from Paros (C. I. G. 2388_{8, 13}) contains the weak, epic *Ἰληθι* the strong form; cf. *πίμπλαθι* and *πίμπληθι* formed from *πίμπληη*. 145 11 f. b.: add *Λεῶφιλος* Archil. 69; footnote l. 2: read *ῥά* for *ᾠρ*. Cf. § 478, where it is shown that *Ἀμφιάρεος*, not *Ἀμφιάρεως*, may be the form native to the New Ionic of Hdt. 146 13: add *νεωκόρω* Hrd. 490, *νεωκόρον* 411, 45, *νεωκόρος* Oropos 186_{7, 24, 41}; 2 f. b.: *ἀγαίωμα* is from **ἀγασίωμα*, as *δαίωμα* from **δασίωμα*. A supposed *παλέω* by the side of *παλαίω* (§ 593) is not to be regarded as a support for *ἀγέομαι* by the side of *ἀγαίωμα*. 147 14: *μέζονα* Orop. 1816; 14 f. b.: read 13 times, *μείζων* twice (326 and V 3). 149 11: on the expulsion of *ε* before *ο*, see § 287 and additions to pp. 254, 255. 152 9: *-ῖη* also occurs in *προεδρή* Xenophon. 27, *τυραννίη* 32, *ταίριας* Empedokles 402, *μεσημβρή* Kaibel 4413; 12: add Schulze *Q. E.* 291; 19: *-διον* may be regarded as an independent suffix; cf. *ἰχθύδιον* and *ἰχθύδιον*. *Στρατώνης*, *Μενώνης* are found in *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1887, 83 ff. (Eretria); 22: *Δαρίκος* Hrd. 7102, 122. The Ionic form is *Δαρεϊκός* Hdt. VII 28, Erythr. 202₁₇₋₁₈. Meister *Herodas* 746 regards *Δαρίκος* as Koan Doric. The form with *ι* appears in Tegea, I. G. A. 69. Cf. *Χαιρωνεικός* and *Χαιρωνικός*. 153 6 f. b.: cf. Johansson *Sprachkunde* p. 8; *ἄστακός* is assimilated from *ὄστακός* as *ἀδάξεται* &c. Hippokr. VIII 214, 330, 352 (cf. 568) from *ὀδάξεται* (Schmidt *K. Z.* XXXII 390, 391); 2 f. b.: *Καμασαρή* occurs in Latysch. II 191, 5; note: *βάθρακος* is the form in the modern dialect of Amorgos. 154 (§ 150): cf. p. 265, § 295, III A and appendix; end: Hrd. 8₈ has *τόνθρουζε* (as Babrios 97₃), but *τονθορούζω* 67, 77. Cf. Lobeck's *Phrygiachus* 358. 155 (§ 153): verbs that have *υ* in Homer usually do not protract the vowel in the later literature, e. g. *φῦω* < **φυιω*, in Mimm. 21, Archil. 42, Theog. 1164, Sim. Keos 856 (Sim. Amorg.?, Empedokl. 70, 154, 202 (but *φῦ* in Solon 426, Theog. 537, 1134, Empedokl. 66), *θῦεσκε* Hippon. 37₂, *βρῦοντα* Anakr. 65₂. On the other hand for *ῥῦω* < **ῥυιω*, we find *ῥῦη* Hrd. 716, *ῤάδες* 2 486, *ῥετός* Nikand. *Ther.* 273. Cf. *πτῦω* in Apoll. Rhod. II 570, IV 925, Theokr. VI 39, *ἰσχῦω* in Babrios 196 (as Pindar frag. 61) with five cases of *ἰσχῦω*; 6 f. b.: Hippokr. has *ῥυφ* V 370, 374, 386, *ῥοφ* II 306, 456, VII 60, &c. 156 17 f. b.: after Greek word, add *except in the case of ἤμισυ* p. 157. 157: before § 156 insert *Κῶδιλλα* Hrd. 511, 60, a word showing the shortening of the radical vowel that occurs in proper names. 162 15: *ἀέναον* (MSS. *ἀένναον*) Herakl. 111 (not III). 163 18: *ἔμπης* occurs in Aret. 54; (§ 162, 2): *ἐπᾶρή* Teos 156 B 30, 36, Chios 174 C 11, Mylasa 248 A 12, B 12, C 15, *ἐπᾶράσθω* Chios 174 C 9, *Πολυάρητος* Thasos 723, *Ἄρητος*, a Chian, Ross *Inscr. ined.* II 147, a Samian, Dittenb. *Syll.* 396₂ (but *Ἄρατος* Erythr. 206 B 44), *Ἄρήτη* Olbia, Bechtel 133, *Δημάρητος* Hdt., Delos 56, Styra 19₁₈₀, *Λυκάρητος* Hdt. Hrd. 511 has *κατήρητος*, which Brugmann (in Meister's *Herodas* p. 876)

explains as derived from ἀρή on the principle referred to in § 165, note. The final α of Attic ἀρά is difficult. It may be mentioned that Schulze *Q. E.* 90 derives it from *ἀραῖά. See Danielsson *Epigraphica* p. 41. 164 footnote 3: in regarding the α of Attic κάλη as long, I have followed L. & S.; but whence they derive their authority for this quantity I do not know. From the ancient grammarians we learn merely that the Attic form is κάλη. The congener is haull *rupture* (as in Hippokr.) found in the Older Edda. κάλη might be regarded as καφέλα, κήλη as κάφλα. If κάλη has ä, it is from κάφλα. Hesychios does not refer καλάζω or κάλαμα to any dialect. 165 4: κάλός is found on a Delian inscription (531) and in Herodas 7115. To the occurrences of κάλός in Herodas, add 151. The word always has its initial syllable in the arsis of the second foot, except in 7115. Kallimachos has 14 cases of κάλός, 8 of κάλός, Bion 5 and 11 respectively; 7 f. b.: γλάσσα < γλαχία, is the correct form, and is reported by Et. Mag. 558₃₀. Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., Miletos 1005, Aischrion 18 &c. have the common form γλάσσα. With γλάσσα, cf. γλάσσαν μωρός, ἀνούστατος, in Zonaras 439. Has kāris, Ananios 52, its ā from αρφ? ἀκολουθήσας Hipponax 55 B has an ā that I cannot explain, if the reading is correct. 168 10 f. b.: for not read *may be*, and cf. appendix to p. 163. 169 13: cf. παμπησία *Ekkles.* 868. 170 2: in later Greek ηη was regarded as cacophonous. Cf. ἀηδιζόμενη for ἡηδ-, Hdn. II 787₂₂. Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 23 supposes an inflection ἀῆρ whence ἡήρ, ἡέρα, and ἡῆρός or ἄῆρός whence Homeric αῆρη. Schulze *Q. E.* 67 thinks ἀῆρ is due to a like contamination as that which produced ψάρ, ψάρός from ψήρ, ψάρός (cf. *K. Z.* XXV 20); but on p. 27 he can give no reason for the retention of the ā in ἀῆρ and in Hom. δυσάης. Hesychios has ἡρα· τὸν ἀέρα, an Ionic gloss; 3 f. b.: analogy with βασιλέος would better serve to explain νεός = νεός. 174 note 1: σπείρης *Parhm. du Louvre* 69 C 7, C. I. G. 3132, 3615, 5050, *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVII 136, no. 269, *Papers Amer. School* II no. 33, 7, *Βεκτούρης* edict of Diocl. *J. H. S.* XI 317. 175 23: Kühner-Blass cite ἀτελέην from Eretria, Ἐφεμ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196 ff.; 30: the Teian inscription may date before 350 B. C. 176 4: Hrd. 486 has ὑγαῖη, not ὑγιή as stated, with an anapaest in the fifth foot. In 43 Ἰγία is possible. In 495 Meister reads ὑγιᾶ, a form found in Kos 345₁₆ (Paton and Hicks). The passage is however quite uncertain (perhaps ὑγιᾶ = ὑγιεῖ(ῖ)η). The form ὑγιᾶ is from ὑγαῖη rather than from ὑγιή as stated. 177 1 (cf. p. 200, 4 f. b.): Schulze *Q. E.* 489 calls attention to the fact that the penult of Attic ἱερεία is never long beyond doubt, and proposes to read ἱερέα for -ῖα. With ἱερή, cf. Μελλιερή, παριερή? Plutarch (*an seni* 24); 6: for Hdt. read *Ionic*. 179 7: *πρημενής* Kaibel 618₁₀ (late). Pausan. VII 18, 5 even gives Πρευγένης as the name of the father of the ancient Agenor, and on a late Spartan inscription (C. I. G. 1253) we find Πρευκλητία. 180 15 f. b.: *dele* Αἰγυῖηται. 181 10 f. b.: read 17 for 93. 185 20: ἴσος or rather ἴσσος, in Homer is from *ἴσφος (cf. § 395), which contains the weak stem of *φείδος*, *φείδομαι*. Cf. Bechtel *Philol. Anzeiger* 1886, p. 15, Brugmann *Grundriss* II p. xiii. The objection to the old explanation from *ἴσφος*, a form preserved in Kretan, is that medial σφ does not become σσ(σ). Schulze *Q. E.* 88 asserts that when σφ follows the accent, it becomes σσ(σ), but when the accent follows, σφ disappears with lengthening of the preceding vowel (ἴός from *ἴσφος, *νάός* from *νάσφος*; but both forms may have had originally a long radical vowel). This law is not borne out by the facts, and Schulze himself (p. 55) regards *ἔσφαδε as the descendant of *ἔσφαδε. Homer uses ἴσος (*ἴσσος*) in the arsis only,

except in a single instance (Ω 607). Et. M. 477¹⁰ says: *εὔρηται τὸ ι μακρὸν καὶ βραχύ· παρὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητῇ ἀεὶ μακρὸν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πεζολόγοις βραχύ· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐποιοῖσι εὔρηται καὶ συνεσταλμένον ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τραγικοῖσι καὶ κωμικοῖσι συστέλλεται ἀεὶ τὸ ι. κατὰ δὲ ἰαμβικούς ἐπαμφοτερίζει.* Hesiod has ἴσος *W. D.* 752, Theognis in 678, Kallimachos ἴσος and ἴσος, each four times, Theokritos both. In Babrios we find ἴσος once (15¹¹), ἴσος 35², 67⁷, and [106¹⁶]. In Herodas the word occurs four times, but of these 279 is the only passage showing the quantity. Here the original reading *ἐράς μὲν ἴσως* was changed by the copyist, who inserted *σύ* before *μὲν*. The recent editors of Herodotos accept ἴσος, except Holder, whose ἴσος is not well supported in the MSS.; 25: 'Ερμίας occurs in a verse attributed to Hipponax by Suidas (Bergk II 362). It is however not certain that the verse is a choliambic; 8 f. b.: Hrd. has only γίνομαι (127, 735, I 2), Babrios only γινώσκω, γίνομαι. 186 7: Homer has βραχίων N 532, the *Aithiopsis* frag. 32 κυδίωνα, Theog. κάκιον 811, 1175, Sim. Keos epigr. 1423 κάλλιον, Babrios 567 καλλίων. See Schulze *Q. E.* 300; 8: ξυνίετε has the ι of *φίεμαι* (§ 699). In Ananios 5 the tetrameter ends, according to the MSS., in v. 3 with κρέας, v. 4 with ἐσθίειν, v. 5 with κάλωπέκων, for which are substituted κρέας and ἀλωπήκων. 187 (§ 199): see on p. 155 above; last line: add *υ* by erasis, as in *χυποδημάτων* Hrd. 787; 4 f. b.: κλύθι, which occurs in Archil. 75, Anakr. 76, Empedokl. 75, Theog. 4, 13, is the Homeric form. In the epos its place is always at the beginning of the verse. Solon 132 makes use of the epic κλύτε, but post-Homeric Ionic refrains from employing the form. Whatever the explanation of κλύτε, κλύθι must be held to represent a pre-Hellenic contamination of *κλυεθι and *κλυθι, and not a metrical licence. κλύω occurs in Phoinix of Kolophon 21, at the end of the choliambic, and Eudokia, whose metrical sins are many, countenances the same quantity in II 323. For κλύω in Phoinix, 'κούω has been suggested by Schulze *Q. E.* 332, who has treated in full the verbs in -*ύω*. 188 1: Schulze *Q. E.* 5 derives ὀρσοθύρη from -θυρία. ὀρσοθύρη has no suffix. Cf. *πλημμύρις* by the side of *πλήμμυρα* <-υρία; 3: σκύλος is correct; cf. σκύλον and σκύλος; 14: Θεοδώτης Thasos 77 A 8 may be correct. Cf. Θεοδώτας in Keil's *An. epigr. et onom.* 106; (§ 201): the stem *πλεφ* in Homer and Hdt. belongs to the present, *πλωφ* to the aorist and perfect; 7 f. b.: read θῶκος. θῶκος is from θόφακος, which may be read in Homer β 14, ε 3, ο 468. 190 12: for six read nine. For a discussion of οὖν ὄν, see § 716. 192 11: Hrd. 5²¹ has 'Αχαικάς in agreement with Simonides' 'Αχαιῆς. Meister would even read 'Αχαιῆ, -αικός in Hdt. (cf. Εὐβοϊκός). 193 16 f. b.: ναῖον is not an example in point. When an apparent diphthong is formed by the glide *iota*, a long syllable is not the result. Φαιέννον is υ---, Παμφαίης -υ- &c. νάω is from *νάφω, of which νάφω is a by-form. Cf. κλαίω and κλάω. Schulze *Q. E.* 51. 195 19: for 609 read 608; l. 22: cf. § 517. 197 8: ἀτελέην Eretria 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 196 ff. Σωκρατεά is the name of a Parian woman, Kaibel 218, (second century A. D.). 198: δριμέα is not used by Hdt. Insert ἰθεῖαν Hrd. 5²³, πλατεῖαν Hrd. 6⁵³. With τραχήαν, cf. γλυκῆαν Hrd. 42, 'Ηδῆαν Delos, B. C. II. VI 338, no. 41, παχήα Sappho 55, δέσηα, βαρήαι Ahrens II 163, ταχῆος An. Ox. I 341⁵³, πολιτήαν § 232. 199 5: if it can be proved that the feminine follows the inflection of the masculine, the exception ταχεῶν vanishes, and a change is necessary in the statement made in § 124. In Longinos *περὶ ὕψους* 32, 3 θρασέων has support. Cf. Diels *Das dritte Buch d. aristotelischen Rhetorik* 26, and Usener *Index lect. Bonn.* 1880-81, viii. Meister *Herodas* 826 thinks that the -εα forms for -εια are due to a confusion

with the masculine which took its rise from such collocations as *θήλα Ἰππων*. Greg. Kor. p. 440 quotes as Ionic τῶν θηλέων Ἰππων μίαν; 19: for 13 read 14; Hrd. 38, has πλέω; 10 f. b.: Ἀμαλθή may be treated like an abstract noun in -ιη, whereas Ἀμαλθείης is comparable to -ειη, -ειᾶ. Cf. προμηθήη and προμηθείη. Babrios has Ἀμαλθείης 108₁₁, ἀλήθεια, -είης, but Ἀληθίνη 126₂ which may be added to the list on p. 196. An instance of the disappearance of ι is Κλεῦς Hrd. 39₂ from *Κλεφιδῶ; 1 f. b.: Hippokr. has τελεῖ c. g. II 124, 306. 200 1: read 345; 11 and 17: οἱ μωνογενέην, ἀδελφεός see add. to p. 235; 14 f. b.: with εὐμαρέη cf. ἀτελήη, add. p. 175; 3 f. b.: read Πανάκη and cf. B. P. W. 1892, p. 1411. 201 (§ 220): add νεῖός Samos, *Mitth.* VII 367 ff., εἰάν Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 19, Iasos, *Greck Inscript. in the British Museum* III 1 no. 440, 2, 3. Hellanikos 39 has Θειομένητα, whose εἰ may be epic as the numerous examples of θειο- in Alexandrian literature and in Kaibel's *Epigrammata*. This θειο- is different from θεῖον cited from the inscription from Priene, in that the initial syllable is long; 13 f. b.: βασιλείον *Septem* 820 in *M* contains an example of the glide *iota*; so also εἴωσε = εῶσε in Hesychios. 202 1: εἶαρος may be an imitation of *Φειαρονός*, whose εἰ is certainly due to the ictus. It is found in the Anakreontea 427, Babrios 131₅. εἶαρ blood stands for ἦαρ < ἴσαρ, as θέλομεν for θήομεν. The Kyprian form is εἶαρ, whose εἰ is from η. εἶρσήη, which in Homer is due to metrical licence, appears in *Hdt.* I 203, II 11, IV 110 and even in Thuk. VII 14. An analogous case is στειλαιός Hippokr. III 444, VIII 216 with the εἰ of Homeric στειλειή. I know of no etymology which will render the εἰ of these words a spurious diphthong due to compensatory lengthening. Babrios [141₁] has στελεᾶ. 203 6 f. b.: ξείνος Hrd. 233, 91. Names in ξειν-, partly through influence of the epic, have extended their range to dialects, to which the spurious εἰ is not native. Cf. Attic Ξενοκλῆς Ξελίδος, Rhodian Ξελίος, Ξεινάδας, Καλλίξεινος, and Ξεινώ in an inscription from Karpathos. Πρόξενος Ξεινάδου occurs on an inscription found near Kyzikos, *B. C. H.* XII 189, 18. 204 16: read Στενύκλαρος, which, like στεννυγρός, is formed from στεν + the suffix ν. The spirant *f* does not pass into *v* in such positions as στεν*f* + consonant; 20: after οἶνεκα, insert *δc.*; footnote 1: add Pseudo-Plutarch *Life of Homer* 1075 B (where μέιλαν is wrongly added, the ι being due to the ictus in μέιλανι Ω 79). 205 4: εἶριον Hrd. 813 but ἔριον 672. Theokritos too has both forms. *Hdt.* has εἶρίνεος. 208 10: on the second εἰ of Εἰλειθυῖη, and on Εἰθύμαχος, see now § 392. The first εἰ of Εἰλειθυῖη is borrowed from Homer, where it is the result of the same metrical production as that appearing in εἰλήλουθα. Εἰλειθυῖη occurs again in Delos, *B. C. H.* 1890, 399. 209 18 f. b.: read before ε, η, εἰ. This ε appears as ι c. g. in Herakleian *ἔξεδόιον*, Boiot. ποῖόμενος; 9 f. b.: Anakr. 60 may be read ποῖήσεις. Hrd. has ποῖεσα in 699, and ten cases of πῶι-. Babrios 268, 129₁₆ has ἠλόησε, but ἠλοῖα 98₁₅, ἀλοῖήσας 122₁₃. Schulze *Q. E.* 52 distinguishes ἀλοῖάω *strike* from ἀλοῖάω *thresh*, the latter verb often losing its ι in Attic. 210 4: Hippokr. II 364 has ροῖή; 16: the existence of such doublets as πνοή < πνοφά and πνοῖά, πνοά < πνοφῖά might tend to produce the inconsistency we observe between ποῖη &c. and χλόη, φθόη. It is not clear why Plato (*I* 652 Koek) should adopt an Ionic φθόη. Perhaps, as in the case of χλόη, the Attic dialect lost the intervocalic ι before the law of the Attic ā came into existence. 211 11 f. b.: cf. Schulze *Q. E.* 29. 215 6 f. b.: we should write Δῆαλκος, Δεῖαλκος in order to reach Δέαλκος. 218 6: κατέπει Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, 1194 ff. Cf. Stolz *I. F.* II 154, Bücheler *R. M.* XLI 119; last line: δρέσκοος < -φους,

Archil. in Lexicon Messan. R. M. XLVII 409. 219 1: αὐτῶι, αὐτοῖ, τοῖ δήμοι occur in two early Eretrian inscriptions ('Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196, 200); 10: Hekat. 353 has κῆνξ and so Babrios 115₂, but Lykophron *Alex.* has καύηξ 425, 741, 789. 220 last line: κνέουσα Κοs, Paton and Hicks 373₇, 61. 221 5: ἱερέος and Εδπαθίδης (not on coins) belong in § 246, 2 (fourth century); 7 f. b.: cf. ἀγρυνπένοντα (*sic*) v. l. Theog. 471, ἐπολευόμεν Babrios 128₁₁, 129₂₃, θορυβενόμενον v. l. Hippokr. IX 360, σαλευμένη conj. Archil. 102 for -ευομένη. 222 9: Hipponax λεύειν (υ-) in the *Anecdota Graeca* of Studemund and Schoell p. 45. If in σαλευμένη, Archil. 102, εσο became εο and then ευ, we have the most advanced stage of the process. Photios cites σαλέω, the denominative from σάλος, and from it the form in Archil. may possibly be derived. 223 13: [Ξ]τρουθίης Styra, I. G. A. 372, 355, from στρουθός Samos 220₃₅. 224 9: cf. § 716; 10 f. b.: cf. κόνουαστόν in Phoinix of Kolophon 1₁₁. 225 2: OREHΣ on an archaic inscription from Amorgos, *B. C. H.* XII 23⁶, no. 9, does not settle the difficulty as regards the ου of οὔρος. So far as the evidence in Ionic is concerned, there is only one form in ου (ἐν οὔρεσι Simon. Amorg. 141) that may not be referred with certainty to the influence of the epos, where οὔρος may be ascribed to ictus lengthening. If ὄρος is the Ionic prose form, then the passage in Simonides must be epic too, and one of the rare epic reminiscences in trimeter. ἐν οὔρεσι occurs also in Sappho 94 (hexameter), where ὄρεσι may be correct, and in Pindar *Pyth.* VI 21. Outside of Ionic, all that makes for the loss of a spirant after ρ is ᾠρος, whose appearance in Theokritos and Kallimachos, Ahrens II 162 regards as hyper-Doric (*secundum analogiam a poeta fictum*). However this may be, ᾠρείθνια is not an Alexandrian figment. ᾠρεῖ- or Οὔρει- do not occur, so the word remains a puzzle. πέτρας ᾠρέας in Hipponax is of course the proper form if ὄρος was used in prose. The phrase recurs in Euripides' *Hek.* 1110. Hdt. has ᾠρεινός I 110 in all MSS. οὔρος in Hdt. is never supported by MS. consensus, and is never found in AB, rarely in Rs, very often in ε alone; 22: οὔροι τεμείνουσ (*sic*) Iasos, *Mith.* XIV 108, no. 61, οὔρος Theog. 826, Theokr. XXV 27, ὄρος Hrd. 235. The old Kretan form is ᾠρους *Mon. Ant.* I 50. οὔρεια, οὔρεινώπι probably belong to *Forάω*. The asper in Attic ὄρος is due to the influence of the article; 9 f. b.: read *all MSS.* Δούριδος is the name of a Samian in C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften* no. 13; 3 f. b.: insert ᾠπατούρια (addition to p. 70). 226 8 f. b.: for 'we look . . . form' read: Hdt. has no case of οἶλος in the MSS., always ὀλος *e. g.* II 126, IV 64. ὀλ[ο]σχερ[έα] Keos 437 may be Ionic as the inscription contains scarcely a trace of Atticism; but ὀλοσχερός in Hippokr. IX 106 need not be Ionic. A difference between Herakleitos and Herodotos in respect of the form of the word would be highly remarkable. Skt. *sāras* should be represented in Ionic by οἶλος only. The scholiast on Nikander's *Theo.* 377 reports that Herodas used οἶλη in the verse οἶλη κατ' ἰθὺ βατηρήν καλὴψη (read κνάψη). The papyrus (*Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 85) has ολη at the beginning of this verse. In the other passages where the word occurs (31₅, 51₂, 67) and the papyrus has ολος, the ου-form would suit the metre equally well. Aratos 717 has οἶλος, but Theokritos and Kallimachos make use of ὀλος only; 17 f. a: in epic parody Epicharmos may use Ionic vocalism, *e. g.* ᾠεα χανὸς κάλεκτοριδῶν πετηνῶν Lor. p. 280 (no. 73), and ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κείται according to Ahrens (no. 161 c), whereas Lorenz thinks γούνασι κείται does not belong to the fragment; cf. also Lor. p. 253 no. 2 (= Ahrens 88) and pp. 134 ff. 227 10: read 78 B 6 for 78 B 11; 9 f. b.: Πουλυτίων may be due to the influence of the epic names in Πουλυ- which have choriambic

measure. Examples of names in prose whose forms are due to epic authority are: *Περίπλους*, *Τετρασίας*, *Ειρέσιον*, *Είλατιών*, *Είλείθια*. Latin *pólyrrhōs* inclines us to believe that *πολύρπος* is a folk's etymology. 228 15 f. b.: the Samian ὄδοῦ is the Attic form of the Ionic οὐδοῦ *threshold* (Hdt. I 90), not from ὀδός *way*. οὐδός *threshold* was adopted by the Κοινή (*Jahrbücher*, *Suppl.* XVI 799, *Heliodoros Aithiop.* I 29, II 3, scholiast *Oid. Kol.* 163, 192). In the *Ion* of Plato 535 B, an epic passage, we find οὐδόν; and in Aristotle's *Metaph.* H chap. 2, 3 this form of the word occurs. The etymology of οὐδός is uncertain. Hdt. III 14 borrows the epic phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, as does Plato in the *Republic* 328 E: but the Attic form is ὀδῶ (Menander IV 264, Lykurgos *Leokr.* § 40, Hyperides XX (XIX) 14) where we find ἐπὶ γήραος ὀδῶ. προσουδίζω in Hdt. V 92 (γ) and the Hesychian ὀδόν also point to a form derived from ὀδῶ, i. e. a spurious diphthong ου, not an ου lengthened to suit the metro. See Schulze *Q. E.* 114, 517. The etymology of νοῦσος (Old Norse *snaudr*) mentioned is that of Bezenberger *G. G. A.* 1887, p. 419. 230 11: in § 565, 2 the ου forms are shown to have come from the dat. 233 14: examples of tmesis Greg. Kor. 446, Vat. 699) are: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἂν ὕλοιτο τὸ ὑγιές *Melissos* 13, Hdt. II 39, 40, 47, 87 (with δῶν), *Archil.* 9, 70, *Hipponax* 32, 61, *Simon.* *Amorg.* 26, *Anakr.* 50₁, 58, 72, 80, *Hrd.* 35, 18, 55, 41₁, 29, 197, 93, 711₁. Cf. *Meister Herodas* p. 678; 16: cf. footnote 2 p. 463 and Schulze *Q. E.* 443. 234 3: ἤχέρντα &c. are from -*ηεντα*. In *Περικλέες*, εε is from εφε and hence open, as in ἔδεε, cf. § 637, 2. εφε is contracted in *εἰρήθην*, § 634, 5; 4 f. b.: hiatus is allowed in the case of *μηδὲ ἔν* *Hrd.* 173 and οὐδὲ εἶς 148. Aphaeresis occurs in *δεῖ ἔνδον* 7129. 235 1: *νέην* *Hrd. Class. Rev.* V 481 frag. 51, *νενησικοί* 129; 5: *ἰερῆ* § 219, 9 and appendix to p. 177. On *ἔηγα* &c. see § 582; 12: *κερδαλέα* is the proper Attic form; cf. *νεά* from *νέφα*. The loss of F between vowels in Attic (except when ο precedes) is older than the change of η to α (or ā to η and then back again to ā), whereas the loss of the spirant after liquids (*κόρη*) is later than this change. See *Solmsen K. Z.* XXXII 519, 520, who there treats of *ἀδελφεός*. Adjectives in -*αλεος* lost F not ε (§§ 287, 3, 311); 15: *ἀδελφεῆ* *Hippokr.* V 94; 13 f. b.: read *γενῆς* *Hrd.* 21, 451, *γενῆ* 232. It would seem to follow from *Kretan γονεάν* (*Musco Ital.* III 736, l. 3-4) that this word as well as *γενεά* has lost F not ε. 236 4: *Ῥήη* may be for **Ῥήη* < **Ῥήα*. *Ῥήη* occurs in *Babrius* 1379. 237 3: synizesis *ἀμαρτεῖ ἡ* *Hrd.* 495. 238 9: synizesis in *τριπήμηρη* *Hrd.* 621, cf. 321. 239 14: the examples of -*ουχος* are from -(σ)*οχος*, not from -(F)*οχος*; 25: *διπλόον* *Hrd.* 251 but *διπλοῦν* 248. *ὀρσκόκος* < -*φος* in *Archil.*, *R. M.* XLVII 406 (*Lex. Messan.*); 11 f. b.: synizesis in *βίου ὕνησις* *Hrd.* 721. 240 17: synizesis *χρ[ε]ῖω ὄτι* *Hrd.* 56. 242 19 f. b.: the occurrences of the crasis of α + ε = η in *Herodas* may, it is true, be Doric, so far as the laws of crasis go; but the mixture of α + ε to η in later literature is so frequent as to render it improbable that we have here to deal with a special loan from the Doric of Kos. *κῆρᾶν* is found in *Phoinix* 210, *κῆν* in the *Anthology* over twenty times, and *κῆγῶ*, *κῆπί* and *κῆξ* are not infrequent. *κῆπέμνος* occurs in *Kallimachos* epigr. 41, *κῆν* in *Kaibel* 5595, *κῆπόθειον* 5501, &c. Schulze *Q. E.* 472 proposes to refer this form of crasis to the late pronunciation of *καί* as *ke*. *Meister (Herodas* p. 788) prefers to regard the crasis as comparable to that which lengthens the initial vowel of the following word (*χρῆσθ. āra* § 716), and compares *κῆμε*, *κῆν* in *Aiolic*. But in *Herodas* τὰ + ε- results in τὰ-, never in τῆ-; 18: with *Anakr.* 83, cf. γὰρ αἰ *Ἐφεισίου* *Hrd.* 472; 16: read *κέγ γῆι κέν θαλάσσι* l. 6, but *κάμοι* l. 17. The elision of αι takes place only before two consonants in this ancient papyrus

(cf. Meister 789). 243 6 f. b.: the reference § 182 belongs after θ in l. 8. Homeric $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$ $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ may be derived from the old nom. $\delta\alpha\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, or they arise from $\delta\alpha(\iota)\iota$, since $\alpha\iota$ may become $\acute{\alpha}\iota$ or $\acute{\alpha}\iota$, α . In no. 193 Bechtel edits 'Αθηναῖς < 'Αθηναίς in *B. C. H.* XIII 431, no. 3 (Imbros). 'Αθηναῖς had been possible; 5: synzesis $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$ Hrd. 381, crasis $\kappa\eta\sigma\acute{\omega}$ Hrd. 46, $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$ 140. 244 3: $\acute{\alpha}\tau\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ occurs in Empedokles 2, where its α is under the ictus, and in Halikarn. 2405; 7: the old inflection of $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ was as follows: present * $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$, whence $\acute{\alpha}\omega$, second aorist * $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$, participle $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. The old present occurs in Hippokr. VIII 354 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ (so θ without the accent), the first aorist ($\eta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$) may be sought in $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$ (cf. § 703 end), or this form may be derived from the later present $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ ($\acute{\alpha}\omega$) which is found in Hippokr. VII 120. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ in Attic is lengthened from $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ under the influence of $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ in Homer; 12: read 'Αχαϊκός (sc. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\varsigma$); 19 f. b.: Demokr. 137 has $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota$, Herakl. 106, 107 $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$. That F was the intervening spirant is now certain from Kyprian $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\varsigma$. Contraction probably ensued when neither α nor \omicron was accented, as in $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\varsigma$). The ω of $\sigma\acute{\omega}\phi\rho\nu\omega$ is borrowed from $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ or $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$. Spitzer *Lautlehre des Arkadischen* 43 regards $\sigma\omega\phi$ - as the strong form of $\sigma\alpha\phi$ -, and the numerous names in $\Sigma\omega$ - as formed directly from the former. It may be noted that Lykophron *Alex.* 679 has $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$; 15: Boiotian $\theta\iota\alpha\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (Oropos, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 33 no. 62) shows that $\theta\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is the ground-form of Ionic $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and Doric $\theta\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in Hdt. I 120 is from $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (Hom. $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$). Hdt. III 72, 156 has (v. l.) $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Hom. $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (§ 279). Kühner-Blass II 588 (on p. 326) erroneously think that $-\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is the second part of the compound ($\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ v. l. Ω 681) and that the ω is due to assimilation. Hesychian $\pi\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ may be from $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ from $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ or $-\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 245 11 f. b.: $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ Hrd. 296 = $\kappa\alpha\lambda + \delta + \text{'Ηρ}$ -. 246 17 f. b.: $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Lambda\epsilon\delta\delta\eta\varsigma$ are derived from $\Delta\eta(\text{F}\omicron)\text{f}\alpha$ -. 6: Hippokr. has $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ V 720 from $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\text{f}\alpha$ - (cf. Hesych. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$). 'Αγ\eta\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma appears in Smyrna 15313 (cf. 'Αγ\eta\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma *Kos* 49). Hrd. 623 has $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\varsigma$. 247 20: on $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$, see §§ 5333, 5363; last line: cf. § 716. 248 3: delete the sentence and cf. p. 567 footnote; 17: for 453 read 454. 249 3: Hrd. employs synzesis in $\eta\acute{\iota}$ 'Αρτακην\η\ 782, aphoresis in $\eta\delta\eta$ 'Φαμαρτεῖς 513 (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$ 61, $\eta\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 27); 22: $\Theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ Hrd. 179 is from $\Theta\rho\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$. 250 16 f. b.: add $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$ p. 588; 5: Hrd. 657 has $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$, Hippokr. $\kappa\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$ and $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$. 251 9: Hrd. 709 has $\rho\eta\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, Hdt. II 121 (α) $\rho\eta\iota$ -. For $\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ we must read $\rho\eta\iota$ - or $\rho\eta\eta$ -. 20: Hrd. has $\tau\eta$ $\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$ 537 by synzesis. 253 14 f. b.: Κλεοφάντος Thasos 78 B 12, $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 61. 254 8: $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ Paros, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich* XI 187, no. 2 (cf. *Mitth. aus Athen* XV 75). The latest attempt at explaining the interrelation of $\epsilon\omicron$, $\epsilon\upsilon$, ω in Ionic is that of Schulze *Q. E.* 145, who sees in these forms nothing but differences of orthography. Schulze would even read $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\omicron$ Chios 1773 and not $-\epsilon\omicron[s]$, though no other instance of $-\epsilon\omicron$ for $-\epsilon\upsilon$ in the genitive is known. In Eretria 16 C 43 we find 'Αρχ\έ\λε\omicron\varsigma (cf. the epigram attributed to Sophokles: 'Αρχ\έ\λε\omicron\varsigma' $\eta\acute{\iota}\nu$ γὰρ $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$) whose $\epsilon\omicron$ cannot well be very different from the $\epsilon\omega$ of $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\omicron[s]$. Parallel with $\Delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ for $\Delta\epsilon\omega\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$, the form of the name used by Pausanias and other writers for the native Doric $\Delta\alpha\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$, is Λευχάρης in Pliny XXXIV 7, 19 = $\Delta\epsilon\omega\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$ *Lewy* 77-83, and 320-321 (the later artist). $\epsilon\omicron$ appears for $\epsilon\omega$ < $\eta\omicron$ in the first part of compounds outside of Ionic, e. g. $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Hesychios ($\lambda\epsilon\omega$ - MSS. *extra ord.*), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta$ C. I. G. 5001, 5006, $\nu\epsilon\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in Delphi; cf. $\epsilon\iota\omicron$ for $\epsilon\omega$ < $\eta\omicron$ in $\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ in Hesychios. Confusion

between *o* and *ω* is very common in Attic inscriptions after 100 B. C. (*e. g.* Λεονίδης, Λεονῆς, Λεοντίδος from λέων), but Λεοντίς comes to light as early as 320-17 B. C. (C. I. A. II 835^{c2}). Other cases of *εω* for *εο* (§ 248, and Βραβέως in § 509, note) are too infrequent or singular to permit us to assume that the dialect adopted either *εο* or *εω* at the pleasure of the writer or speaker. Schulze's explanation of *ιέρεως* as an analogue of the forms containing *εω* = *εο* = *ευ* is false (§ 477). Outside of the genitive, *εω* became *εο*, *ευ* when the accent followed; and it is more likely that the source of the change is not to be sought, with Bechtel, in the genitive, but in compounds whose *εω* did not bear the accent; 21: in Hrd. 555 the verse ends *έορτήν έξ έορτής*, with which cf. Ion frag. 21 Nauck: *ένιαυσίαν γάρ δέι με τήν έορτήν* (Dindorf *δρτήν*) *άγειν*. Meister would explain *δρτή* from *έορτή* (cf. Hdn. II 185₂, 561₂₄) as *ροσσός* from *νεοσσός*. See appendix to p. 255. Έορτή occurs on a late inscription from southern Phrygia, *Mith.* XVIII 206, no. 2, and *έορταίη* in Babrios 1525. 255 24: Meister (*Herodas* p. 813) proposes to modify the 'law' of Wackernagel in respect of the contraction or non-contraction of names compounded with *θεο-* (*K. Z.* XXIX 138) to the effect that *θεο-*, when followed by two consonants, became *θο-*, provided the accent fell originally neither upon *ε* nor *ο*; but when the accent falls on *ο*, then *θεο-* either remains *θεο-* or becomes *θο-*. When a single consonant follows, *θεο-* remains *θεο-* or becomes *θε-* (accented). *Θόκλος* Styra 19₂₀₆ would, on this view, follow the pattern of *Θοκλής* C. D. I. 3028, and *Θοδίωv* Styra 19₂₇₈ might reflect *Θεοδφίωv* (cf. Hom. *θεουδής* and *Διοδής* C. I. A. I 322, 2 where Kirchhoff reads *Διάδης*); but *Κλόθειωv* Styra 19₂₂₁ violates the proposed rule, which is observed, according to Meister, in Έποκλέ[ης] Styra 19₁₅, in *δρτή* from *έορτή*, and in *ροσσός* from *νεοσσός*. Hdt. has *νεοσσ-* II 68, III 111 but *ροσσ-* I 159. *ροσσ-* occurs also in Panyasis (Kinkel 264, no. 26), Aischylos frag. 110, in the Anthol. Pal. IX 346, 2, 567, 2, the Septuagint, and Diodoros II 4, III 69. Respect for the etymology caused the rule of Phrynichos (287 R.) and made possible the retention of *νεο-* where the metre requires *νο-* (*Birds* 547). Hrd. has *ροσσ-* 6₂₀₁, 221, 33, 7₅₇, 72, *νεοσσ-* (υ-) 748, Babrios *νεοσσ-* (υ-) 881, 1184; 4 f. b.: some MSS. have *Θεόγνιδος*. 257 (§ 288): the fusion of *νη-* and *θη-* (*άθ-*) produced *νωθής* Hdt. III 53, Babrios 95₁₈, *νωθρή* Hrd. 433. Cf. *θηώς* *ταχέως* in Hesychios. 258 18: on *θεωρός* see app. to p. 244; 27: on *λεωργά*, see § 716, s. v. *λείως* (*λέως*); 15 f. b.: other examples of *εω* are *Λεωμέδοντος* Hrd. 47, *λεωφόρος* Chios 175 as *Rhesos* 881, *άλεωρή* Hrd. 225, *έννεωροι* 85, *ταχέως* 311, 710 (second foot: cf. 717 first, 360, 511 fifth foot), whereas *ήδέως* 170 is open; *νεωκόρω* 450 (cf. addenda to p. 146), *γναφέως* 478, *σκυτέων* 770, [*Οδ*] *υσσέως* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 316, *γονέων* Theog. 1330; 8 f. b.: *Δεωκούρηv* (?) Hrd. 122 < *Δηο-* < *Δάο-*. *Δηώ* is a clip-name of *Δημήτηρ* (Kallim. frag. 48 has *Δηώνη*), *Δήω* of *Δηϊάνειρα*; 2 f. b.: *Ποσειδεώνος* B. C. II. XVI 323 Chios (late); on the thematic verbs with stems ending in *ā* or *η*, which show *ω*, see § 687, 1, 2. It is maintained by many scholars that in these verbs *ω* is the result of the contraction of *εω* < *ηο*. 260 7: Hrd. has *εω* in *έντελέως* 479, *έπιμηθέως* 391. Hence we read *σαφ[έ]ως* 7121, and so *έπτεν[έ]ως* *Vita Hom.* 7; 13: *θεών* Hrd. 711 but *θεών* 130, 475. 261 13: *Ταυρεών*, name of a month in Samos, Kyzikos, and Sinope (Bischoff *De fastis Graecis* 396, 400. Hrd. 7₉₀ has *Ταυρεώνος*; 17: to be noted is *εων* as a single syllable in Hrd. 7₉₉. Meister thinks that *εων* in Hrd. is monosyllabic without exception. But the papyrus has only three cases of *εων* and in two of these (2₂₁, 578) it is dissyllabic (Meister *σε[α]υτήν* and *έ[α]υτόv*); 15 f. b.:

Παιήων Babrios 120₅; synizesis in τῆ ᾧδε Hrd. 4₁₂; 4 f. b.: Schmidt *Neutra* p. 147 regards Attic αὐθάδης, instead of αὐθᾶδης, as evidencing a desire to avoid confusion with the many words ending in -ᾶδης. Other occurrences of -ᾶναξ are: Πυθᾶναξ Thas. (L.) 10 B 6, 13 A 9, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr.* XI 187, no. 1, 1, Πλειστοᾶναξ Chios 177₆, Ἀβρῶναξ Thasos 81 A 5, Μητρῶναξ Smyrna 153₂₉, Δημῶναξ Thas. (L.) 7 B 5, 14 A 6, B 3 (not 14₃), Μοιρῶναξ Erythr. B. C. H. III 389 (late). 262 13: of α=ω also in θᾶκος § 202. Σᾶνδρος Arkesine 32 is scarcely from σο + ανδρος. 263 13: Hdt. has ζωγρέω fourteen times, ζωγρή VI 28, 37. Homer has ζωγρέω Z 46, A 131. For elsewhere with accented ω, read the uncontracted form occurs only when the α is accented; 17: Hrd. 4₁₈ has the hiatus ᾧ ἀναξ, a formula restored in Phoinix I₁₉ by Crusius *Herodas mimiamibi* p. 71 for ᾧ ναξ of the manuscripts. 265 10: cf. § 716 on λείω (λέω); 21: Meister *Herodas* 821 reads -οργ- in all the compounds in Hdt. in which the accent does not fall either upon ο or ε, except in the Lakonian ἀγαθοεργοί which I have marked as a possible exception. This -οργ- from -οεργ- he proposes to explain by the principle mentioned in the addenda to p. 255. A thorough investigation of the subject can alone determine the correctness of this theory. δαμιεργός p. 265 last line Meister would explain as due to the operation of the same principle. The contraction of ο + ε to ου is certain when either vowel bore the accent, e. g. in κακοῦργος. From such forms, -ουργος may have been transferred to forms where it was not properly in place, e. g. in Attic ἀλουργός. Schulze *Q. E.* 498 has shown that the Samian ἀλοργός (mentioned in III A) represents the original form from √reg colour, dye (ρέζω, ρογέω, Skt. rajyati). That the Samians did not change ἀλοργός to ἀλουργός is due to the fact that they did not possess the form δημιουργός. 266 2: read II A for II B; 17: for Κλεούμπορος we should read Κλεόμπορος, which takes the place of Κλεέμπορος (*Wackernagel Dehnungsgesetz* p. 60); 11 f. b.: as no certain case of μ(οι) occurs in Hrd. we read μοι νεύχη 6₁₇ for ἐνεύχη. In 3₆₃ the first foot is οὐ σοι ἔτ'. 267 7: Hdt. has also καταβασόμενος VI 85 and βεβωμένος III 39; 12: Hdt. has νένωκα III 6, ἐνένωτο I 77, ἐνένωντο VII 206, Apoll. Rhod. *νόσατο* IV 1409, Kallim. frag. 345 and Theokritus XXV 263 νασάμενος. The contraction is unknown to Homer in the case of νοέω; νένωται Soph. frag. 191, νένωνται in the Σαμίων ὄροι, perhaps in νόβυστρα Hrd. 6₁₆ (cf. νοβυστικός in comedy). The contraction did not ensue originally when either ο or η was accented (Meister *Herodas* p. 821). Cf. above on p. 263, 13. Contraction also ensued in κατασβῶσαι Hrd. 5₃₉ according to Brugmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.* I 501 ff. σβω may however be the ablat of σβη. πρῶν Hrd. 5₈₂, Kallim. choliamb. 84 (§ 297, 2) is perhaps from *πρόην < πρώην. πρήην is read in Babrios 6₇, 111₁₁, 125₅, πρῶνῶν 124₁₇; 10 f. b.: synizesis ληκίου ἡμέων Hrd. 3₂₁. 268 13: οἰωνός is assimilated from ἀΐωνος (avis), Schmidt *K. Z.* XXXII 174; 10 f. b.: cf. the Ἡροδότου λέξεις, Stein II 456. 270 17: add Hrd. 1₈₃, 8₁₂, Kallim. 86. ἱρέϊς occurs in Priene, *Inscript. British Museum* III 1, no. 401, 20. 271 15: though the ground-form of ἱρός is still uncertain, a contraction of ι + ε to ι may be confidently denied. The divorcement of ἱερός from *ishirás* attempted by Schulze *Q. E.* 210 is improbable. 272 21: αἶδειν Hippokr. VII 124, Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, 64, προσαιείειν Hippokr. VI 482. 273 9: Hrd. has ἀρεῖτ' 3₆₁, ἀραις 5₇₁, ἡειρας 7₆₁, Anakr. ἀρθείς 191. Hippokr. has αἶρω VIII 236 (αἶρ θ), 354 (θ), ἀερθείς 122 (ἀρ θ), 124, αἶρω V 646, VIII 144, 216, 282, 328, 368, ἦρται 280, ἦρθην II 24, V 94, 236; Hdt. has in the present αἶρω I 204, II 125, III 144, IV 150, VII 101, 143, 209, VIII 140, αἶρω VII 10 (η), in

the imperfect $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ II 125, VIII 56, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\rho\omega$ IV 130 (?), VI 133 (?), in the aorist $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ I 87 (?), VI 14, 44, 126 (?), VII 132, 156, 212, VIII 94, IX 59 (?), $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\rho\omega$ I 90 (?), II 162 (?), VI 99, VIII 57, 60, IX 79, 107 in the aorist passive $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ I 165, 170, VII 9 (γ'), IX 52, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\rho\omega$ I 90, 212, V 81, 91, VI 132, VII 18, 38, IX 49. Sim. Keos 1114, has $\eta\rho\theta\eta\nu$, Ion 34 $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$; 23: for Καερός read Καίρος ; 24: *Hom.* $\phi\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ belongs after $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, which is also Ionic ($\text{Φαν\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma}$, app. p. 285); 14 f. b.: [σ] $\acute{\omicron}\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ synizesis Hrd. 699; 9 f. b.: Hdt. has $\kappa\iota\theta\alpha\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ I 23, $\beta\alpha\psi\phi\delta\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma$ V 67, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\phi\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ V 92 (γ'), $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\mu\phi\delta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega\nu$ VII 6 all foreign to the epic. On the other hand the open epic forms occur: $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ I 24, $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$ I 202, II 79, $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ II 79, 135, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\nu$ I 132; last line: $\chi\omicron\iota$ Hrd. 47 = $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\iota$. Cf. *Philokt.* 565. $\chi\phi'$ is prescribed by Et. M. 816₂₄. In *Lysistr.* 388 the MSS. have $\chi\omicron\iota$, but the Lex. Messan., *R. M.* XLVII 411, cites the verse with $\chi\phi'$. Both forms are possible. 274 14 f. b.: $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$ Hrd. 56 is the probable reading; 12 f. b.: $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\alpha\iota$ is called Ionic for $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\alpha\iota$ in the Lex. Messan., *R. M.* XLVII 408; 8: 4. $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\iota$ Hrd. 411, $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\alpha$ 57 in the second foot. 275 9 f. b.: $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\omicron\iota$ Theog. 178, 391, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\omicron\iota$ 1376 (cf. § 389); last line: $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ Hrd. 799 but ω - in 7109, $\text{Κλε\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma$ Hrd. 392 from $\text{Κλε}\epsilon(\text{Φ}\iota)\acute{\omega}$. 276 7: $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ Hrd. 158 in the first foot. 277 3: Hrd. 59 has $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$; 6 f. b.: $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\tilde{\omega}\mu\iota$ Hrd. 515 is the better reading as shown by the circumflex over the ω in the papyrus; 5 f. b.: synizesis $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta$ Hrd. 412. 279 9 (after the table): here τ' is read. 282 2: $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ Oropos 182₂; 6 f. b.: on *Πελαργός*, see *Johannsen Sprachkunde* 18 ff., whose arguments against the existence of rhotacism in the word seem well founded, whatever be thought of his etymology. 284 19 f. b.: $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Galen, *Lex. Hippokr.* is from $\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ from $\ast\acute{\omicron}\rho\sigma\acute{\alpha}$. $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$ (§ 634, 5) is not properly Ionic, being a contamination of Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\nu$ and Ionic $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$. [$\delta\iota\alpha$] $\rho\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ Keos 4315 contains $\rho\rho$ from $\sigma\rho$, whereas the single ρ of $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\eta}\iota$ l. 17 is due to the influence of the uncompounded $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$. Cf. *Ισ\omicron}\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma and *Ισ\omicron}\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma*. Hrd. 648 has $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ where the metro calls for $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$. 285 5 f. b.: $\text{Φαν\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma}$ is the Ionic form, *Kyzikos, B. C. H.* XIV 535, no. 1, 6. That dialects other than Aiolic evinced a fondness for $\nu\nu$ in names from $\phi\alpha\psi\epsilon\varsigma$ may be inferred from the name of the Grace $\text{Φ\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha}$, *Alkman* 105, $\text{Φ\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma}$ *Anth. Pal.* IV 1, 29, *C. I. G.* 2306 (an Oinean), $\text{Φ\alpha\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma}$ *Paus.* X 12, 10, $\text{Φ\alpha\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\omega}}$ *Zosim.* II 36, 2. 290 7 f. b.: the representation of I. E. q by κ before a in the pronominal forms has been heretofore accepted as the specific peculiarity of the Ionic dialect. That Aiolic also employed κ is now clear from the occurrence of $\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota$ on an archaic inscription (*B. P. W.* 1892, 514). If Aiolic once possessed both forms and gradually displaced that with the guttural, Ionic may likewise have possessed both. 291 1: read $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta$, $\kappa\omicron\nu$ and for Hrd. 343 read $\beta\omicron\epsilon\omicron$; under $\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ read *Hippokr.* II 64, 74, III 242, under $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ dele Hrd. 164. 292: *Hippokr.* VII 96, 378 has $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\eta$. Hdt. has $\pi\omicron\iota'$ or $\pi\acute{\eta}$ in all MSS. V 73. 294 15: $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ occurs also *Delos, B. C. H.* XIV 480, n. 4 ($\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$), *Louvre papyri* LII 6, LIII 1, 11, 15, LIV 1, 13, 16, in the *Banks' MS.* of Ω , *Aegypt. Urkunden des Berlin. Mus.* II 22, 16 ff., *Isaiah XXXVI* 22, *LXI* 10 (*Buresch Philologus* LI 96). Here it is merely a late form, not specially Ionic; 12 f. b.: $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\alpha\iota$ *Pollux* VII 197 (in *C*), $\text{Κ\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\iota}$ the Attic festival, *C. I. A.* III 1160₂₄ (192-193 A. D.); cf. *Et. M.* 543₃₇. 295 11 f. b.: $\omicron\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}$ is also Homeric. The suffix is $-\chi\iota$, cf. *Skt. uchi*. 296 1: read Γ for Κ ; 18: the form from the Behistan inscription does not prove that γ is original in $\text{\textacute{A}\gamma\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\nu\alpha}$. 297 last line: $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\acute{\omicron}\acute{\eta}$ (?) *Amorgos, Mitht.* XVIII 32, according to *Dümmler*. This would be the only case of ρ in a preposition, and before δ . 298 6: $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\iota\gamma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ would seem to be an hyper-*

Ionism due to the influence of *αῤῥις*. *αῤῥις* occurs also in Hrd. 4^{στ}, and is referred to as Homeric by Suidas s.v. *αῤῥις*; 8 f. b.: *ταθάζω* Hrd. 7¹⁰³. Kallim. in schol. Ven. A on IX 193 uses *Τάμμος* for **Αθάμμος*; cf. Et. Gud. 522⁴². 299 11 f. b.: the aspiration of the *media* in *μηθέν* &c. is due to such collocations as *οὐθ' οἰ* C. I. A. II 789²⁴ (373 B. C.). After 330 B. C. *οὐθείς*, *μηθείς* are the regular forms in Attic. The old forms reappear under the empire. Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 372 regards *οὐθαμεί* in Epidaurus, C. D. I. 334⁰²², *μηθαμῶς* in Korkyra 320⁶¹⁰³, *μηθαμῶθεν* in Aitolia 1410³, as evidencing the original asper, which has been lost in Ionic *μηθαμολ* &c. 302 7 f. b.: *γέγραφα* Priene, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 412, 7. Such expansions of the aspirates are frequent on Hellenistic documents, e.g. *συνδιαπεφύλακχεν*, Mylasa, B. C. II. V 102. 308 9 f. b.: Wackernagel *R. M.* XLVIII 299 shows that in Kyzikos 108 B 4 *ναύσσοῦ* is to be read and that *σσ* is expressed by *sampi*. *ναύσσοῦ* occurs in Kos, *Mithr.* XVI 407¹. If a Karian word it is important for § 21. The T of *θαλατῆς* is probably not *sampi*; at least *sampi* is certain only in non-Hellenic words. 309 2 f. b.: whether *ζάπεδον* is from *δια-πεδον* may be doubted. At all events, Hom. *δάπεδον*, which occurs in a fragment wrongly attributed to Anakreon (124), is not the equivalent of the intensive *δα-* in *δαφινός*, *δάσκιος*, as is suggested by Curtius *Et.* 621. *δάπεδον* is *δηπεδον*, i. e. the level floor of the house, the first part being connected with *δῶμα*, *δεσπότης*, *δάμαρ*. From the above mentioned meaning was evolved the use as *plain*, *ground*. *δάπεδον* in *Prometh.* 829 is clearly impossible, whatever be thought of *Chocph.* 798. 312 12 f. b.: *κύρω* Demokr. 87, *έκυρσα* Theog. 698, Sim. Keos 120, Pindar *Pyth.* X 21, *τέρσηται* Hippokr. VIII 42 from **τέρσ-σῆται*. 319 19: that for antevocalic F, v may be used in the Ionic alphabet after it had lost the F follows from ΤΕΡΙΩΝ in Knossos, *Musco Ital.* II 678, col. 2, l. 5, 8. 322 21: read 352; 25: read *ισσαί* and cf. § 716. 332 6: in view of the occurrence of *κατάπερ* 64 times in Hdt., it is better to read *κατά* than *κατὰ τὰ*. The latter appears in all MSS. IV 162, V 89, VI 54, in all except *d* (and *z*) II 99, in all except *d* VI 89. *κατά* = *καθά* appears in I 208, II 6, 116, III 86, VII 199 (here only = *χθονε*). Furthermore in all MSS. in IV 201, in all except *Psv* IV 76, in all except *Pr* V 12, 112. *κατ' α̅* is a v. l. IV 76, 201. Cf. p. 454, 3; 13 f. b. read Lenis. 333 12 f. b.: see Lobeck on *Aias* 805 for *ήλιος*, *ίππος* &c. in compounds in literature; 8 f. b.: *έφ' ἴσηι καὶ ὁμοίη* Ephesos, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 2. 334 15: Herodas has *έγδοῦσα* 6⁹², *έγλύσαι* 6⁹¹, *έμβλέπεις* 6⁴¹, *έμπολέων* 6⁶³. In 5²⁵ Meister edits *σύ γ[ε] φίγγε*; last line: *τοῖν μαζοῖν* VII 514 (several MSS. the plural), *ἀμφοῖν* VII 486. 335 16: *ἀστραγάλοι* occurs also in the Anthol. VI 309³, cf. Didymos schol. on Ψ 88, Eust. *ad loc.*, and schol. on Σ 551. *ή λίθος* is called Ionic by Porphyrius *Quaest. Hom.* 8, p. 229. It occurs in Hrd. 4²¹ (a work in marble), but in 4³⁴ *ό λίθος* = the stone. 337 10 f. b.: *Έρμη̅ς* Hippon. 55 B. 340 7 f. b.: the following examples of nouns in -η occur in Herodas, to which there are in Attic and other dialects parallel forms in -ᾶ; *μάμμη* 3²¹, 3⁸, *πέρρη* 7²¹ (Hippokr. V 236), *σμίλη* 7¹¹⁹. 341 15: *μνέ[as]* should be read. *μνάς* in Hippon. and Hrd. is the Attic form, for which *μνέας* should be substituted. On the inflection of γῆ, see Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 349. 346 4: *Ἀπολλωνίδεω* Th. 78 B 10 (III Century), *ίππάρχω* also in Kyzikos, *Mithr.* XVI 141 l. 1 (under Caligula), *ῥοσάσπεω* in the letter of Dareios which is otherwise a late Atticized reproduction of the original (B. C. II. XIII 529, l. 3). 350 f. n. 1: this law of hyphaeresis obtains in Homer only (Schmidt). 352 15: *γενῆς* Hrd. 2¹, 4⁸⁴; 19: *γενεῆς* Hdt. III 33, 122; last line: for *Zelexi*

read *Abdera* ('Ερμῆ). 353 22 : τεῖ βουλήι and τεῖ βουλεῖ Eretria 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 106 (411 B. C.), 200. 354 7 : 'Ερμῆ Anakr. 111, epigr., γενῆ Hrd. 232. 357 2 : δαρεῖν Hrd. 210, νέην *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 51. 358 5 : insert Hdt. before IV. Meister *Herodas* p. 830 conjectures that the nom. was γαλή. In Hdt. IV 102 d has γαλαί. γενεαί occurs in Hdt. II 142, νέαι in Hrd. I 90; § 445 : ἀλ(λ)ΗΟΝ represents -εων, not -ηων (§ 140, 1 n.) or -ηον; see § 289, 2. 300 12 f. b. : dele βροντέων; 10 f. b. : for 360 read 560, and add πορνέων 236, αἰρέων 699. 361 6 : Hrd. 222 μνέων 'Αττικῶν speaks in favour of the inflection of the feminine adjective like the masculine (cf. p. 363). χαλκῶν 750 should however be χαλκέων; 8 : Anakr. 124 has Μουσάων(?); 4 f. b. : γεῶν Hdt. IV 198. 365 (§ 451) : to this section add Solon in Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ. : πολλαῖσιν 124, ἀρπαγαῖσιν 123. Herodas τῆς ἐμῆσι 583 (not ἐμῆσι with the papyrus and § 450, 3), ταῖσι μηλάνθαισι III 2; μετρηταῖσι 174 is corrupt (γρῆταῖσι Blass). In 6100 αὐτῆ[σι] is certain, in 614 ταῖσι. Hrd. uses -ης only when it stands in conjunction with -ησι, a rule that will not hold in the early Ionic poets. 376 (§ 466) : νόον Mimn. 58, νοῦν Mandrokles of Samos in Hdt. IV 88, Hrd. 475, πλοῦν Hrd. 140, ἀργυρεῦν 462, 65. 380 (§ 474) : add Solon in Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ. : μετρίοισι 73, ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μῆ 122, κακοῖσιν 123, ὀφθαλμοῖσιν 125, τοῖσιν 124, τοῖσ' ἐναντίοισιν 124; Herodas τοῖσδ' 426, μετώποισι ἐ- *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 22. 383 1 : the Koan forms τέλεως Paton and Hicks 3761, τέλειαι 3814, 15, 42 B 6, τέλεων 40 A 5, may be regarded as Ionisms. The native dialect had however the non-Ionic dual (τέλεω 392); Hrd. 720 has τέλεων neuter; 10 : 'Αρτυσίλειω Thasos 78 B 11. 384 4 : Hrd. has Κῶσι 295, Κῶν 42; 9 f. b. : read Ἰεφ; Hrd. has the accus. pl. εὐκερῶσι in *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 114. To this declension Meister would refer 'Ακέσεω Hrd. 361, (cf. § 428, 1 A) because the accent is on the papyrus and words in -εως are paroxytona, while clip-names in -ησι are generally perispomena. Exceptions are however very frequent, and there seems to have been no certain tradition in respect of many hypocoristic names. See addenda to p. 429 and Chandler §§ 59, 60. The difficulties on the score of vocalization have been ignored by Immisch, who (*R. M.* XLVIII 290 ff.), in attempting to show that the proper form of the name of the author of the 'Ιλίου πέρσις was Λέσχωσις, explains the name as derived from an hyper-Ionic *Λεσχήσις < Λεσχαῖσις, and in like manner 'Ακέσεως from *'Ακεσῆσις < 'Ακεσαῖσις. But it is only when *f*, not *z*, intervened between vowels, that *metathesis quantitatis* occurs, and all of Immisch's examples of εω < ηιο are vicious. 'Ακεσεύς and 'Ακεσαῖσις are not connected as regards the endings, the latter being a development of 'Ακεσαῖσις, which was formed directly from 'Ακεσανδρος (§ 165, note). If by the side of Λεσχαῖσις we have Λέσχησις, by the side of 'Ακεσαῖσις we may have 'Ακέσησις. Though not prepared to pronounce against the incorrectness of Λέσχωσις, there does not seem to me to be any great difficulty in supposing that Λέσχωσις in Proklos is the genitive of Λέσχησις. Hdt. often retains the native vocalism (§ 158), so too Thukydides, Xenophon, and Plato (§§ 73, 429, 484); and inscriptions (cf. p. 346) show that even in Roman times the -εω of the genitive was retained; footnote 2 read cf. *Wackernagel Philol. Anzeiger XVI 73* and place this after p. IV. 387 11 f. b. : after πόλιος). add καὶ Ἴπποκράτης φθίσσιος (IV 536). 289 18 : 'Ακέσιος Paros, *Mith.* XVIII 172. 391 (§ 486) : Hrd. has πόλιος 226, 31; in 28 πόλειωσις has been corrected to πόλιος, thus introducing a certain anapaest in the fifth foot, which at best is very rare. In 231 πόλιος brings an anapaest into the fourth foot, which appears beyond doubt in only one other passage (655, cf. 623). To avoid the metrical difficul-

ties and because he makes much of -εος as an Ionic form, Meister recommends the adoption of the form πόλεος in all three passages. His correction of Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 650, where -ιος is called Ionic, is wide of the mark, though it cannot be denied that the statements of the grammarians (§ 481) are elsewhere obscure in reference to the form of the genitive. πόλις was one of the first words to show the κοινή inflection in the various dialects, e.g. in Kretan (Cauer 122₄, 9, 20, 1277, 14, 132₃₂, 40, C. I. G. 2567), Lakonian (Cauer 279), Phokian (Ross 81), to cite merely occurrences of the genitive. I find no mention in Meisterhans of [δι]αδόσεος in an Attic inscription from 341-40 B. C. (*B. C. II.* V 364), which, if correct, should be added to the examples of Attic -εος. It is the only example of -εος in Attic outside of literature. The document in question has ΟΥ and Ω. By 320 B. C. ο was written for ω in Λεοντίς, but there is no early instance of -εος for -εως in an εϋ stem. 392 9: in Theog. 1043 πόλεϋς is the vulgate reading, and Α has πόλεως. Ziegler adopts πόλεος. 394 6: δὲ is not δὲ < οἴ, but δὲ < οἴδ; cf. οἴδς (ωω) in Mnesimachos III 570 (v. 47) and § 227; 19: we must read Γυλλί[ς] in Hrd. 177, 81, i. e. the nominative is used for the vocative (cf. 17, 91, 11); vocative forms are Κοριττί 616, Κυρνί 471; 17 f. b.: Lykophron *Alex.* 292 has ἐπάλλεις. 395 18 f. b.: τρεῖς Hrd. 140, 521, 729 is probably itacistic, though τρεῖς occurs only once (180). Cf. § 571. 398 18: ἀπόη Hippokr. III 298 must yield to -ξεα or -ξυρα. 399 6: γλυκέας Hrd. 623 will avoid the anapaest in the fourth foot; note: after *untouched for*, add to *any extent except in Hdt.*; 2 f. b.: add § 419 to § 219. 402 6: Hrd. has γναφέως 478. [Ὀδ]υσσεώς *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 318 (ω -- possible); in Lykophron's *Alex.* we find -ηος, e.g. in τοκῆος 1394, Κυχρῆος 451; 12 f. b.: σκυτέα Hrd. 672. 403 23: γονέων as [σκ]υτέων Hrd. 770. 405 8: read 23; 14 f. b.: Kallim. has γρῆνς epigr. 41, 51 and epigr. incert. 6. 408 1: Ἀρκεσοῦν Oropos, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 54; 7: read πειθῶ; 16 f. b.: add χελιδῶ Simon. Keos 74. 414: Ἐρμοφάνευς Th. 78 B 8. 416 1: Θρασύλλκευς Th. 78 B 9. 422 6: cf. ἀγγελῆ C. I. G. 5172 and such forms as εὐκλής in Hesychios. εὐκλής may be either a contraction of the trisyllabic nom. form εὐκλεής (whereas the dissyllabic κλέος resists contraction), or built from εὐκλεῖα < εὐκλεῖα by hyphaeresis; 9: ἄλλη, πανῶλη Iasos, *Mith.* XV 154; 12 f. b.: ΑΤΕΛΕΞ, Kyzikos 108 B 7, is a copy of the original spelling = ἀτελεῖς, as Dittenberger *Syll.* 312 correctly reads. 423 16 f. b.: Hrd. has ἀληθέα 526, ψευδέα 526, 752, σκέλεα 52, σκύττα 763, χείλεα 7112, ἔπεα *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 61, μέλεα frag. 711. Rutherford's [γέ]νεα (ωωω) 755 is therefore not to be defended, and τείχη 47 is to be corrected; 8: κατάντη Hippokr. III 298 is Attic. 424 7: δαψιλέων Hrd. 781, χελείων 31. κερδέων 737 would be the only case of open εω from an -εσ- stem in all post-Homeric Ionic poetry (except Πρηξίτελεω p. 348). Meister suggests that Κερδέων is meant. 429 6 f. b.: clip-names in -ᾱ in Herodas are Σισυμβρᾱς 276, Βιτᾱτος 625, 81. The latter name has the genitive Βιτᾱδος in Choibob. 4229, Βιττᾱδος in Joh. Alex. 82, as in Hdn. (see footnote 2). A like variation exists in Ἐρμαροῦδος, Ἀμμαροῦτος from -οῦς, Ἐρμηῖδος, Ποδῆτος from -ῆς, but it is only in Egyptian inscriptions that the genitive of -ᾱ in proper names is -ᾱτος. Schulze *R. M.* XLVIII 252 suggests that the grammarians derived their knowledge of the genitive Βιτᾱτος from Herodas, in whose text Βιτᾱδος originally stood. In 687 we may read Κανδᾱτ[ος]. Hdn. II 6837 (cf. Choibob. 4411, 4632, 13623, schol. Ven. A on O 302) accepts two inflections of the name *Thales*: Θαλῆς, -οῦ, -ῆ, -ῆν and Θαλῆς, -ητος, -ητι, -ητα. In Kallim. frag. 95 the MSS. have Θαλῆς, but in 94 Θαλῆτος and in 96

Θάλητα. This difference in accent finds a defender in Crusius who reads Θαλής in Hrd. 2₅₅, but Θάλητος in 2₆₂. If the nominative is Θαλής we must accent -ήτος. Other words varying in accent and declension according to the ancients are Μεγής, Φαλής, Φανής, Κυής. 430 24 : Ἄρτεμῖς (or -εῖς, -ίς or -εῖς) Hrd. 6₇₇, 89, Ἄρτεμῖν 6₉₄, a woman's name found in Knidos, Krete, Pisidia and Kos. Where the name occurs, indications point to its not being native to Greece; so even in Thessaly (*Millh.* XII 361, no. 151), Athens *B. C. H.* XIII 78). Genitives occur in Μητροείδος C. I. G. 3141, 30 (Smyrna), Μοναρχείδος Paton-Hicks 185 (Kos), Φιλείδος *B. C. H.* VIII 378 (Lydia), &c. Names of women may end either in -ίς, -ίδος or in -ίς, -ίδος. Stems in -ιδ- in Hrd. are δορκαλίδες 319, πυργίδα 715. 434 last line : Hrd. has also μέλινα 4-7; ἡδίονα 187, μέλινα 75 are sing. In Phoinice we find πλείονα 117 in the MSS. where πλέονα (as in 23) is correct. 436 12 : ΣΟΟΣ Styra 19209, cf. 23 is to be read Σῶος as ΣΟΟΝ C. I. A. I 369 σῶον. Boeckh's Σῶφ (ΣΩΩ) in C. I. G. 39 cannot stand. The contracted form σῶς is probably non-Homeric : at least all cases of its occurrence (except X 332) readily yield to the substitution σάος or σόος. The latter is possibly a contamination of σῶφ- and σᾶφ-. σάαι in Hrd. is either a case of the retention of the early form, or, as seems to me more likely, derived from σῶος as ὀρέσκοος from -κω(ι)ος. The forms with ι subscript are neither Ionic nor known to Attic inscriptions. In Babrios 948 Α has σῶην, Suid. σῶαν. In 76 σῶος is written with no other spelling noted in Eberhard. 440 13 : ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη Hrd. 161 may serve as an example of the old possessive use of the pronoun : cf. *Orestes* 124 ὦ τέκνον μοι, *Hdt.* I 207 τὰ μοι παθήματα, and the use of οἱ in *Hdt.* I 1, III 3, *Trachin.* 650. See Wilamowitz *Herakles* v. 626, Wackernagel *I. F.* I 362; 7 f. b. : read 728; 6 : in 146 there is authority for ἀνθρώποις instead of ἡμείων, but it is a correction by a later hand. 441 7 : in citing the forms of the pronoun I have almost always followed the MSS., which do not as a rule differentiate between the emphatic and unemphatic forms. In Anakr. 431, 622 ἡμῖν is no doubt unemphatic, as it is in 631, and in all three passages the MSS. have ἡμῖν; but in 431, 631 the metre requires ἡμῖν. Whether we should write ἡμῖν, ἡμῖν or ἡμῖν cannot be determined, since we have no MS. authority for either accent in the monuments of early post-Homeric Ionic poetry. That the difference between the emphatic and unemphatic forms found expression in a different accentuation in the poetry of Alexandrian times may be inferred from ἡμεῖς Hrd. 29 and ἕμεῖς 260, where the papyrus has the proparoxytone. In 119 ὑμῖν is emphatic and has the perispomenon in the MS. I have written ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν in Hrd. in all cases except where the ultima is certainly short. In Babrios 904, 987, 1134 where Bergk, Eberhard, and Rutherford edit ἡμῖν at the verse end, the Athoan MS. has ἡμῖν; so in 2611, 277, 3311 &c. Α has ἡμᾶς. 443 1 : for *often* read 762. 445 12 : νῦν is not more frequent than μῦν, which occurs, in addition to the passages stated in 10, in 342 (?), 570 (?), 712. That νῦν occurs after s or ν is pure chance. Meister thinks νῦν was smuggled into the text of Hrd. from tragedy. 448 6 f. b. : Hrd. has κείνος also in 229, 450 (after ἡμέρη so that ἰκείνη would be possible; cf. δούλη στι 452), ἐκείνος in 280. In 476 one case of ἐκείνος is uncertain (ὅς δεκείνον ἢ ἔργα τὰ ἐκείνου). 450 last line : for *elision* read *crasis*. ἄντης in Hrd. 684 would be an example of Apollonios' ἄν, were [ε]ωντήης not a probable correction. On the origin of the reflexive forms, see now Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXIII 2 ff., Meister *Herodas* 849; footnote 1 : (*Athens*) after *elision* belongs after *φαῦτω*. Apoll. has εἶατώ. 452 17 : σοὶ αὐτῷ

I 108 should give way to *σεωντῶ*. *σέο τ' αὐτοῦ* occurs in I 124 (cf. *Oid. Kol.* 1417), but when *αὐτός* is prefixed we have *αὐτῶ μοι* as in IV 134, VII 28 (cf. E 459), *αὐτῶ οἱ* III 72, *αὐτόν σε* III 145, as *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν* V 49, 91. I now see that Dryoff *Pronomen Reflexivum* emends *αὐτόν* in I 24 to *αὐτοῦ*. 454 3: see p. 332₆ and appendix: 7 f. b. in note: read *ἄχρη*. 455 11: *τέο* Hrd. 81, the only case of *εο* in a pronoun in that poet, should be corrected, cf. *τεῦ* 293, *δτεῦνεκα* 520. 456 footnote 1: Wackernagel *R. M.* XLVIII 301 proposes to avoid the *F* in Lokrian *φότι* by reading *ἦ ὄτι*; to § 570 add: *μετεξέτεροι* = *ἔνιοι*, *τινές*, Hdt. I 63, 95, 199, II 125, &c., Hippokr. III 454, IV 220, 230 (where Galen says that the word is = *ἕτερος* in the language of his time), Aretaios 5. In Nikander's *Theo.* 588, Schneider reads *μετ' ἐξέτηρην*; cf. *ἐξέτεροι* 412, 744. To *δῆμος* in § 716 add that Hdn. I 512₁₉ (*Theognos.*, An. Ox. II 164₆) mentions *δπῆμος* and Arat. 568 has *δπῆμος*. *πῆμος* is mentioned by Hesychios and Hdn. II 925₂₀. *τῆμος* is relative in Hippokr. IX 14 (*θ' ἦμος* in one very old MS.). 463 10 f. b.: it is better to read *χρῆν* in Hdt. In Hrd. 223 the papyrus has *εχρηναυτον*, where the *ε* belongs with the pronoun. 472 (*ἐργάζομαι*): Hrd. 603 has *ἐργάζετ'*. This author always adopts the Attic rules for augment; (*ἔρδω*): *ἔερδον* in Solon (*Αθ. πολ.* 12); note: dele the). 473 2 f. b. to end of §, and p. 472 s. v. *οἴγνυμι*: the original inflection of *οἴγνυμι* was as follows: (1) *strong forms*: *δ(F)είγω*, found in the Aiolic infinitive *δέιγην* C. D. I. 214₁₂, *ῶειγον*, *ῶειξα*. The imperfect *ἀνόειγε* may be substituted for *ἀνέωγε* Π 221, Ω 228, *ἀνοείγεσκον* for *ἀναοίγεσκον* Ω 455. For *ῶιξε* Z 298, Ω 446 &c. we may read *ῶειξε* (cf. Attic *ἔμειξα* for the incorrect *ἔμιξα*). (2) *weak forms*: *δ(F)ιγνῦμι* from the stem *φιγ-*; cf. *τεῖω*, *τῖνυμαι*. *φελγνυμι* had been the counterpart of *δέικνῦμι*, *ζεύγνῦμι* with the retention of the irregular diphthong in a form properly weak. The initial prosthetic *σ* has been carried from *δῖγνυμι* into *δέιγω* where it is strictly not in place. The stem *δῖγ-* appears in *ῶιγνυτο* B 809, Θ 58, and perhaps in Hrd. 455, whose *ῶικται* may, however, be an itacistic spelling for *ῶεικται* (cf. *πέπεισται*). Theokr. XIV 47 has *ἀνῶγμαι*. Later on *δῖγνυμι* was contracted to *οἴγνυμι* (cf. *οἶς*, *οἶομαι* from *δφισ-*), and the stem *οἴγ-* transferred to the active in *ἀνῶγεν* Ξ 168 (for which Nauck substituted *ἀνοιγεν*, Fick *ῶειγε*), *ῶῖε* Ω 457 (*οἶξε*?), *οἶξασα* Z 89, Epidaurian *ἀνῶξε* C. D. I. 3339₈₇, Theokr. *ἀνῶξα* XIV 15, Attic *ἀνολίγω*, *ἀνολίξω* (*ἡνοιγον*, *ἡνοιξα* may be corrupt) and *ἡνοιγμαι* in Hippokr. V 436 (*ἀνεφγ-* Ermerins). *ῶῖξα*, which is glossed as Hippokratie by *ἀνέφξα* in Erotian, can be defended only on the view that *δῖγ-* and not *οἴγ-* was transferred from the weak to the strong form, or on the assumption that it was 'distracted' from *ῶῖξα*. While the latter is not an impossibility, the former suggestion would seem to deserve more consideration because of Aiolic *ῶιγον* (Hdn. II 777₁₅ = II 313₂₃ = I 250₁₉) and *ῶιγων* (Zonaras 224₇). But *ῶιγον* is impossible in Homer, and it may be doubted whether we should not read *δειγον*, *δέιγων* in Aiolic, *ῶειξα* in Hippokrates. The explanation of *δέιγω* and *οἴγνυμι* here put forward, rejects the possibility of a stem *φοιγ-*, which Kühner-Blass § 198, 6 hold to have originated from *δφιγ-* by the transference of the spirant from the middle to the beginning. Though the existence of a stem *φοιγ-* would be welcome, such a shifting of *F* must however be pronounced impossible. Since no form in *οἴγ-* had an initial *F*, the explanation of Wackernagel must fall to the ground, though in itself well adapted to clear up the mysterious *φ* in *ἔφγα*, *ἔφξα*, *ἔφγμαι* (i. e. from **ἡφοιγα* &c.). We believe that *ῶγεν* from *οἴγω* became *ἔφγεν* under the influence of the perfect (originally *φέφοιγα*), and that the perfect became *ἔφγα* under the

influence of the imperfect (cf. *ἔάρα, ἔδρακα ἑάρακα*). After the imperfect had adopted the extraneous *ι*, the aorist *ῶξα* became *ἔωξα*. Meister *Herodas* p. 823 would refer to *ὀλγυγμα* the Hesychian *ὄιγα φαρέτρα* with substantive ablaut of *ει* to *αι*. The quiver is the *οἰστοδέγμονα θησαυρὸν βελέεσιν Persai* 1020. 476 18 f. b.: read *Herodotos*. 482 14: Hrd. has *θέλω* eight times, *ἔθλω* once, and that in an augmented form (*ἤθελον* 523). This is the usage of the *Κοινή*. 485: Hrd. has only contracted forms in the future: *ἔρέω* 391, *βαλέω* 352, *ἔρεῖς* 422 and in seven other passages, *διαβαλέῖς* 622, *ἀποκτενεῖς* 535, *προσμενεῖς* 83, *ἔρεῖ* 325, *θανεῦμ'* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 85, *ἀρεῖτ'* 361, *ἐκβαλεῦσι* 461, *πιλεῖσιν* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 815. 493 14: Babrios has *γεγηράκει* 4610, 1032, *γηράσας* 7415; *Anakr.* *ἑάσεις* 56, *ἕασον* 57 (Fick *ā*), *Hdt.* I 90 *ἑάσας*; note 2, 4 f. b.: read *Antiphon*. In Hrd. 322 we have *γῶνας* read for which the regular *ἀναγῶνας* is used in 392. In *Hdt.* II 91 *ἀνέγγων* is = *αἰνοῦν*. 494 16: the verb *φοφλέω* is now attested in Arkadian. On an inscription from Mantinea (*B. C. H.* XVI 568, perhaps older than 450 B. C.), we find [*Fo*]φλέασι I. 1, [*Fo*]φλέοι I. 14, *Φωφληκόσι* I. 18. 497 last line: the second person of the optative in Hrd. ends in *-αις* (357, 571, 63), never in *-εαις*. In the third person we find *-εαι* in 311, 75, *-αι* in 631, 782. 498 19: Hrd. has *ἔτρα* also in 537, *εἶπατε* 767, *εἶπον* 612, *εἶπέ* 617, 483, *ἄνεπε* 212, *εἰπέιν* 693; read *imperat.* for *opt.* 502 9: *βούλει* in Hrd. is wrong. Apart from this form there are five cases (in the future) of *-εαι*, but there are four of *-ῆ* in the indicative. *δίξεται* is called Ionic for *δίξῃται* in the *Lexicon Messan.*, *R. M.* XLVII 408 (cf. § 590). 503 14: *Theog.* 455 *ἑφάινο*. *ἦραο* p. 504 end, and 559¹⁷ belongs here. 505 11: *Solmsen K. Z.* XXXII 546 defends *Wackernagel's* derivation of *ἑσοεῖται*; 23 f. b.: *πίεται* in Ion cannot stand (*πίετω* *Cobet*); 22 f. b.: for *M. Schmidt* read *Nietzsche*. In connection with the above may be mentioned the fact that in *Hippokr.* V 386 we find *πιέουσα*, which is more probably a blunder for *πιούσα* (V 382) than the participle to *πίει* (*C. I. G.* 8046, 8096-8110, *Bergk P. L. G.* III 668 &c.), whose *ει* is a genuine diphthong according to the Attic vase inscriptions. Cf. *Roscher in Curtius' Studien* IV 194, *Bergk in Jahrb.* CXVII 195, *Kretschmer in K. Z.* XXIX 482; 11 f. b.: *Hippokr.* has *δάξομαι* VIII 338 (so *θ* probably, but *δήξομαι* VII 336 cf. § 619). 506 15: [*εἶσε*]νεύκαντες, *Erythrai*, in *Dittenberger's Syll.* 159²⁰ (shortly after 278 B. C.), but *ἑσῆν[ε]γκεν* 1607. 509 10: *εἰρύεται* *Hippokr.* V 596, *ἐντετμέεται* IV 298; 14: *λελέχεται* *Aret.* 260, 284. 511 22: in *Clouds* 1203 *νενημένοι* is preferable; 8 f. b.: read *καίω*. 512 7: in *Hippokr.* II 26 we even find *καταλεπτόσθαι* (*vulgo* -ῆσθαι), where *-ῆσθαι* should be read with *Cobet*. The participle occurs in VI 192 *vis*. *Hippokr.* has the *-σμαι* form also in the case of *θερμαίνω* VI 190, 192, *ὕγραίνω* 192, *σκληρύνω* 132, *μιαίνω* 96. Almost all of the *-σμαι* forms occur in the pseudo-Hippocratic tractates. 516 9 f. b.: of the poets, *Theognis* has *-εο* in 30, 32, 47, 100, 145, 331, 353, 547, 557, 1095, 1297, 1351, *Archil.* 66, *ἀγάλλεο*, 66, *ὀδύρεο*; Hrd. has also *αἰσχύνεω* 266, *γίνεω* I 2, *ἔπευ* 429, *καταφύδου* in 117 is corrected to *-εο* or *-εω* on the papyrus; *ἐπέύχεω* 358 should be changed to *-εω*. 518 21: see appendix to p. 255. 520 18: *δοθήσεται* *Samos* 221²¹, *νομισθήσεται* *Euseb. Mynd.* 52; 13 f. b.: *βλαβήσεται* *Aret.* 39. 530 footnote 2: add *ἑσύνεω* Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 31, *προσιεύσαν* *Hippokr.* IX 340 (many MSS. *-ου*). 537 17 f. b.: *ἄμαρτεῖ* Hrd. 425? (cf. *ῥαμαρτεῖς* 512) is the first occurrence in literature of this equivalent of *ἄμαρτέω*. It is attested in *Hesychios* and *Eust.* 592²². 543 22: with the variation between *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ*, compare that in *Elcician*: *δοκέοι* 1156³, *ἐνποιοῖ* 1156², *ἀποφῆλοῖ* 1154⁷, *ποιοῖτο* 2. 544 4: *Hermes* not *R. M.* 503 19:

or read $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ and derive the form from $\lambda\eta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$. If this is correct, we must assume two verbs $*\lambda\eta\iota\omega$ and $*\lambda\eta\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega$. $\lambda\eta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$ could become $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$ after the loss of F , and then $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\tilde{\iota}$. Solmsen *K. Z.* XXXII 515, 517 regards as Kretan both $\lambda\eta\tilde{\iota}\omega$ < $\lambda\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, and $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ < $\lambda\eta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$. 596 12: in *Hrd.* 468 the papyrus accents $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta\nu$, which may be regarded as an adjective. The adjective was thus accented by *Hdn.* (I 111₂₅, II 778₁₀, 947₁₁, where Epicharmos 120 is cited). In the passage in *Archil.* 63₂ the vulgate has $\zeta\omega\omicron\tilde{\iota}$, and in *Theokr.* II 5 we find $\zeta\omicron\acute{\omicron}\iota$. The substantive $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$ had the oxytone accent according to *Hdn.* II 901₂₃. 598 ff.: to the list add $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ *Herakl.* in *Hermes* XV 695 (but probably an error for $-\omega\iota\epsilon\nu$), $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\omega\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ *Hippokr.* IX 356 *epist.*, $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu$ *Demokr.* 123. As regards $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\delta\omega$ it should be noted that *Kallim.* 94 (choliambic) has $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. 598: to § 715 add $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ *Hippokr.* IV 220, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ III 514; $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ *Syr. dea* 27, 28, 34; *Arct.* $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ 52, $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ 66, $\tau\omicron\delta\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ 45.

APPENDIX II

THE IONISMS OF THE LATE WRITERS OF IAMBICS AND CHOLIAMBICS.

We present below a survey of the chief Ionisms of Kallimachos (K.), Aischrion of Samos (A.), Phoinix of Kolophon (Ph.), Parmenon of Byzantion (P.), Kritias of Chios, Babrios (B.), and Lykophron's *Alexandra* (L.). K. is cited from the text of Schneider, A., Ph., P., and Kritias from Schneidewin's *Delectus* and Crusius, in the case of Ph. 1; see Crusius' *Hieronas* p. 70), B. from Rutherford, and L. from Kinkel. Some of the Homerisms of L., and most of the Homerisms of B., have been included. In the case of the writers who aim at reproducing the dialect in all except a few details, *i. e.* in the above writers with the exception of B. and L., we have included such matters as crasis &c. The Ionisms of B. and L. are practically confined to the Ionic η and a few cases of Ionic ϵ , $\epsilon\nu$ and ou . In L. the occurrences of η are sporadic merely, in B. they are so frequent as to lead to the belief that he intended to adopt it in the first declension throughout. There are some open forms that I have ventured to include, though uncertain whether they might not more properly be regarded as examples of the licence permitted Attic poetry. But attention should be called to the fact that no instance of an uncontracted $\alpha\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$, or $o\omega$ verb occurs in any of these writers.

1. Vowels. η for $\bar{\alpha}$: $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta$ K. 93, $\nu\epsilon\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\nu$ 78, $\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\iota\nu$ 82 *b.*; $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\nu$ A. 22; $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$ Ph. 18, $\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\pi}\eta\varsigma$ 23; $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$ P. 11. In Babrios there occur about 150 cases of nouns of the first declension and adverbs where the Ionic η was possible. In about 70 of these the Athoan MS. has α , which Rutherford changes to η . Sometimes where this MS. has α , Suidas has η (181, 261, 812, 922), and sometimes the reverse is the case (101, 301, 826, 7, 862, 948, 1082). In the spurious fragments Rutherford leaves α , *e. g.* in $\sigma\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ 412, but changes to η in 106₂₅, 1161. Hyper-Ionic η appears when ϵ became ϵ : $\delta\acute{\xi}\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ 771, $\delta\acute{\xi}\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ [731, 1331], $\beta\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ in the Athoan 257 where Suidas has $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$. $\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ has been incorrectly read in 472 ($\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ A), 1312 ($\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ V). In the middle of a word, η is comparatively rare. I have noticed $\acute{\omega}\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ 928 in Suidas $\kappa\rho\iota\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ 622, $\eta\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ 459, $\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ 1207 ($\iota\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$), $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\eta\nu$ 12411, $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ *proem.* B 15 ($\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 1023, [1110], $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$ [1815]), $\nu\epsilon\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$ 10710, $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ *proem.* B 6 ($\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ 2211, $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ 225, $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ 226), $\kappa\upsilon\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ 12212 *sic* in Suidas ($\kappa\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ A,

κνακόν 113₂), ἀπείρητος 95₆₃ (πειράσας 95₇₆, ἐπειράθην 57₁₂, 134₁₆), ἀλοήσας 122₁₂, ἤλωση 26₈, 129₁₆, Παίηων 120₅ (παϊάνων 24₁). The following always have α: Θράκη (L. always Θρήκη), πράσσω οἱ πράττω, κέκραγε, γηράσας, γεγηράκει, βράδην, βράων, βραθυμέω, γραῦς. Lykophron very rarely adopts the Ionic form: Δειβηθρήν 275, καλύπτρης 337, λυγρήν 910, ὄτρρης 997, ἀρούρης 1060, ἔκρης in Bachmann's edition 714, Τιτῆνας 709, Τυμφρητόν (?) 420, καρηβαρεύντας 384, χαλκείησιν (so in V) 1077. Scheer adopts η only in 384, 420. Of about 60 occurrences of the long form of the dative plural, Bachmann read -ησι in 18, 59, 106, 107, 193, 266, 442, 454, 470, 728, 729, 802, 817, 1055, 1358. η is also used in ἡώς 16. 2. Diphthongs. EI: B. has ξείνος [106₇], elsewhere ξεν-, στεινῆς 108₂₂, εἰρύσσας 122₇, εἶαρος 131₅, ἐκπνείων 129₂₁ conj. (ἐκπνέων 60₂); L. ξεινοβάκρης 175, κακόξεινος 1286, ἀνεύρσας 1322, εἰναφώσσωνα 101. EY: πρηνεμῆς L. 536, 1055. OY: μούνος B. 25₁, 126₂, 131₂ [106₂₁, 28] elsewhere μόνος (10 times), L. 179 (μο- Sch.), μόνος K. 76, 82 b, οὔνομα L. 339, 370 but Ph. 111 κώνομαστόν, γούνα Ph. 113, γουνασμάτων L. 1243, οὐλαμφόροις L. 32, οὐλαμυνόμου L. 183, κούρος and κούρη A. 15, Ph. 110, 12, 13, L. 58, 182, 712, 1131 (κορ- Sch.), Κουρήτις L. 671, Κουρήτες 1297. Elsewhere L. has κορ- as Babrios always. δουρατογλύφου L. 361, οὐρήσσειν B. 129₂₃. L. 557 has οδδασ, 49, 698 οὐδαίος. None of these later writers have any other form than ὅλος and ὄρος. HI: δῆϊοι Ph. 220, βορηῖφ 36, ὀνήϊστος 31, λῆϊον B. 116, 88₃, L. 252, ἠϊών L. 417; elsewhere η as in χρηῖζ Ph. 13 &c. OI: πραιῶν B. 124₁₇ but πρήν 67 &c. Loss of ι from the diphthongs: B. 59 has Ἄθηνᾶ but -αῖη 72₁₆, Ἐρμῆς 30₂ and often, but -εῖης 30₁, 48₃, 119₆, 127₁; ὀξέη B. 77₁, ὀξέην [73₁, 133₁], Βαθέην 257 (Athoan, -εῖαν Suidas), πλέονα Ph. 23 and probably 117; πόη B. 46 but πόη 95₁₁, 128₁₂, [142₂]. Cf. also χροῖη 136, [65₃], χλόη 462, 88₂, προή 36₁₀, 114₅. B. has ἠλόησε 26₈, 129₁₆. 3. Contracted and Open Vowels. α+ι: Ἄιδης Ph. 222, B. 95₈₇, 122₈, L. 197, 1188 (both first foot), 51, 404, 457, 497, 564, 655, 809, 813 (all second foot). α+ει: ἀείδοντα K. 90, ἀείδω Babrios proem. B. 16, ᾄδω elsewhere in B. and in Ph. 116, 212. ε+ε: ἀλέες K. 86, ἀνηλέες B. 714, ε+ε = εἰ always in the verb. ε+η: γενεή B. proem. A. 1, (γούνη A. 1), Θαλῆς K. 95, Ph. 31, ἀργυρήν Ph. 223, χρυσῆν 33, γεηπόνος B. 108₁₁. a noteworthy form for γεω-, occurs in Aristotle according to L. & S. ε+η always becomes η in the verb. ε+ει always contracts in the verb. ε+ο: φωλεόν B. [106₂]; = εν in μεδεῦντι K. 95, τείχευς 86, ποιεῦ A. 11, ἐπωλεύμην B. 128₁₁, 129₂₃, καρηβαρεύντας L. 384. ε+ω: κυκεῶνα Kritias, λεωλογεῖν Ph. 28, In L. λεώς is Attic. η+ε: ὕλθεντα B. 95₆. η+ει: ἤεσα Ph. 213. η+ω: πρηῶν L. 769, 1069 (Hesiodic), πρών 1237. ι+ε (not genuine contraction): ἱρόν K. 86, ἴρηξ B. [72₂₁]. ο+ο: πλόος K. (Meineke eholiamb. frag. 1). ο+η: πῖβωτος A. 11. ο+ι: οἶς B. 132₁, οἶν 132₅ but οἶς 128₁. ω+α: ζωαγρίους B. 50₁₅ but ζωαγρεῖν 53₂, ζωαγρήσω 53₁. See also under 6 below. 4. Crasis &c. Ph. has τὰπόλλωνος 12, ἀνήρ 211, χῶκόσα 218, τῆτέρη 35, κῆρᾶν 210, K. 97 τὰπίοντος, A. 11 ἡ πῖβωτος. 5. Consonants. κ forms of the pronoun occur in K. 85, 93, Ph. 212, 18, 19 (π in 115, 216). Neither Babrios nor Lykophron uses the Ionic κ αὔτις B. 88₃ elsewhere αὔτις in B. L. has αὔτις in B. 546. σσ occurs in B. τόσσος 36₈ (L. 1461), μέσσος 129₁₃ (μέσος 129₁₅, 19 &c.), πόσσος 121₁₄, ποσσίν 194, οὐρήσσειν 129₂₃, εἰρύσσας 122₇ (ἀνεύρσας L. 1322), χωρίσσης 12₂₁; μεσσαβοῖν L. 817. Babrios varies between σσ and ττ: the former in πράσσω sic 26₁₂, 119₃, 127₁₀, but πράττω always in the spurious parts (512, 403, 3325), πλήσσω 36₃, but ττ always in ἦττα, ἦττάομαι, ἦτταν. L. uses only σσ. ἀμθηρῶσαι occurs in Ph. 28. 6. Declension (Nouns). (1) κριθέων Ph. 11 and Kritias, but λιμνῶν Ph. 211. -αισι (and -αις) Ph. 116 where there is MS. authority

for Μούσῃσι πρὸς θύρησ' ἄδων. Babrios has -αις except in 59¹⁵, 129², 134¹³, while Lykophron uses the longer form about 60 times (see under 1). (2) Homeric -οιο occurs in B. 7²¹, over ten times in L., who even adopts -αιο (848). -οιοσι is found in Ph. 2⁵, 6, 3^{5 bis}, Kritias, -οις in Ph. 1¹⁴ τοῖς κασιγνήτοις at the end, and A. 1¹. -οιοσι occurs in B. about 16, in L. about 40 times. This enumeration takes no account of -οις before a vowel. δαστέων appears in B. 95⁹⁰. χρυσέω proem. B. 7, χρυσέαις L. 708. Whether such open forms are to be regarded as Ionic is doubtful. λαγῶσις is often read in B. where it may be merely a late form, and not Homeric. (3) Open forms in the -εσ declension are: μέρε' (? B. 134¹, ὀρέων 92², τειχέων L. 1418, μεζέων 762; δάμφορσι 598. Ἄρεος is found in B. 68¹. B. has οἶατα 95⁴⁰ (ἄτος 95⁷⁰), ἰχθύας 9², νῆα 71¹ (νηός L. 618, να- Sch.), νομῆα 128, (conj.), οὐρήσσιον (conj.) 129²³, οἶς (above 3). πόρτιος L. 320, ἐπάλλεις 292. γούνα appears in Ph. 1¹³, Ζεῦν in A. 15. Cf. app. p. 402. 7. Pronouns. κείνος K. 87, Ph. 27, B. 377, 95⁶, L. 128, 304, 1139, ἐκείνος K. 89, B. over 30 times, L. 258, 259, 1081, κείθι 686, ἡμέων Ph. 220. ἡμέων (-ο-) is noteworthy B. 90². The relative τῶν appears in Ph. 14. S. Verb. An uncontracted 'pure' verb is unknown. ἔων is found in B. 367, where some read τις ὦν for τ' ἔων. ὦν occurs in B. elsewhere at least 13 times. ἀναπλώσας B. 743, ἐκπεπλωκότες L. 1084, and οἶδας B. 95¹⁴ may be noted. We have the Homeric ἔσσι in B. 777, 1197 (MSS. εἰ), εἰρύσσας 1227, χαρίσσης 1221, σαώσει L. 758. θέλω, not ἐθέλω, is used by B. The pluperfect, which is used with remarkable fondness by B., is sometimes devoid of the augment (46¹⁰, 103²). Absence of the syllabic augment occurs in imperfect (95^π) and aorist (332 (?), 68⁵, 111⁶), but this is not in imitation of the iambographic style. 9. Prepositions, Conjunctions. εἰς is used by K. 94 (MSS.), Ph. 1¹², 13, ἐς in K. 86, 96, 98 a, Ph. 222, A. 16, a consonant following in all cases except Ph. 222 and A. 16. Since Babrios used ἐς only when compelled to do so by the metre. Rutherford corrects to εἰς in 111, 115, 108²². So in L. who has before vowels ἐς in 497, 603, εἰς about 20 times, before consonants εἰς about 35 times. (Bachmann had ἐς in 14, 158, 326, 338, 463, 501, 512, 1472; Scheer in 139, 747 also, but not in 326, 512). ἀνθήσει L. 1259. ἦν appears in B. 216, 47¹⁵, 647, 95⁶², 127¹⁰, 128⁶, L. 2, 623. ἄν is found over ten, ἔάν three times in the MSS. of B. ἐπήν occurs in 610.

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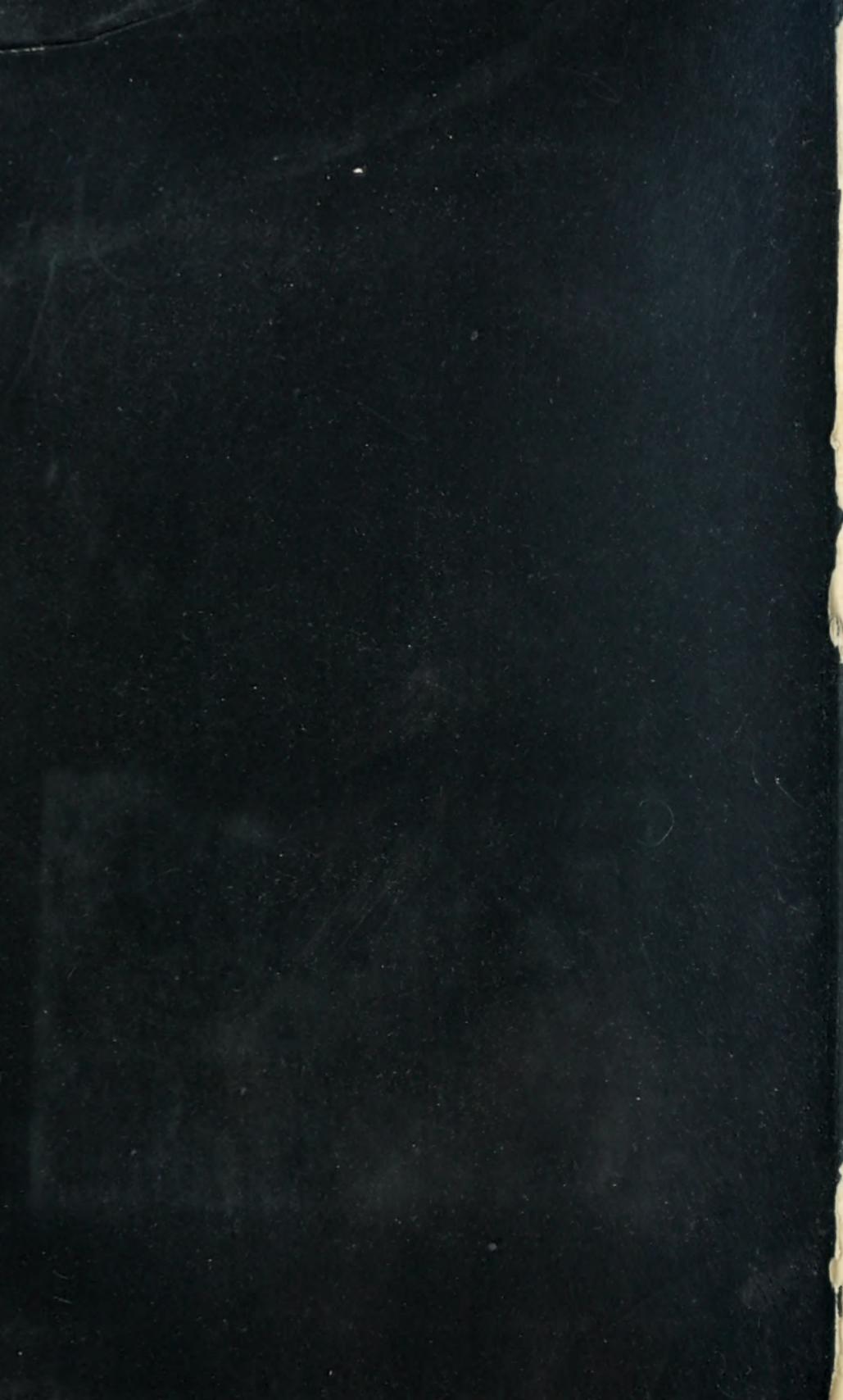
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